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DUPANINGAN AGTA:

GRAMMAR, VOCABULARY, AND TEXTS

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Dedicated to Ronald "Ukong" Agcaoili,
for sharing his language with me

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ABSTRACT

Dupaningan Agta is an Austronesian language of the Philippine subgroup which is spoken in northeastern Luzon, Philippines by approximately 1,400 semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers belonging to the Negrito ethnic minority. The language is endangered, as it is beginning to lose child speakers. This dissertation introduces the language situation and discusses phonology (synchronic and historical) and morphosyntax (word order, word classes, the verb complex, aspect, case marking, nominalization, question formation, relative clauses and other essential aspects of Dupaningan grammar). Dupaningan Agta has a relatively simple phonological system, with fifteen consonants and five vowels. Of note, *a has been fronted to /i/ or /e/ after the voiced stops /b d g/. Morphosyntactically, the language has a typical Philippine-type "symmetrical voice" or "focus" system. The voice system of Dupaningan Agta is explored, with special reference to an interesting "double-object" construction with two syntactic subjects. Finally, this dissertation includes a substantial vocabulary and selection of texts. The audio versions of these texts are available as .wav files associated with this dissertation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS v
ABSTRACT vi
LIST OF TABLES xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xiv
GLOSSING CONVENTIONS xv
1 Background 1
1.1 Language location and situation 1
1.2 Physical environment 4
1.3 Dialects 5
1.4 Language name 7
1.5 Place in family tree 8
1.6 Dupaningan culture 11
1.7 Language endangerment 14
1.8 Borrowing 15
1.9 Conceptions of language 17
1.10 Austronesian/Negrito origins 19
1.11 Previous work on Dupaningan 25
1.12 Methodology 26
1.13 What's in this dissertation 28
1.14 Framework 29
2 Phonology 41
2.1 Historical phonology 41
2.1.1 Sound changes 41
2.1.1.1 *z > d 41
2.1.1.2 *R > g 41
2.1.1.3 *j 42
2.1.1.4 *q > ø 43
2.1.1.5 *h > ø 43
2.1.1.6 Low vowel fronting 44
2.1.1.7 t/s metathesis 45
2.1.1.8 *s > h 46
2.1.1.9 Gemination 47
2.1.1.10 *ə > ø 47
2.1.1.11 *ə > a 48
2.1.1.12 Synchronic or diachronic? 48
2.1.1.12.1 Nasal substitution 48
2.1.1.12.2 Geminate morphophonemics 50
2.1.2 Dupaningan and Northeastern Luzon 55
2.1.3 Northeastern Luzon and Northern Cordilleran 57
2.2 Synchronic Phonology 58
2.2.1 Consonants 58
2.2.1.1 Minimal pairs 59
2.2.1.2 Geminates 60

2.2.1.3 Liquids 61
2.2.1.4 Glottal stop 61
2.2.1.5 r 62
2.2.1.6 Glottal fricative h 63
2.2.1.7 Alveolar versus velar voiced stops 64
2.2.1.8 Velar Nasal 64
2.2.1.9 Affrication 64
2.2.2 Vowels 66
2.2.2.1 Minimal pairs 66
2.2.2.2 Alternations between [a] and [ə] 67
2.2.2.3 Mid front vowels [e] and [ɛ] 67
2.2.2.4 Mid/high vowel alternations 68
2.2.2.5 Stress & vowel length 71
2.2.3 Syllable structure 72
2.2.4 Word structure 74
2.2.5 Other phonological rules 75
2.2.5.1 Complete assimilation of /n/ 75
2.2.5.2 Nasal assimilation 76
2.2.5.3 Pronoun vowel deletion 76
3 The noun phrase 77
3.1 Defining a noun 77
3.2 Case/Noun markers 79
3.2.1 Common nouns 80
3.2.1.1 Nominatives 82
3.2.1.2 Genitives 84
3.2.1.3 Obliques 86
3.2.2 Proper nouns 89
3.2.2.1 Singular 90
3.2.2.2 Plurals 91
3.3 Definiteness & indefiniteness 92
3.4 Specificity 93
3.4.1 Specific deictics 97
3.5 Plurality 99
3.5.1 Plurality via reduplication 101
3.5.2 Conjoined noun phrases 101
3.6 Possession 103
3.7 Noun Formation 106
3.7.1 Roots as nominals 106
3.7.2 Nominalizing *ka-* 107
3.7.3 Nominalizing *-an* 107
3.7.4 Nominalizing *ka- -an* 108
3.7.5 Nominalizing *pag-* 109
3.7.6 Nominalizing *pag- -an* 109
3.7.7 Nominalizing *parag-* 110
3.7.8 Nominalizing *pang- & pang- -an* 110
3.7.9 Familial relationships 111

3.7.10 Diminutive 111
3.7.11 Ownership 112
3.7.12 Origin 113
3.8 Pronouns 113
3.8.1 Short-form nominatives 115
3.8.2 Long-form nominatives 117
3.8.3 Genitives 118
3.8.4 Obliques 120
3.8.5 Pronouns in combination 122
3.8.6 Anaphoric pronoun 124
3.8.7 Anaphoric locative 127
3.8.8 Deictics, demonstratives, and locatives 128
3.8.8.1 Demonstrative pronouns 129
3.8.8.2 Oblique demonstratives/locatives 131
3.9 Vocatives/Address forms 132
3.10 Adjectives/Nominal modifiers 135
3.10.1 Placement of adjectives within the noun phrase 137
3.10.2 Monomorphemic adjectives 139
3.10.3 Adjectival prefix *ma-* 140
3.10.4 Adjectival prefix *na-* 140
3.10.5 Reduplicated roots 141
3.10.6 Superlatives 141
3.10.7 Comparatives 142
3.10.8 Similarity 143
3.10.9 Numbers 143
3.10.9.1 Position 145
3.10.9.2 Ordinal numbers 145
3.10.9.3 Distributives 146
3.10.9.4 Restrictive numbers 146
3.10.9.5 Multiplicatives 146
4 The verb phrase 148
4.1 Defining a verb 148
4.2 Voice 148
4.2.1 Actor voice 151
4.2.1.1 *mag-* 152
4.2.1.2 *<um>* 153
4.2.1.3 *mang-* 155
4.2.2 Patient voice *-an* 156
4.2.3 Locative voice *-an* 157
4.2.4 Theme voice *i-* 157
4.2.5 Derived actor voice constructions 159
4.2.6 Benefactive constructions 161
4.2.7 Causative *pa-* 161
4.3 Aspect 162
4.3.1 Incompletive 163
4.3.2 Completive 164

4.3.2.1 Actor voice *nag-* ... 164
4.3.2.2 Actor voice *<imum>* ... 164
4.3.2.3 Actor voice *nang-* ... 165
4.3.2.4 Patient voice ... 165
4.3.2.5 Locative voice ... 166
4.3.2.6 Theme voice *ni-* ... 166
4.3.3 Continuative ... 167
4.3.4 Recent completive *ka-* ... 170
4.3.5 Sequential narrative forms ... 170
4.3.6 Habitual *marag-* ... 171
4.4 Mood ... 173
4.4.1 Infinitive ... 173
4.4.2 Imperative and hortative ... 173
4.4.3 Abilitative *maka-* ... 174
4.4.4 Social *maki-* ... 176
4.4.5 Accidental *ma-* ... 176
4.5 Multiplicative Ca- reduplication ... 178
4.6 Auxiliary verbs ... 179
4.6.1 Fully inflecting ... 179
4.6.1.1 'go' *umangay* ... 179
4.6.1.2 other verbs ... 181
4.6.2 Pseudo Verbs ... 181
4.6.2.1 *kasur* 'want, like' ... 182
4.6.2.2 *madi* 'don't want' ... 184
4.6.2.3 Quoted speech *kon-* ... 185
4.6.2.4 *katandi* 'understand' ... 186
4.6.2.5 *kad-* 'go' ... 188
4.6.2.6 *kom-* 'come' ... 189
4.7 Adverbs ... 189
4.7.1 Adjectives and verbs as adverbs ... 189
4.7.2 Adverbs of time ... 190
4.7.3 Adverbial particles ... 195
4.7.3.1 Softeners/Emphatics ... 197
4.7.3.1.1 la 'just, only' ... 197
4.7.3.1.2 Realization noman ... 197
4.7.3.1.3 Softener dalla ... 198
4.7.3.1.4 Softener agat ... 199
4.7.3.1.5 Softener bas ... 199
4.7.3.2 Adverbial particles of time ... 200
4.7.3.2.1 dan 'already' and variants ... 200
4.7.3.2.2 Future particle nin ... 204
4.7.3.2.3 manon 'again' ... 205
4.7.3.2.4 pala 'still, yet' ... 205
4.7.3.2.5 Contrastive pat 'still, yet' ... 206
4.7.3.3 Adverbial particles of mood ... 206
4.7.3.3.1 Contrastive bi ... 206

4.7.3.3.2 Contrastive man 207
4.7.3.3.3 Hearsay particle kan 208
4.7.3.3.4 Hopefully mina 208
4.7.3.3.5 Question particle dud 209
4.7.3.3.6 Uncertainty waden 210
4.7.3.3.7 Probability baka 210
5 The sentence 211
5.1 Word order 211
5.1.1 Resumptive pronouns/Displacement of NPs 214
5.2 Topicalization and pseudo-cleft constructions 214
5.2.1 Topicalization 214
5.2.2 Pseudo-cleft constructions 215
5.3 Linkers 216
5.4 Existentials 218
5.4.1 Positive extistentials 219
5.4.2 Negative existentials 220
5.5 Negation 221
5.6 Questions 223
5.6.1 Yes/no questions 224
5.6.2 Content questions 224
5.6.2.1 *heya* 'who' 224
5.6.2.2 *anya* 'what' 226
5.6.2.3 *henan* 'where' 226
5.6.2.4 *hadia* 'where' 227
5.6.2.5 *hahe* 'where' 228
5.6.2.6 *hangan* 'how much' 'how many' 228
5.6.2.7 *apay* 'why' 229
5.6.2.8 *panyan* 'how' 229
5.7 Complex sentences 230
5.7.1 Double nominative constructions 230
5.7.2 Coordination 232
5.7.2.1 *im* 'but' 233
5.7.2.2 *o (no)* 'or' 233
5.7.2.3 *sa* 'then' 234
5.7.2.4 'and' coordination 234
5.7.3 Subordination 234
5.7.3.1 Relative clauses 234
5.7.3.2 Conditionals 235
5.7.3.3 Concessive 236
5.7.3.4 Reason 236
5.7.3.5 *ta* complementizer 239
5.7.3.6 Embedded clauses 239
Appendix A: Vocabulary 242
Dupaningan-English vocabulary 244
English-Dupaningan 287
Appendix B: Texts 311

Text 1 314
Text 2-A 338
Text 2-B 348
Appendix C: List of data items 356
WORKS CITED 360

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1 Selected lexical differences by dialect 6
Table 1.2 Selected Ilokano grammatical borrowings in Dupaningan 16
Table 1.3 Dupaningan Agta voice/case relations 34
Table 1.4 Tagalog voice/case relations 37
Table 1.5 Ilokano voice/case relations 38
Table 2.1 Proto-Northern Cordilleran and Dupaningan pronouns 46
Table 2.2 s/h variation in Northeastern Luzon languages 56
Table 2.3 Dupaningan consonant phonemes 58
Table 2.4 Examples of Dupaningan consonants 59
Table 2.5 Dupaningan vowel phonemes 66
Table 3.1 Dupaningan, Tagalog, and Ilokano, and Central Cagayan Agta case 81
Table 3.2 Dupaningan 'derived' roots 106
Table 3.3 ka- prefix 107
Table 3.4 Dupaningan pronouns. 114
Table 3.5 Short-form nominative pronouns 115
Table 3.6 Long-form nominative pronouns 117
Table 3.7 Genitive pronouns 118
Table 3.8 Oblique pronouns 120
Table 3.9 Dupaningan pronouns in combination 122
Table 3.10 Dupaningan deictics 129
Table 3.11 Dupaningan Agta address/reference kinship terms 132
Table 3.12 Verbs and their adjectival counterparts 136
Table 3.13 Adjectives and their nominal roots 140
Table 4.1 Principle Dupaningan voice affixes 149
Table 4.2 Verbs that take both *mag-* and <*um*> with a difference in meaning 152
Table 4.3 Adverbs of time 190
Table 4.4 Dupaningan adverbial particles 196

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABIL	abilitative
ACC	accusative
ACD	accidental
ADJ	adjective
ASRT	assertive
AV	actor voice
Cas	Casiguran (Agta) Dumagat
CAUS	causative
CMPL	completive
CONT	continuative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
DSTR	distributive
DU	dual
EXC	exclusive
EXT	existential
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HBT	habitual
HSY	hearsay
Ilk	Ilokano
INC	inclusive
Kas	Kasiguranin
LFNOM	long-form nominative
LK	linker
LOC	locative
LV	locative voice
LVF	low vowel fronting
MED	medial
MULT	multiple
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
OBL	oblique
ORD	ordinal number
Pah	Pahanan (Palanan Dumagat)
PAn	Proto-Austronesian
Par	Paranan
PERS	personal name marker
PL	plural
PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
PNEL	Proto-Northeastern Luzon
PPh	Proto-Philippine
PROX	proximal
PST	past
PV	patient voice
PWMP	Proto-Western Malayo-Polynesian
Q	question marker
RECCMPL	recent completive
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
SEQ	sequential
SG	singular
SOC	social
SPC	specific
SUPER	superlative
TV	theme voice

GLOSSING CONVENTIONS

In general, the glossing conventions used in this work follow the Leipzig glossing rules (Bickel et al. 2004) and should be familiar to most readers.

- indicates an affix break

= indicates a clitic break

ø indicates a null morpheme, in particular the patient voice suffix which is null in the completive aspect

< > used to enclose infixes. For example, the infix *<in>* 'COMPLETIVE' and the root *gimet* 'do, make' combine as *g<in>imet* 'did, made'. Infixes in Dupaningan are inserted before the first vowel of the root, so when a root is vowel-initial, infixes appear as prefixes. For consistency, however, I continue to gloss them as infixes. Therefore, the infix *<in>* 'COMPLETIVE' and the root *alap* 'get, take' combine as *<in>alap* 'got, took'.

\ As suggested by the Leipzig glossing rules (Bickel et al. 2004: 4), \ is used in the interlinear gloss when "a grammatical property…is signaled by a morphophonological change of the stem (ablaut, mutation, etc.)." For example, Dupaningan has a morphophonological process where the verbal prefix *mang-* coalesces with the first consonant of the root, so that *mang-* and *pangal* 'arrow' combine as *mamangal* 'to shoot an arrow' which would have following glossing:

1. mamangal
   AV\arrow
   'shoot an arrow'

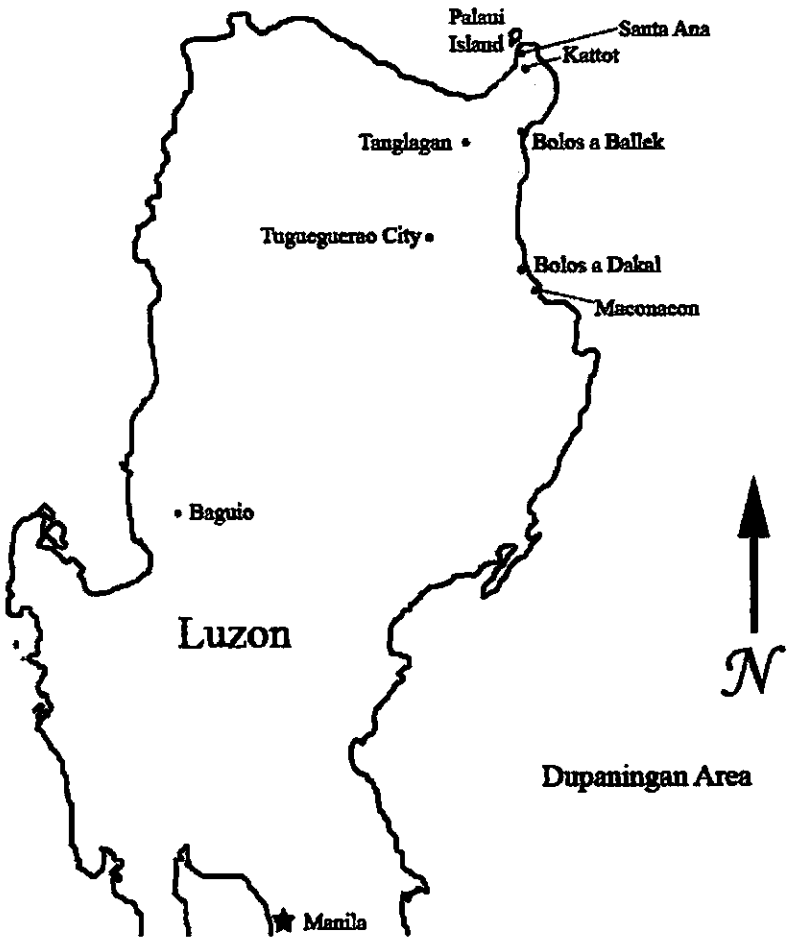
1 Background

Dupaningan Agta is an Austronesian language of the Philippine subgroup spoken in northeastern Luzon, Philippines by approximately 1,400 semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers belonging to the Negrito ethnic minority. The language is endangered, as it is beginning to lose child speakers.

1.1 Language location and situation

Dupaningan Agta is spoken on the northeastern coast of the island of Luzon, from Santa Ana in the north to Maconacon in the south (see map below). In the east, it is bounded by the Pacific coast, and there are no communities west of the Cagayan River. In the westernmost areas, the Dupaningan area overlaps to some extent with the area of speakers of Central Cagayan Agta, known to Dupaningan speakers as Labin Agta (it is a mutually unintelligible language in a different subgroup). Dupaningan is spoken in some thirty-five scattered communities (only the ones mentioned here are shown on the map), both along the Pacific coast (Philippine Sea) and inland, on both sides of the Sierra Madre mountain range. Communities range from one to seventy households in size, where a household usually consists of the nuclear family and possibly a few unmarried, widowed, or orphaned close relatives.

Figure 1.1 Map of Dupaningan Agta area



In 2006, when this work was undertaken, the single largest community of Dupaningan Agta was in Bolos Point (known to the Dupaningan as *Bolos a Ballek* 'Small Bolos', in contrast with Bolos, Maconacon (known to the Dupaningan as *Bolos a Dakal* 'Large Bolos'). An official local government census reported 68 households of Dupaningan Agta at Bolos Point in July 2006. Bolos Point is an isolated community along the Pacific coast and must be accessed by boat from the towns of Maconacon or Santa Ana. Bolos Point has a mix of both Agta and non-Agta, although the two groups tend to self-segregate, with the non-Agta living on the side of the river where the town

itself is located (with two churches—one Agta, one non-Agta, as well as several small stores). Not coincidentally, it is also the most vibrant language community. Not only do children still speak Dupaningan there, but those children retain a depth of vocabulary that most Dupaningan-speaking adults in other communities do not have. The vitality of the community, especially linguistically, owes its existence in no small part to the presence of a language program there implemented by Summer Institute of Linguistics missionaries (SIL, Wycliffe Bible Translators). Although very few Dupaningan Agta in any community regularly attend public schools, the SIL in Bolos Point has taught a handful of Dupaningan to read and write in their own language, and these people in turn have taught much of the rest of the community, so that Bolos Point has the highest literacy rate of any Dupaningan Agta community. Moreover, there is an Dupaningan church in Bolos Point, and services are conducted partially in Dupaningan.

No other community of Dupaningan has more than thirty households, and it was reported to me that there is a tendency for Dupaningan people to gather around SIL missions, but when those missionaries leave for another community, the Dupaningan tend to disperse (SIL missionaries were in Tanglagan before Bolos Point and in Bolos, Maconacon (*Bolos a Dakal*) before that).

The northern-most extent of the Dupaningan Agta language is in the municipality of Santa Ana. There is a small community of Dupaningan in Nangaramuan, Santa Ana, on the northern coast of Luzon, where the language is no longer being learned by children. There is also a community of Negritos calling themselves Agta on Palaui Island, just off the northern coast of Luzon. Although these Agta insist that they are not *Dupaningan* Agta, they have a language variety that is quite similar to Dupaningan. The language is

very endangered in that community, with the youngest speaker some 30 years old. The Agta in Palaui are quite integrated with the majority Ilokano population there, and a number of Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta have recently moved to Palaui to escape death threats from farmers trying to take over their land in their previous location in Santa Ana (Edvelino Pascua, Santa Ana municipal social worker, pers. comm., 2007). Given the prevalence of other languages in the community, the Palaui Agta language variety will almost certainly become extinct in the near future.

1.2 Physical environment

The Dupaningan Agta language spans some 100 miles north to south and some 30 miles east to west. It reaches from the tip of northeastern Luzon in the north to the town of Maconacon in the south. This is a territory dominated by the Sierra Madre mountains, which are 6,000 feet at their highest point in this range. In the east, there is a narrow strip of land between the base of the Sierra Madre and the Pacific Ocean (Philippine Sea) that is never more than two miles wide. In some areas, the mountains come all the way down to the ocean. There are a number of settlements of Dupaningan Agta along rivers in this narrow strip of land, and it is in these coastal locations that Agta are most likely to be living very near non-Agta settlements. There are also a number of settlements of more isolated Dupaningan living closer to the headwaters of these rivers on both watersheds of the Sierra Madre (east and west). Along the western watershed of the Sierra Madre, most Dupaningan settlements are at higher elevations, far from the more significant non-Agta urban centers, but not necessarily distant from smaller non-Agta communities. In the plain between the western foot of the Sierra Madre and the Cagayan River (or more accurately, the road that follows the Cagayan River), there are a few isolated

communities of Dupaningan Agta, but it is in this area that the Dupaningan Agta may be living in settlements near speakers of Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta.

The area populated by speakers of Dupaningan Agta is dominated by second growth forest, punctuated with small clearings, often farms belonging to non-Agta. While speakers continue to hunt using traditional bow and arrow technologies (as well as guns), they report that game is scarcer than in the past. For example, although I was witness to several parties of hunters who had successfully captured wild pigs, no deer were caught while I was present in any Dupaningan Agta camp.

1.3 Dialects

Dupaningan Agta is spread out over some 35 communities with approximately 375 families, and 1,400 speakers. As one might imagine, there is variation among the language varieties of these different communities. Broadly speaking, Dupaningan can be divided into northern and southern dialects, although there is no clear boundary between the two. In terms of vocabulary, there seems to be a dialect chain that is complicated by the fact that Dupaningan individuals move around quite a bit in their lifetimes (See Appendix B-Text 1 for the autobiography of one man). For simplicity, I identify two dialects: southern and northern, with differences in vocabulary and phonology. The extent of grammatical difference, if any, is unknown at this time. A table of selected lexical differences is given below.

Table 1.1 Selected lexical differences by dialect

Northern Dupaningan	Southern Dupaningan	English
pamalak	*aldew*	day
pawiran	*annipig*	scorpion
dungas	*dong* [do:ŋ]	nose
halidong	*banoy*	umbrella
baringaw	*langaw*	housefly
mag-ayag	*mag-dulaw*	to shout
ma-dideg	*ma-sulu*	red
tangngad	*leg* [le:g]	neck
alab	*guwalab*[1]	knee
baybay (coastal northern varieties only)	*basad* (southern and inland varieties)	sand

Phonologically, the northern and southern dialects can be distinguished by the merger of *r and *h. Northern dialects have both /r/ and /h/, whereas southern dialects have only /h/ (e.g., northern *aridid* vs. southern *ahidid* 'winter', but *hida* 'main course' in both). The merger of *r and *h seems to be an areal feature among Negrito languages of northeastern Luzon, and is also found in Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta (Oates and Oates 1958), Pahanan Agta (aka Palanan Dumagat), Casiguran (Dumagat) Agta, and other regional varieties of Agta. It should be considered an areal feature of Negrito languages spoken in northeastern Luzon rather than a shared historical innovation, as Central Cagayan Agta is not a member of the same subgroup as the other languages. It is interesting that among Negrito language varieties, northern Dupaningan seems to be the only one not affected.

[1] This is *walab* in dialects intermediate between the most southern and most northern extents of the language.

1.4 Language name

The language upon which this dissertation is based has been variously called Dupaninan Agta (Gordon 2005), East Cagayan Negrito (due to its location in Cagayan province in the Cagayan Valley, McFarland 1980) Eastern Cagayan Dumagat[2] (Reid 1989), Eastern Cagayan Agta (Nickell 1985), and Dupaningan Agta. I use the latter term here because it is the most common term that speakers of the language use self-referentially. Some speakers also call themselves Dupaninan (with a medial alveolar nasal), but the version with the velar nasal (i.e., Dupaningan) seemed to be more common. The name comes from the Dupaningan term *dupaneng* which means 'opposite side of the mountain, adjacent river valley' plus the locative nominalizing suffix *-an*, so that *Dupaningan* (with a regular change of /e/ to /i/ when the syllable becomes open; see section 2.2.2.4) means 'place on the opposite side of the mountain; place in an adjacent river valley'. In this dissertation, I will use Dupaningan to refer to that group and Agta alone to refer to the general group of Negritos calling themselves Agta. Although in the literature on northern Philippine languages generally, the unqualified term 'Agta' generally refers to Central Cagayan Agta (see e.g., Healey 1960; McFarland 1980; Reid 1989; Tharp 1974; Walton 1979), I find this usage confusing and have attempted to use *Dupaningan* here to disambiguate.

The term Agta is used by at least twelve different language groups in northern Luzon, all of them Negritos. Throughout the Philippines, many Negrito groups have similar names for themselves: Agta, Arta, Alta, Atta, Aeta (Ayta), Ati etc. Blust (1972)

[2] Dumagat is a term many non-Negritos use for Negritos, although the Umiray Dumaget do use this name for themselves.

reconstructs Proto-Austronesian *qa(R)(CtT)a 'outsiders, alien people[3]' for this term in contrast with *Cau 'real people; us; our own kind'. These words simply mean 'person' or 'Negrito person' in the modern Negrito languages (see e.g., Vanoverbergh 1937: 98-103). Although some authors find it hard to believe that the Agta, Arta, Alta, Atta, Aeta (Ayta), Ati etc. would all have names for themselves that originally meant 'outsider, alien person', Blust notes that some non-Negrito languages in eastern Indonesian also have a reflex of this form which means simply 'person'. Looking exclusively at the Philippine data, however, various authors have reconstructed other meanings for Proto-Philippine. Charles (1973) reconstructs Proto-Philippine *(øq)aRta 'Negrito' and Zorc (n.d.), cited in Blust (1972), reconstructs PPh*qaRta[ ] 'Negrito, black person'. Whatever the origin of this word, it is the most neutral term today to refer to the Dupaningan Agta and many other Negrito languages of the Philippines.

1.5 Place in family tree

Dupaningan Agta belongs to a subgroup of Northern Philippine languages that includes Pahanan Agta (aka Palanan Dumagat), Paranan, Casiguran Agta (aka Casiguran Dumagat), Kasiguranin, and several intermediate language varieties spoken by groups of Negritos on the Pacific coast of Luzon and the adjacent inland areas on both sides of the Sierra Madre mountains as far south as Aurora Province. Of these languages, only Paranan and Kasiguranin are spoken by non-Negritos. All the other groups refer to themselves as Agta.

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[3] Since this reconstruction has no reflexes among Formosan languages, he later reassigned this reconstruction to the PMP level, and since *C, *T, and *t are only distinguished at the level of PAn, the reconstruction for PMP is *qa(R)ta (Blust 1987).

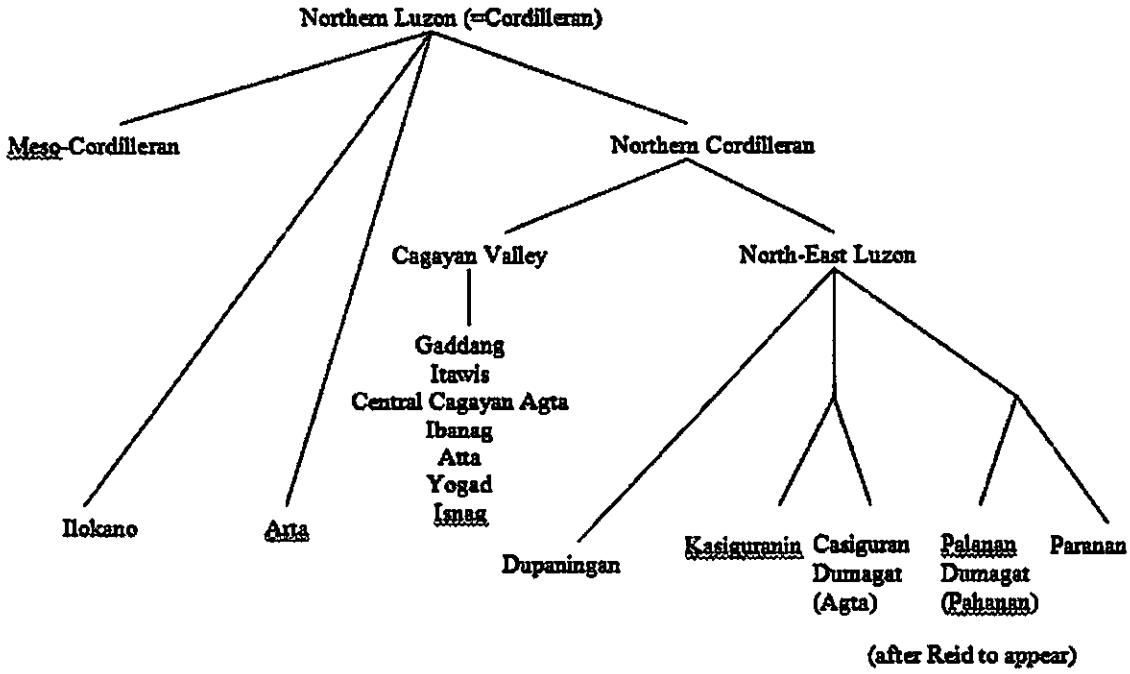
It seems likely that these languages underwent significant periods of separate development, as evidenced by their distinct grammatical subsets (pronouns, case markers, deictics, etc). Today, however, although many speakers identify with particular language groups (i.e., as Dupaningan or Pahanan), the vocabularies of these languages are actually in a chain relationship, with each town differing only slightly from ones on either side. So, in crossing the border between the area where "Dupaningan" is spoken and the area where "Pahanan" Agta is spoken, the vocabulary will not change significantly, but the grammatical subsets will. A more detailed dialect survey of the northeast coast of Luzon (one which includes not only vocabulary but also grammar) is needed to confirm these preliminary hypotheses, which are based on grammar and vocabulary surveys of single locations of each language, a more extensive survey of the lexical variation in dialects of Dupaningan, and my impressionistic observations in traveling through these areas.

If my hypotheses are correct, however, they paint a picture of languages once relatively isolated from each other (i.e., not in everyday contact, although they certainly had trading relationships), which have subsequently expanded geographically to the point where they share common boundaries. Today, as evidenced by the areal feature of *r → h, these languages are borrowing from each other in a way reminiscent of a linguistic area. This bears comparison with a situation pointed out by George Grace (1996) for New Caledonia. Grace notes that it is possible for linguistic area and language family to be one and the same and that such a situation complicates the task of reconstruction. In New Caledonia, he notes, the locus of change is not the language, per se, but the village, and a particular village is likely to be multilingual, so that changes affect the entire linguistic repertoire of the village. The language communities in northeastern Luzon are

certainly multilingual (aside from speaking trade languages, many speakers are familiar with the most geographically proximal language in the family), but not to the extent described by Grace for New Caledonia. The issue of lexical diffusion and the blurring of language boundaries, however, should be kept in mind when investigating possible subgrouping relationships.

The most popular current hypothesis about the genetic affiliations of this subgroup is that it is coordinate with a subgroup containing most languages spoken in the inland Cagayan Valley. Reid's (to appear) version of this view is given below.

Figure 1.2 Northern Luzon language family



(after Reid to appear)

Although there are a number of lexical innovations and some phonological innovations that distinguish the North-East Luzon subgroup, the evidence for making this subgroup coordinate with the other Northern Cordilleran languages is less convincing and

seems to be based primarily on a few very common sound changes (e.g., *R > g). More work remains on determining where exactly the North-East Luzon subgroup of languages belongs within Cordilleran or even Northern Philippines.

1.6 Dupaningan culture

Compared to the paucity of linguistic material available on Dupaningan (see section 1.11 below), the Dupaningan and the other closely related Agta groups of northeast Luzon have been relatively well documented ethnographically (see Headland and Griffin 2002 for a comprehensive bibliography). The following section, then, is intended as a very brief introduction to put the language in its cultural context.

The Dupaningan Agta have often been called hunter-gatherers, but Bion Griffin (1981) suggests that a more appropriate term would be *foragers* because "it diminishes an improper emphasis on the singularity of hunting, and neglects the diversity always present" (Griffin 1981: 34), noting that the Dupaningan "follow a diversified, opportunistic strategy for getting energy resources and other desired goods" (32). Earlier authors, however, do suggest that hunting is the most dominant food-gathering activity among the Dupaningan Agta, and Agnes Estioko-Griffin (1985) notes that in 1980-81, hunting occupied over 85% of the time spent by men in subsistence activities during the rainy season. Today, although hunting is still a highly valued source of protein, it is becoming rarer, and there are far fewer arrow types than in the past. Dupaningan Agta still do hunt, however, and the most common game is wild pig (Dupaningan *laman*). They also hunt deer (Dupaningan *ogsa*), monkey (Dupaningan *burog*), civet cat

(Dupaningan *madipa* and *sarimaw*[4]), monitor lizard (Dupaningan *bitikaw*, *sigante*, *silay*), and various species of bird.

The most common source of protein, however, is fish. Dupaningan Agta eat fish whenever they get the chance. For those fishing in rivers, that means that they fish almost every day that it does not rain (rain causes the river to become murky so the Dupaningan Agta cannot see the fish). The most common method of fishing is to spot fish underwater with use of homemade goggles (Dupaningan *islip*) and to use a thin metal rod with a large rubber band to spear the fish (this kind of fishing is known as *mag-barot* in Dupaningan). In the 1980-81 survey by Estioko-Griffin (1985), she found that fishing was the second most common subsistence activity among the Dupaningan Agta in each season (with hunting the most important in the rainy season and swidden agriculture the most important in the dry season), and Griffin (1981: 29) notes that "the streams and rivers provide the regular and important daily protein. Riverine fish rank with pig and deer in importance."

Another important subsistence activity for the Dupaningan Agta is swidden farming (also known as slash and burn agriculture, where most vegetation is removed and burned so that the ashes may fertilize the soil). The most common crop is dry rice, and a dry rice field may supply the Dupaningan Agta with rice for up to six months of the year. The rest of the year, they obtain rice by trading fish, forest products, or meat.

Individuals gather and eat forest products, such as bitter melon (Dupaningan *apapet*), guava (Dupaningan *biyabas*), honey (Dupaningan *habu*) and various kinds of yams (Dupaningan *amakay*, *bey*, *ilos*, *mapet*, *ubi*, *putalo*). The gathering of rattan (Dupaningan

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[4] While all language consultants agree that only one species of civet cat can be eaten, informants disagree as to whether the edible species is *madipa* or *sarimaw*.

lati) for sale is perhaps the most common occupation for Dupaningan Agta because the government prohibits non-Agta from gathering rattan so Agta rattan sellers have a monopoly in the trade. Another common item that the Dupaningan Agta gather for sale is bird nests (Dupaningan *rabon*) that eventually make their way into expensive Chinese soups that are considered a delicacy. Other gathered items may be consumed or sold on a small scale.

Most Dupaningan Agta have very little money, and virtually none attend public schools. Filipinos belonging to the racial and ethnic majority discriminate against Agta on the bases of race, culture, and poverty. Agta have difficulties obtaining medical care, affording the fees at "free" public schools, and retaining the rights to their traditional lands. Recently, the Dupaningan Agta in the town of Santa Ana, with the help of a local social worker, have submitted a claim for the rights to their land. Language, particularly the existence of local place names in Dupaningan, is important in securing this claim.

Dupaningan people tend to live in small households, with only the nuclear family and any widowed or orphaned relatives. It is not uncommon for households, particularly those couples with no children, to alternate their residences among locations where their relatives live. Older children (over the age of about twelve) have the freedom to live with more distant relatives, and they often do so to find more marriage partners in another community because those in their community are likely to be close relatives or in-laws.

It is interesting to note that Dupaningan individuals may have many names. They will be most commonly called by their nickname, but they also have an 'official' name, used for government censuses and other official purposes, and this 'official' name is usually of English or Spanish origin. Furthermore, there are prohibitions on naming

between certain in-laws. That is, individuals are prohibited from using the names of certain in-laws, and they often have alternative names for each other. So, while the primary consultant for this dissertation has the nickname *Ukong* and official name *Ronald*, his sister-in-law calls him *Hevyo* when she must refer to him by name.

1.7 Language endangerment

Of the roughly thirty-five communities where Dupaningan Agta people live, the language is no longer learned by children in five. In communities where the Dupaningan Agta are more integrated with majority Ilokano speakers, children are more likely to speak Ilokano. In communities that are more isolated, children are more likely to speak Dupaningan. Even in places where children know Dupaningan, those children often reply in Ilokano when spoken to in Dupaningan. Parents do not generally perceive this as a threat to the vitality of the language.

Every Dupaningan Agta speaker is completely bilingual in Ilokano, which is the lingua franca of the northern Philippines, and Ilokano borrowed vocabulary and even structures are pervasive in the speech of virtually all speakers. Moreover, most individuals do not actually speak Dupaningan for extended periods of time, switching freely back and forth between Ilokanoized Dupaningan and Ilokano. Among younger individuals, especially children, Ilokano loans are so widespread that within the next generation or so, speaking 'Dupaningan' will consist of using only a few hundred of the most common Dupaningan words with Dupaningan case markers and pronouns. Such a situation does not seem stable, and without drastic change, the Dupaningan Agta language will die out within the next few generations.

Interestingly, the Dupaningan words that are likely to survive over the next few generations are not those on any Swadesh list of basic vocabulary. Although the general situation is for the speaking of Dupaningan to be taken over with Ilokano words, there are a handful of Dupaningan words that speakers will often use in the context of an Ilokano sentence (and thus these words seem likely to survive, at least in the near future), namely, *ogden* 'non-Agta person', *agom* 'companion', *laman* 'wild pig', and *masaniki* 'shy, embarassed'.

1.8 Borrowing

There are many words and constructions borrowed from Ilokano in all domains of the language. The most obvious are vocabulary items, and these range from the expected loans for concepts not indigenous to the culture (e.g., *ili* 'urban settlement', *g<um>atang* 'to buy' *tulbik* 'key') to those in the most basic domains of vocabulary (I have heard Dupaningan speakers use the Ilokano words *mapan* 'to go' and *mangan* 'to eat' in the context of an otherwise Dupaningan sentence).

Dupaningan has also borrowed structure from Ilokano, and although this is most evident in younger speakers, no speakers of any age speak a version of Dupaningan that is free from Ilokano structural influence. Some examples of Ilokano grammatical borrowings are listed in Table 1.2 below.

Table 1.2 Selected Ilokano grammatical borrowings in Dupaningan

Ilokano	original Dupaningan	Function
-am	*-an=mo [-ammo]*	locative focus suffix plus 2nd person singular genitive enclitic pronoun (see section 2.2.5.3)
na-	*ma-*	adjectival prefix (see section 3.10.3)
ag-	*mag-*	actor focus prefix (see section 4.2.1.1)
<imm>	*<in><um>*	completive plus actor focus infix (see section 4.3.2.2)
CVC-reduplication	CV-, CVCV-reduplication, ø	Various: plurality (see section 3.5.1), comparative (section 3.10.7), continuative (section 4.3.3), recent completive (section 4.3.4), habitual (section 4.3.6)

Although Dupaningan speakers generally have a sense of which *words* are borrowed from Ilokano, borrowed structures are rarely perceived as such, and there seems to be an implicit assumption among the majority of speakers that the grammars are identical.

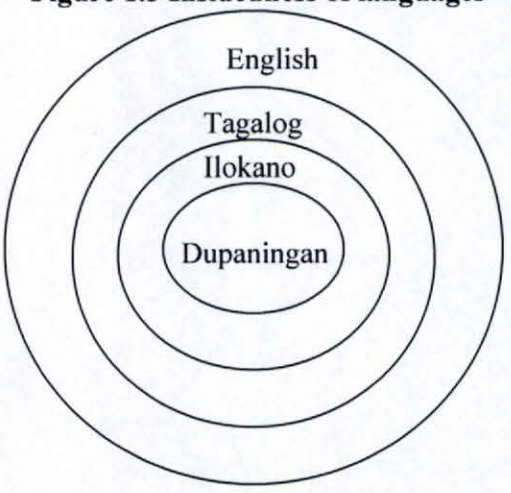
Although there are some Spanish words and constructions in Dupaningan that do not exist in Ilokano, there is very little evidence that Dupaningan Agta individuals had direct contact with the Spanish, and Spanish forms that are not found in Ilokano are likely early borrowings that have been subsequently lost in Ilokano. For example, the Dupaningan comparative uses the Spanish loan *mas* 'more' (see section 3.10.7), while the Ilokano comparative is formed with reduplication. The Ilokano dictionary (Rubino 2000), however, not only cites *mas*, but further notes "some of the Spanish uses are becoming archaic".

English loans in Dupaningan also likely have a similar origin, entering Dupaningan via Ilokano, since only a handful of Dupaningan individuals have any significant knowledge of the English language. Examples of Dupaningan forms ultimately from English are *mag-lait* 'use a flashlight for catching fish at night', *wering* 'wire', and *leter* 'lighter'.

1.9 Conceptions of language

One situation that may contribute to language shift is a very fluid notion of the boundaries between languages. While it is possible to talk with an Dupaningan person about the Dupaningan language, the Ilokano language, the Tagalog language, etc., speakers do not often know to which language a particular word may belong. They are more likely to know how 'inside' (Ilokano *uneg* 'inside' Dupaningan *madisalad* 'inside; deep, of a hole', Tagalog *malalim* 'deep') a particular word is, with inside words more likely to be Dupaningan and outside words more likely to be Ilokano. The languages in the Dupaningan environment are ranked according to their insided-ness, with Dupaningan being the most inside, and English being the least inside, as shown in Figure 1.3.

Figure 1.3 Insidedness of languages



How 'inside' a word is does not depend only on what language it is, however. Two words in one language may have different degrees of insided-ness. For example, when asked to translate the Ilokano word *tsinelas* 'sandals' into Dupaningan, speakers had a hard time. Finally, someone suggested *ismagel* as an appropriate translation. *Ismagel*

'sandals', however, is still an Ilokano word; it is simply a more 'inside' word than *tsinelas* because *ismagel* is less commonly known and perceived to be more Ilokano than the Spanish loan *tsinelas*[5]. The 'inside' word, in this case, is one that is less commonly known. It corresponds roughly to the idea of a 'big word' or a 'hard word' in English that may not be known by all speakers. In the case of 'sandals', the relative 'insidedness' of the two words was known: *ismagel* is more inside than *tsinelas*, but they were incorrectly assigned to be Dupaningan and Ilokano words, respectively, because Dupaningan words are considered more 'inside' than Ilokano words.

On another occasion, when asked to give the word for 'blind', an Dupaningan speaker cited the Dupaningan as *arap* and the Ilokano as *bulag*. Originally, however, *bulag* is Tagalog, whereas *arap* is Ilokano. So, the speaker knew the relative insidedness of each word but not to which language each belonged. An older speaker of Ilokano confirmed that *arap* is indeed Ilokano but that younger Ilokano speakers now only know *bulag*. For Ilokano speakers, too, then, *arap* is more inside than *bulag*. Indeed, what has happened in this instance (and many others) is that the languages are shifting. So, while the Dupaningan lose their original word for 'blind', they adopt the Ilokano one. Ilokano speakers lose their original word for 'blind', adopting the Tagalog.

This mirrors the language shift situation as a whole. Dupaningan Agta is an endangered language likely to be lost in the next few generations as speakers use more and more Ilokano. In small town centers, such as Santa Ana, Ilokano speakers are giving up their language in favor of Tagalog, and in the large cities (such as Manila), Tagalog

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[5] *Ismagel*, however, is probably ultimately a loan from English 'smuggle' because "the first rubber slippers sold were smuggled" (Wolff 1972: 398), but it was almost certainly borrowed at an earlier time that *tsinelas*, which must have been borrowed from Tagalog rather recently, although the Tagalog word was borrowed from Spanish at an earlier date.

speakers are giving up their language in favor of English. The Philippine language situation today is a game of musical chairs. The music is about to run out soon, and there is no chair for the Dupaningan Agta language.

1.10 Austronesian/Negrito origins

The Negritos[6] are scattered groups of people that have dark skin, curly hair, and are short in stature. Such Negrito groups are found in the Philippines, the Andaman Islands, and the Malay Peninsula, and are a minority as compared to the taller, Asian-looking majorities. It is widely assumed that Negritos have been present in the Philippines longer than the non-Negrito populations (see e.g., Bellwood 1997). The first flaked stone tools evidencing human habitation in the Philippines date to approximately 40,000 years ago (Bellwood 1985), and Omoto (1981) notes that the genetic differentiation among the Negritos of the Philippines "has been estimated at roughly 10,000-30,000 years". Thus, Negritos have likely been in the Philippines for at least 10,000 years and possibly much longer. The majority non-Negrito Filipinos, in contrast, are associated with rice agriculture and archaeological assemblages (including pottery, which was not present in the earlier assemblages) that have been dated to after 2500 B.C. (see e.g. Mijares 2006). These have been widely associated with the migration of Austronesian-speaking peoples out of Taiwan at roughly the same time (see e.g., Bellwood 1997: 119). Therefore, the Negritos must have spoken non-Austronesian languages at the time of Austronesian settlement of the Philippines about 4,500 years ago. Today, however, all Philippine

[6] The term *Negrito*, derived from Spanish *negro* 'black' and the diminutive suffix *-ito*, is (amazingly!) not considered pejorative. The term is used primarily in western academic literature, although Lobel (2007) prefers the term 'black Filipinos'.

Negrito groups speak Austronesian languages. What happened to the languages that the Negritos presumably spoke before switching to Austronesian languages?

Reid (1994b) has sought to find lexical items that are uniquely shared among Negrito languages. He claims that the original Negrito languages creolized with Austronesian languages at a very early date and underwent a subsequent period of decreolization. He notes that a number of Negrito languages have high percentages of unique vocabulary, which he claims is a result of Negrito language substratum (Reid 1994b). A high percentage of unique vocabulary items, however, does not necessarily imply substratum influence; it could be indicative of a long period of isolated development, a fact Reid acknowledges. Nevertheless, he claims that evidence of the original Negrito languages can be found in a lexical substratum, largely in the domains of flora and fauna, as well as 'secret' vocabulary. He finds a number of lexical items shared uniquely among Negrito languages of Luzon. For example, he reconstructs *lati 'rattan' for an unnamed proto-language, presumably proto-Luzon-Negrito, on the basis of cognates in eight different Negrito languages from four different groups. The majority of his reconstructions (all but seven), however, are shared between only two Negrito groups, although often by more than one closely related language variety in each group. Reid further claims that lexical items shared by a number of Negrito languages and only a small number of non-Negrito languages are also indicative of a creole origin for these languages, assuming that these words were part of a pre-creole pidgin that spread through Negrito groups, thus preserving items that have been lost in all non-Negrito languages. Problematically, however, this implies a single origin for all the Negrito languages in a particular region, such as all the Negrito languages of northern Luzon (in the form of a single pidgin). This

is not supported by the evidence that Negrito languages often subgroup with non-Negrito languages apart from other Negrito languages.

Vanoverbergh claimed that Negrito "original speech is irretrievably lost, or, at least, has become a dead language" (1937: 10). Nevertheless, he held out hope that something of the original Negrito languages can be gleaned from prayers that are chanted in a language that modern Negrito people no longer understand, but which he believed may be retained from earlier Negrito languages (1925). Headland (1975b) also notes the existence of such chants and maintains that they may be examples of an ancient language passed on by priests through the years. There are songs in Dupaningan that have vocabulary not commonly known to most speakers, but the grammar of these songs is distinctly Austronesian, with prototypically Austronesian prefixes like *mag-* abounding[7]. Further, in my experience, although most Dupaningan did not understand these songs, the singer was always able to translate the song, and others were often able to identify certain words not in common Dupaningan vocabulary. It may be the case, however, that these Dupaningan songs are not the 'chants' and 'prayers' to which Vanoverbergh and Headland refer, and the latter are lost in Dupaningan.

Finally, Vanoverbergh (1937: 13) claimed that the relatively larger number of vowels in Negrito languages as compared with non-Negrito languages may stem from imperfect learning by second language speakers of Negrito languages, preserved through the years. He went on to discuss Casiguran Agta (Dumagat), which he cited as having ten vowels (1937: 13), although later authors claim it has eight phonemic vowels (Headland and Wolfenden 1967)—still the most of any Philippine language. Reid

[7] I was able to record two such songs and they are archived at the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures, as LR1-041806-05.wav and LR1-111606-A.wav.

(1994b: 49) also mentions that the large number of vowels in Casiguran Agta may be evidence of substrate influence. This is a problematic explanation for the Casiguran Agta vowel situation, given the detailed explanation in Headland and Healey (1974) of the recent historical development of this vowel system from a more typical Philippine system with four vowels.

It is clear, however, that Negrito languages subgroup with nearby non-Negrito Austronesian languages. Based on my own fieldwork and Headland (1975a), we can posit a Northeast Luzon subgroup of the Northern Cordilleran languages that includes both Negrito and non-Negrito languages. Within this group, Paranan (non-Negrito) is mutually intelligible with Pahanan Agta (aka Palanan Dumagat), with speakers of both varieties considering them a single language. Similarly, Atta (a Northern Cordilleran Negrito language) is reported to be mutually intelligible with Ibanag (a non-Negrito language), and Reid (1987) cites the two varieties as sharing 91% cognates. Although all Philippine Negrito groups seem to have their own speech varieties (Lobel 2007), these varieties are not necessarily very different from surrounding Austronesian languages. Even Negrito languages that are quite different from their neighbors, for example Inati, a Negrito language spoken on the island of Panay in the Central Philippines (Pennoyer 1986-1987), are obviously Austronesian and belong to the Philippine subgroup.

As mentioned above, Reid (1994b) assumes a creole origin for Negrito languages on the basis of uniquely shared vocabulary. If the Negrito languages were indeed creoles, then Negritos and Austronesians must have been living together in very close contact, perhaps with the Negritos acting as long-term laborers on the Austronesian rice farms. Reid suggests that this relationship was advantageous to the Negritos because the tropical

rainforest does not provide adequate sources for carbohydrates, and Negritos fill this dietary deficiency with rice. He goes on to suggest that "Negrito and non-Negrito must have lived together in their villages, worked together and played together. The children of the community would have grown up speaking the same language, regardless of what their parents spoke at home, and after a couple of generations, it was the Austronesian language that prevailed" (Reid 1994a: 471). While Reid justifies this scenario by pointing out the close relationships between Negritos and Austronesians within the historical period, he fails to mention that examples of such groups living and working together in a single village are very rare. The fact that there remains a distinction between Negrito and Austronesian physical types further suggests that the groups have maintained their separateness for thousands of years. Nevertheless, this does raise the question of how and why Negrito peoples switched to speaking Austronesian languages.

While Reid (1987) suggests that the shift from Negrito to Austronesian languages must have been an abrupt one, it should be noted that the present facts can also be accounted for by a more gradual model of language shift. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) propose a model of language contact with the following stages: (1) a period of 'casual contact' where the less dominant language borrows only vocabulary, (2) a period of intensive contact, with more lexical and some structural borrowing, especially in the areas of phonology and syntax, and (3) a period of overwhelming long-term cultural pressure from the dominant group inducing massive grammatical replacement. This seems to be exactly the situation with Dupaningan Agta and Ilokano today, and such a gradual shift could be the cause of the original shift from Negrito languages to Austronesian ones. Reid (1987) considers and rejects such a hypothesis on the basis of

the numerous Negrito languages that retain very conservative features, suggesting that the switch must have taken place at a very early date and was thus probably not gradual. However, Blust (2005) proposes that Proto-Philippines is the result of a massive leveling of Philippine languages at least 1,000 years after the initial Austronesian settlement of the Philippines. Thus, the family tree we can draw today for Philippine languages does not reflect the first millennium of Austronesian/Negrito contact. Although Blust (2005) assumes there was little or no Austronesian/Negrito contact in that early period, it is not difficult to imagine that a gradual switch from Negrito to Austronesian languages took place during that millennium. There was almost certainly linguistic and cultural mixing taking place. It is likely that the switch from PMP *qa(R)ta 'outsider, enemy person' > PPh 'person; Negrito person' took place during this millennium.

It appears then, that Negrito groups made a complete switch from speaking original Negrito languages to speaking Austronesian ones by the time of the leveling of Philippine languages, approximately 4,000 years ago. Languages spoken by Negrito groups belong both to the highest order subgroups, suggesting very long periods of isolated development (as Inati), and to very low-level subgroups, suggesting intensive contact with non-Negrito peoples in the relatively recent past (as Ibanag and Atta). The nature of the earliest contacts between Negritos and Austronesians must have been quite intense in order to cause language shift (or creolization), and it may have even been the powerful Proto-Philippines speakers who induced such a shift. If this group was strong enough to convert all the non-Negrito groups to their language, then they probably were able to do the same with Negrito groups.

The evidence presented thus far for the creole origins of Negrito languages is far from convincing. If Negritos were in the Philippines at least 7,000 years before the Austronesians arrived, they almost certainly spoke a wide variety of languages. Even if these languages were all related to one another, which is by no means certain, their similarities have been obscured by a further 5,000 years of separation and massive lexical and grammatical replacement. It may be the case, as Baumgartner (1975: 284) concludes, that "there is only a very thin chance that any remnants for the original Negrito tongue(s)...will yet be found. Nevertheless, Fr. Rahmann [a mid-20th century researcher] for one is not ready to give up all hope and he would like to encourage competent linguists to continue the search."

1.11 Previous work on Dupaningan

Although there exists a fair amount of anthropological literature about Dupaningan culture, published linguistic documentation is limited to a single article in which the author uses Dupaningan data to promote a short-lived linguistic framework (Nickell 1985). While the Summer Institute of Linguistics office in Manila has a short book of texts, two papers on phonology, five instructional primers, and eight religious translations in Dupaningan (Johnson et al. 2003), and there is a very rough grammatical sketch available at the SIL field office in Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, Philippines (Nickell et al. 1997), none of these materials is available outside of the Philippines. There is also a substantial (238 page) unpublished dictionary (Nickell and Nickell 1987) that is not widely available.

1.12 Methodology

The data for this grammatical description was collected from March through November, 2006, during which time I would spend approximately one week each month in elicitation. The elicited data was collected primarily from a single speaker of Dupaningan Agta–Ronald "Ukong" Agcaoili is a male who was about 36 years of age in 2006, although he, as many Dupaningan Agta, is not certain of his exact age. Agcaoili had been engaged in some translation of religious hymns before his employment with me as a language consultant. He is not literate, and the initial language of communication between Agcaoili and me was Ilokano, in which I was only moderately fluent at the beginning of the fieldwork. Thus, some error has been introduced into the data because of imperfect translations. All the elicited data, however, was rechecked for grammaticality with a second speaker of Dupaningan. The unelicited data comes from a variety of speakers from different Dupaningan dialect areas.

The primary field site for this research, and the home of Mr. Agcaoili, is a small Dupaningan Agta camp called Kattot (see Figure 1.1above), in the *barangay* (community division) of Santa Clara, the town of Santa Ana, in Cagayan Province, Philippines. It is situated on the Palaweg River (known as Pasaweg in Ilokano), which residents use for bathing and washing most of the year, though it may have very little water at the height of the dry season. The camp is situated in a second growth forest, although there are quite a number of patches that have been cleared by both Ilokano and Dupaningan Agta farmers. Kattot is a twenty minute walk from the nearest Ilokano settlement, the barangay of Santa Clara, which has an elementary school, a church and several tiny

stores. The barangay of Santa Clara is a thirty minute "tricycle"[8] ride from the town center of Santa Ana, which has two high schools, two hospitals, a sizable market, and a major international port, but got its first paved road and telephone service in the mid-1990s. A casino was opened in Santa Ana at the end of 2006 in the hopes of attracting international visitors, so the town of Santa Ana and the surrounding communities are rapidly becoming less remote. The Dupaningan travel to the barangay of Santa Clara almost daily to purchase food and other necessities and might travel to the town of Santa Ana once a month or less to buy more expensive items, such as medicine or clothing. The community of Kattot is popular among Dupaningan during the dry season, and there were as many as fifteen households living there at those times. In the rainy season, however, Kattot can become cut off from the barangay of Santa Clara by the Palaweg River, and there were times during the rainy season of 2006 that Mr. Agcaoili's family was the only household in Kattot. Children in Kattot still speak Dupaningan, although they seem to favor Ilokano.

Much of the grammatical information in this volume was elicited directly through translation of Ilokano sentences, but there is also a fair amount of material that comes from textual sources, which were transcribed with Agcaoili's help. Specifically, I collected 44 sets of elicited sentences, all of which were elicited both from Mr. Agcaoili and from at least one other speaker of Dupaningan, 18 sets of word lists from various communities and speakers, 19 stories, 4 songs, and whatever naturalistic data I could gather from living part-time in the community as a semi-fluent speaker of the language.

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[8] In the Philippines, the term *tricycle* is used to refer to a motorcycle that has been modified to include a sidecar or a large enclosed rear car for passengers. *Tricycles* in the Philippines are generally privately owned vehicles that serve as public transportation and one can rent the whole *tricycle* or pay a standard fare to share the tricycle with others.

Most of the stories and elicitation sessions were audio recorded, and those audio recordings, along with field notes and photographs, are archived and available at the Pacific and Regional Archive for Digital Sources in Endangered Cultures (PARADISEC) in Australia (see Robinson (2006) for more information on how these data were archived directly from the field). A list of the items available from the archive is presented as Appendix C. Two of the stories are presented in Appendix B.

The grammar described here represents primarily the grammar of a single speaker (Mr. Agcaoili) because I wanted to avoid the difficulty of dealing with dialectal and idiolectal variation in this first work on Dupaningan grammar. I have, however, made an effort to note where Agcaoili's speech differs from that of others. The most significant differences are in the area of borrowed Ilokano structures. Agcaoili, in presenting Dupaningan Agta to me as a linguist, has attempted to present the language as more free of Ilokano influence than is actually the case. This is especially true of the direct elicitations; more Ilokano influence can be seen in the spontaneous textual material. Agcaoili's linguistic purism is especially noticeable in the area of vocabulary, where he is reluctant to accept as "Dupaningan" any form that has a transparent cognate in Ilokano, excluding these forms as loans even when there is good historical evidence that they are probably directly inherited. I have attempted to include those words in the dictionary (Appendix A) to the extent possible, primarily by picking up words heard outside the context of explicit linguistic elicitation.

1.13 What's in this dissertation

This dissertation is an overview of the basic grammar of Dupaningan Agta. I have tried to write it in such a way that it is accessible to any trained linguist, whether versed

in Philippine languages or not. Chapter two examines the phonology of the language, both historical and synchronic. It outlines the most salient phonological changes from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and shows the reflexes in modern Dupaningan. This chapter also includes a detailed phonological analysis, which begins by discussing the phonemes of the language, then addresses various phonological rules. Chapter three treats the Dupaningan noun phrase, discussing case markers, nominalization, pronouns, and adjectives. Chapter four is an overview of the verb phrase, and treats the topics of focus, aspect, and adverbs, including the enclitic adverbial particles. Chapter five addresses other syntactic issues of the Dupaningan sentence, dealing with word order, existential constructions, question formation, and clause combining. There are three appendices to this dissertation: the first, Appendix A, is a short dictionary of Dupaningan vocabulary; the second, Appendix B, is a collection of selected texts in Dupaningan; and the third, Appendix C, is a list of the items of primary data upon which this dissertation is based and which are archived at PARADISEC.

1.14 Framework

Although the aims of this dissertation are purely descriptive, it is impossible to completely avoid theoretical discussions, and I have chosen an inherent theoretical stance simply by virtue of the vocabulary I use. I will therefore aim to outline my theoretical position in the following pages. Since more ink has been spilled over analyses of the verbal systems of Philippine languages than over any other aspect of their grammars, I will confine this discussion to that domain.

Many authors have noted similarities in the verbal systems of the languages of the Philippines and most of the aboriginal languages of Taiwan, in addition to some

languages of Sabah, Sarawak, northern Sulawesi, Malagasy (Madagascar), and Chamorro (Guam). Because these verbal systems are nearly ubiquitous in the Philippines, they have often been termed *Philippine-type*. While I believe that linguists should exercise caution when assuming that all these languages have the same types of verbal system, there is value in recognizing the similarities, and I will thus also use the term *Philippine-type* language where appropriate.

A brief glance through this grammatical description will show that I use the terms *voice* and *case* throughout to describe the verbal system and the terms *nominative*, *genitive*, and *oblique* to describe the particular case relations. Voice and case are interrelated but separate phenomena. Voice is marked on the verb, whereas case is marked on the noun phrase. A change in the voice of the verb means that the various case relations will be mapped onto different thematic roles. This is as true for Philippine-type languages as it is for English. In English, for example, when a clause is in the active voice, the agent is in nominative case, and the patient is in accusative case, whereas in a passive clause, the patient is in nominative case, and the agent is optionally encoded in the oblique case, as shown in example 1 below.

1. She$_{\text{NOM (AGENT)}}$ kissed him$_{\text{ACC (PATIENT)}}$.
   He$_{\text{NOM (PATIENT)}}$ was kissed (by her)$_{\text{OBL (AGENT)}}$.

In Dupaningan Agta and other Philippine-type languages, voice is marked by verbal affixation, whereas case is a property of the noun phrase. The voice of the verb dictates which thematic role (agent, patient, location, etc.) is mapped onto which case relation.

There are four voices in Dupaningan Agta[9]: actor, patient, locative, and theme[10] (often called instrumental in other languages). In the actor voice, the agent or actor is the nominative argument; in the patient voice, the patient is the nominative; in the locative voice, the location or goal is the nominative; and in the theme voice, the theme is the nominative[11].

In this work, the terms *nominative*, *genitive*, and *oblique* will be used to refer the various cases in Dupaningan Agta. The term *nominative* is reserved for those NPs that are the subject of their clauses. I consider these arguments subjects because they are always specified by the verb (they can be omitted only if they will be understood from the context), and they are singled out for certain syntactic processes, such as relativization (see section 5.7.3.1). Use of the term *nominative* should not be taken to imply that Dupaningan Agta has an accusative case alignment system; it does not (see below). Instead, I use the term *nominative* to suggest an argument with subject-like properties (Schacter's 1976 reference-related properties). Although this is the case that would be considered absolutive in an ergative analysis, even some proponents of such analyses use the term *nominative* for these arguments "in order to capture more cross-linguistic generalizations" (Liao 2004: 55fn20). I use the term *genitive* for a case that

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[9] Philippine-type languages vary in the number of voices they have, but at least three are necessary for it to be considered Philippine-type, and four are reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian (Wolff 1973).

[10] Although the reflexes of PAn *Si- are usually called 'instrumental' voice/focus, I choose the term 'theme' here because there are no instances in my data of an instrument nominative with an *i-* verb in Dupaningan Agta. The nominative arguments of *i-* verbs in Dupaningan Agta are generally themes in that they are objects which undergo movement. Although theme voice overlaps semantically with patient voice, they can be distinguished in that the patient nominatives are usually fully affected by the action of the verb, whereas the theme nominatives usually undergo movement.

[11] The patient and theme voices overlap to a certain degree in semantics, but the nominative argument of a theme voice construction is generally an argument that moves through space, as opposed to the more static nominatives of patient voice constructions. Patient voice nominatives are also more likely to be wholly affected by the action of the verb, as opposed to partially affected themes.

encodes both possessives and the agents of non-actor-voice verbs. The latter is the case that would be called *ergative* in such analyses. I use the term *oblique* for locatives and temporal adjuncts and for the patient of an actor voice verb.

The characterization of the verbal systems of Philippine-type languages has not been uncontroversial. The two most common terms used to characterize these systems have been *focus* and *voice*. Blust (2002a) notes that the terms are about equally common, while there are a number of less common terms that are used only by one or two authors. I choose the term *voice* here for two reasons: first, outside of the study of western Austronesian languages, the term *focus* is used in an entirely different way—to indicate pragmatic focus (marking of new or contrastive information in the discourse). As linguists begin to explore the use of pragmatic focus and topic in the discourse of Philippine languages (see e.g., Kaufman 2005 for an analysis of pragmatic focus in Tagalog), the use of the term *focus* to refer to the verbal system is confusing.

Second, and perhaps more importantly, Philippine-type verbal systems do make use of alternations that quite closely resemble well-known voice phenomena. Much as with active/passive distinctions, the change of the voice morphology on the verb of a Philippine-type language signals a change in the mapping of case relations and thematic roles. This does not mean, however, that Philippine-type languages have an active/passive distinction (or even an active/antipassive one), but simply that there is a similarity among these phenomena, so the terminological question is whether to extend the use of the term *voice* to cover the Philippine-type systems or whether to use another term (such as *focus*) to emphasize the uniqueness of the verbal systems of Philippine-type languages (Himmelmann 2002). Since the term *focus* is already in use in linguistics for

pragmatic focus, then, it is not an ideal candidate for describing the alternations in the verbal systems. Moreover, since my job as a descriptive linguist is to make my work as accessible as possible, the idea of coining a new term (i.e., other than *voice* or *focus*) is at cross-purposes with my primary goals, so I therefore choose *voice*.

But the question then remains, if the Philippine-type verbal system is one of voice, what type of voice system is it? A thorough investigation of that question is an entire dissertation unto itself, but a brief discussion is warranted here. First, why do I claim above that Philippine-type voice systems do not embody an active/passive distinction? A further exploration of the voice and case systems is needed to answer that question. In Dupaningan Agta, Actor voice is characterized by the verbal affixes *<um>*, *mag-*, and *mang-*, and when the verb is in actor voice, the nominative case is assigned to the noun phrase that is the actor or agent of the sentence. An actor voice clause may or may not have a patient/theme argument, but if it does, that argument is encoded in the oblique case. In all the other voices, the agent is encoded in the genitive case, and another non-agent argument is encoded as nominative (see Table 1.3 below).

Table 1.3 Dupaningan Agta voice/case relations

Actor Voice <*um*>, *mag-*, and *mang-*	*thematic role*	agent	(none)
	case	nominative	
	morphology	(unmarked)	
Actor Voice <*um*>, *mag-*, and *mang-*	*thematic role*	agent	patient
	case	nominative	oblique
	morphology	(unmarked)	*ha*
Patient Voice *-an*	*thematic role*	agent	patient
	case	genitive	nominative
	morphology	optionally marked pronouns *na* or *di*	(unmarked)
Locative Voice *-an*[12]	*thematic role*	agent	goal, source
	case	genitive	nominative
	morphology	optionally marked with pronoun *na* or *di*	(unmarked)
Theme Voice *i-*	*thematic role*	agent	theme
	case	genitive	nominative
	morphology	optionally marked with pronoun *na* or *di*	(unmarked)

In the "Traditional" analysis of Philippine-type languages (see Liao 2004), the actor voice was analyzed as the active and the other voices as passives[13]. This analysis explains the mapping of case relations by assuming an accusative alignment system, whereby the agent is nominative in the most basic structures (assumed to be actor voice) and the agent is demoted in the passive structure (this analysis assumes three passive structures). This analysis is problematic because there is no reason to believe that actor voice is more basic than the other voices. Patient voice is at least as common as actor voice, although the other two are notably less common.

[12] Although the patient voice suffix and the locative voice suffix are homophonous in the incompletive aspect, they are distinguished in the completive: the patient voice completive is the infix <*in*>, whereas the locative voice completive is the infix <*in*> plus the suffix *-an*.

[13] These authors were not working with Dupaningan Agta data, but with other Philippine languages, often Tagalog.

Another more recent analysis of the Philippine-type verbal systems claims they are ergative. This claim is made on the basis of the case-marking systems. Dupaningan Agta is actually a good language for making the case for an ergative system. In the table above, the nominative arguments are all shaded. In Dupaningan, as in other Philippine-type languages, the non-nominative arguments can be omitted, and the most common method for expressing such intransitive clauses is the actor voice, shown in a separate row in the table above for the sake of presentation. Ignoring the actor voice clauses with oblique patients momentarily, we see that the agent of the intransitive (actor voice) is encoded in the same case as the objects of the transitive voices (patient, locative, instrumental). We can therefore provisionally conclude that Dupaningan Agta has ergative case alignment.

There are two major problems with this analysis, however. The first problem is that the non-actor voice constructions can also be intransitive (not shown in the table above). Intransitive non-actor voice constructions are limited to the so-called *adversatives*, in which the single argument of the verb is adversely affected. Examples from Dupaningan are given below.

2. baringaw-an=dan i kan-an=a
   housefly-PV=already DEF eat-NMLZ=SPC
   'The food is being attacked by houseflies.'

3. n<in>amok-ø=ak=dan
   <CMPL>-mosquito-PV=1SG.NOM=already
   'I am being attacked by mosquitoes.'

Proponents of the ergative analysis note that such constructions are relatively rare and choose to ignore them in their analyses. Liao (2004: 31ff), for example, examines such constructions but concludes that for determining the alignment of the case system, it

is important to take the most common monadic clause pattern as intransitive. That is, since these adversatives are relatively rare, they cannot be used as canonical intransitive clauses for the purposes of diagnosing case alignment. It seems problematic to me, however, to exclude a certain clause pattern simply on the basis of its relative (in)frequency.

The second problem for the ergative analysis is with the second type of actor voice clause, the one with a patient argument. In order for the ergative analysis to work, one must assume that this construction is intransitive. If the second type of actor voice clause is intransitive, then the agent of intransitives (including both types of actor voice clause) are always case-marked in the same way as the objects of transitives, and the system is unambiguously ergative. It is for this reason that most ergative analyses attempt to prove that this clause type is in fact intransitive.

It is beyond the scope of this work to examine all the arguments that have been presented for the ergative hypothesis (but see Liao 2004 for an extensive discussion). Instead, I present an obvious argument that is not usually given for reasons that will become apparent below. In Dupaningan Agta, the patient of the actor voice verb is encoded as an oblique. I call it oblique because it takes the same case marker *ha* that also encodes locatives and temporal phrases (i.e., adjuncts or non-arguments). One could assume then, for Dupaningan Agta, that these types of actor voice constructions are indeed intransitive if the patient is encoded in the same case reserved for other peripheral NPs. This argument runs into two problems, however. The first comes when we separate semantic transitivity from syntactic transitivity. We see, then, that many actor voice verbs actually *expect* a patient argument even if it is encoded as an oblique syntactically;

that is, the patient argument is specified lexically by the verb and therefore cannot be a peripheral argument. The Dupaningan verb *alap* 'get', for example, requires a patient, even when it is in the actor voice.

4. mang-alap nekka=ko ha bayobang
AV-get old.sibling=1SG.GEN OBL guava
'My older sibling will get guava.'

The second problem is that most analyses attempt to treat all Philippine-type languages under a unified analysis, but not all Philippine-type languages have the same alignments in their case-marking systems. Table 1.4 below shows that in Tagalog, the patient of the actor voice verb is marked with the same case marker that marks the agent of the non-actor-voice verbs, thus creating a kind of symmetry in the case marking that suggests neither an accusative nor an ergative alignment for Tagalog.

Table 1.4 Tagalog voice/case relations

Actor Voice *<um>*, *mag-*, and *mang-*	thematic role	agent	(none)
	case	nominative	
	morphology	*ang*	
Actor Voice *<um>*, *mag-*, and *mang-*	thematic role	agent	patient
	case	nominative	genitive
	morphology	*ang*	*ng* [naŋ]
Patient Voice *-in*	thematic role	agent	patient
	case	genitive	nominative
	morphology	*ng* [naŋ]	*ang*
Locative Voice *-an*	thematic role	agent	goal, source
	case	genitive	nominative
	morphology	*ng* [naŋ]	*ang*
Instrumental voice *i-*	thematic role	agent	patient
	case	genitive	nominative
	morphology	*ng* [naŋ]	*ang*

A look at Ilokano further complicates the matter. In Ilokano, there are only two case markers: *ti* for what would be nominative and genitive in Dupaningan, and *iti* for what would be oblique in Dupaningan (see Table 1.5 below). Moreover, speakers often simplify *iti* to *ti*, meaning that in practice, Ilokano has no morphological case marking on common nouns[14].

Table 1.5 Ilokano voice/case relations

Actor Voice *<um>*, *ag-*, and *mang-*	thematic role	agent	(none)
	case	nominative	
	morphology	*ti*	
Actor Voice *<um>*, *ag-*, and *mang-*	thematic role	agent	patient
	case	nominative	?
	morphology	*ti*	*ti*
Patient Voice *-an*	thematic role	agent	patient
	case	genitive ?	nominative
	morphology	*ti*	*ti*
Locative Voice *-an*	thematic role	agent	goal, source
	case	genitive ?	nominative
	morphology	*ti*	*ti*
Instrumental voice *i-*	thematic role	agent	patient
	case	genitive ?	nominative
	morphology	*ti*	*ti*

By strictly following the case markers to determine case alignment, we are forced to claim that Dupaningan, Tagalog, and Ilokano all have different case alignment. As far as I know, no analysis to date has proposed such differing systems for different Philippine-type languages. Most analyses choose to focus on the similarities among these languages, which are quite striking, but in other branches of the Austronesian family

[14] This is, of course, an oversimplification, as Ilokano has four sets of pronouns that are inherently case-marked and show an alignment more like Dupaningan or Tagalog (the pronominal patient of an actor voice verb can only be expressed as an oblique in any of the languages, so it does not quite parallel the case markers).

(e.g., Polynesian) languages that are otherwise similar are analyzed as having different case alignment systems. Let's assume for now that we want a single analysis of Philippine-type languages.

How, then, do proponents of the ergative analysis resolve the question of symmetry in the case system of Tagalog? By proposing that there is not one case marker *ng* [naŋ], but two. The first *ng*, the agent of the non-AV verbs, is *ergative* (often called genitive), and the second *ng*, the patient of the AV verbs, is *oblique*. In such analyses, the Tagalog case marker *sa* which encodes locative and temporal phrases, as well as partially affected patients, is called *locative* to distinguish it from the oblique. This leaves Tagalog with four cases: nominative/absolutive *ang*, genitive/ergative *ng*, oblique *ng*, and locative *sa*. One reason proponents of the ergative analysis separate the two is that a pronoun can substitute for the genitive/ergative *ng* but not for the oblique *ng*. A similar explanation is given for distinguishing an oblique case from a locative case in languages that have case alignment systems similar to Dupaningan Agta (see Liao 2004: 398 on Central Cagayan Agta). I see this as weak evidence for positing homophony and prefer an analysis that treats them as multiple uses of a single case marker.

Assuming a single approach for all Philippine-type languages, I tentatively favor a symmetrical voice analysis, which assumes that none of the voices is more basic than the others and under which all voices may be transitive. In such an analysis, we are free to assume that the actor voice constructions with two arguments are indeed transitive. This leaves us with four competing transitive constructions. In each one, a different thematic role is selected to be the subject, depending on the verbal morphology. That is, the voice of the clause dictates the mapping between thematic role and case marking, but none of

the four voices is assumed to be most basic. Although the locative and the theme/instrumental voices are far less common than either the actor or the patient voices, there is no reason to assume that they are derived from the other constructions, and so we cannot assume they are less basic in that sense. A system in which one voice was most basic would be asymmetrical, and a system such as the one described above could be termed symmetrical.

One of the goals of proponents of the ergative analysis is to show how Philippine-type languages fit into the world's languages typologically. As a linguist with a background in anthropology, this has never been my primary aim. Instead, I believe it is important to approach language description **emically**[15]—that is, to define a language on its own terms first—then we can set about to see how the fruits of that *emic* description can be related to the greater picture of the world's languages. That is not to say that I have ignored the work of other linguists in approaching this description, just as no serious anthropologist works in a vacuum. But I recognize that Dupaningan Agta is different from Tagalog, much as it is widely recognized that Philippine-type languages are quite different from European languages. What follows, then, is a description of Dupaningan Agta and no other language.

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[15] The terms *emic* and *etic* are used in anthropology to refer to the insider and outsider perspectives, respectively. They are terms that anthropology has derived from linguistics—they come from *phonemic* and *phonetic*.

2 Phonology

This chapter provides a brief overview of the historical development of the phonological system of Dupaningan and an introduction to the synchronic segmental phonology and stress.

2.1 Historical phonology

Although the Dupaningan Agta people are ethnically distinct from the majority of Filipinos, and presumably represent a pre-Austronesian migration to the Philippines, the Dupaningan Agta language and all other Negrito languages in the Philippines are undoubtedly Austronesian (see section 1.10 for a more detailed discussion). The challenge, then, is to show how Dupaningan fits in with the other languages spoken in the Northern Philippines, all of which belong to the Philippine family of Austronesian languages. I will first outline some of the sound changes that have taken place in the evolution of Dupaningan from Proto-Malayo Polynesian (PMP), then discuss how those changes place Dupaningan within a particular language subgroup.

2.1.1 Sound changes

2.1.1.1 *z > d

PMP *z (also Proto-Austronesian (PAn) *z) became /d/ in Dupaningan.

1. PAn *zalan > *dilan* 'road, path' (with *a > i)
   PAn *zaRum > *dagum* 'needle' (with *R > g)
   PMP *zakan 'cook' > *dakan* 'boil food'
   PWMP *kəzut > *kaddut* 'pinch' (with *ə > a, gemination)
   PAn *lezep > *laddap* 'to dive into water' (with *ə > a, gemination)

2.1.1.2 *R > g

PMP *R (also PAn *R) became Dupaningan /g/.

2. PAn *qaRta[1] 'outsiders, alien people' > *agta* (language group name; with *q > ø)
PMP*hulaR > *ulag* 'snake' (with *h > ø)
PMP *diRus > *degus* 'bathe' (with *i > e)
PMP *niuR > *niyog* 'coconut' (with *u > o)
PMP *busuR > *busog* 'bow (n.)' (with *u > o)

2.1.1.3 *j

The Dupaningan reflex of Proto-Malayo Polynesian *j is generally d, but not always.

3. PAn *Suaji > *wadi* 'younger sibling' (with *S > ø)
PWMP *səngjiR > *sandig* 'lean' (with *R > g, ə > a, nasal assimilation)
PAn *qapəju > *apdo* 'bile' (with *ə > ø, *u > o, *q > ø)
PAn *qaləjaw > *aldew* 'day' (with *ə > ø, *a > e, *q > ø)
PAn *sejep[2] > *saddap* 'enter' (with *ə > a, gemination)
Proto-Philippine (PPh) *palaj 'palm (of hand)' > *palad* 'palm (of hand), sole (of foot)'

There are also instances where the /d/ from *j synchronically alternates with /g/.

4. PMP *maja 'evaporate' > *ma-madi ~ ma-magi* 'dry' (with *a > i)
PAn *ngajan > *nagen ~ naden* 'name' (with *ng > n, *a > e)

The synchronic alternation between /d/ and /g/, while not regular, is not unheard of in Dupaningan (see section 2.2.1.7 below). It may also be the case that forms with /g/ from *j are borrowed from Ilokano, Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta, or another Northern Cordilleran language because that subgroup shares the change of PAn *j > Proto-Northern cordilleran *g (Tharp 1974).

5. PAn *qujing > Dupaningan *uging* 'coal' (with *q > ø, cf., Ilokano *uging*)

In a few instances, *j is reflected as /r/.

6. PMP *pajəy > *paray* 'unhusked rice'
PPh *sujud 'fine toothed comb' > *surod ~ sugod* 'comb' (cf., Ilokano *sugod* 'lice comb'; Rubino 2000)

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[1] See Blust (1972; 1987)
[2] Reconstruction from Blust (1983-4).

2.1.1.4 *q > ø

*q is lost in Dupaningan.

7. PAn *bituqən > *biton* 'star'
PAn *liqəR > *leg* 'neck'
PAn *baqəRu > *bigu* 'new'
PMP *tuqəlang > *tulang* 'bone'

Phonetically, all Dupaningan words must begin and end in a consonant, so a glottal stop is inserted at the beginning and end of words that are phonemically vowel-initial or vowel-final (see section 2.2.1.4 below). Initial and final *q, then, are reflected as phonetic [ʔ], in much the same way as words that have no reconstructed initial or final consonant[3].

8. PMP *qubi > [ʔ]*ubi*[ʔ] 'yam'
PMP *qutək > [ʔ]*utak* 'brain' (with *ə > a)
PAn *qaləb > [ʔ]*alab* 'knee' (with *ə > a)
PMP *qəlad 'wing' > [ʔ]*allad* 'feather' (with *ə > a, gemination)
PAn *qiSu > [ʔ]*iyu*[ʔ] 'shark' (with *S > ø)
PAn *qaNup > [ʔ]*anop* 'to hunt' (with *N > n, *u > o)

9. PMP *dilaq > *dila*[ʔ] 'tongue'
PWMP *buliq[4] > *buli*[ʔ] 'buttocks, bottom'
PMP *basəq > *besa*[ʔ] 'wet' (with *a > e, *ə > a)
PMP *buluq > *bulu*[ʔ] 'bamboo'

2.1.1.5 *h > ø

The glottal fricative *h was lost in all environments (where PAn *S > PMP *h).

[3] Because it is not generally phonemic, ʔ is usually not marked in this work.
[4] (Blust 1989)

10. PMP *hipaR 'same sex sibling-in-law'> *ipag* 'opposite sex sibling-in-law' (with *R > g)
PMP*hulaR > *ulag* 'snake' (with *R > g)
PMP *ma-huab > *mag-u*[w]*ab* 'yawn'
PMP *dahun > *don* 'leaf' (with vowel monophongization)
PMP *buhuk > *buk* 'hair'
PMP *duha > *du*[w]*a* 'two'

2.1.1.6 Low vowel fronting

The vowel *a was fronted to /i/ or /e/ following a voiced stop (see section 2.2.2.4 below for a discussion of the distributions of /i/ and /e/). I call this low vowel fronting (LVF) following Blust (2000a), where an identical process is shown to take place in Sarawak.

11. PMP *dapuR 'hearth' > *dipog* 'ashes' (with *u > o, *R > g)
PMP *danum > *dinom* 'water' (with *u > o)
PMP *balu > *bilu* 'widow'
PMP *batu > *bitu* 'stone'

This change must have taken place after the changes of *R > g and *z > d because the resultant stops /g/ and /d/ trigger the fronting.

12. PAn *uRaC > *uget* 'vein' (with *C > t)
PAn *SuRas > *uges* 'wash' (with *S > ø)
PAn *kaRat > *kaget* 'bite'

13. PAn *zalan > *dilan* 'road, path'
PAn *quzaN > *uden* 'rain' (with *N > n, *q > ø)

Low vowel fronting also occurs with affixed forms.

14. *mag-* + *anak* 'child, offspring' → *mag-enak* 'to give birth'
mag- + *alap* → *mag-ilap* ~ *mag-alap* 'get'
mag- + *akot* → *mag-akot* ~ *mag-ikot* 'pick up'
tapog + *-an* → *tapog-en* 'hit something with an arrow'
pag- + *etnod* 'sit' + *-an* → *pag-etnud-an, pag-etnud-en* 'seat'

Occasionally, forms that originally began with a low vowel have been reanalyzed.

15. *mag- + aryok > mag-eryok > aryuk-an ~ eryuk-an* 'search for'

But LVF is a sporadic change that does not occur with every form, as seen in the forms below which have /a/ vowels following voiced stops.

16. PAn *babuy 'pig' > *babuy* 'domestic pig'
PPh *sidaq > *hida* 'main course' (with *q > ø)
PWMP *a(m)bək[5] > *abak* 'mat' (with *ə > a)
PAn *qabang > *abang* 'boat' (with *q > ø)

There is even an important grammatical distinction based on the contrast:

17. *ide* 'this' vs. *iday* 'that'

Low vowel fronting sometimes even seems to take place after the change of *ə > a, suggesting that LVF is a somewhat synchronic process in Dupaningan, where the change of *ə > a is not yet complete.

18. PAn *baRəq > **baga[6] > *bagi* 'swell'

Note that in both 18 above and 19 below, LVF applies to only one of the /a/ vowels, suggesting that the process not only applies sporadically to certain words, but may apply sporadically within a single word.

19. Proto-Northeastern Luzon * ma-dəga > **ma-dəgga > *ma-daggi* 'heavy'

2.1.1.7 t/s metathesis

The sequence *tVs to *sVt.

20. PMP *Ratas 'milk' > *gisat* 'breast' (with LVF)
PMP *bities > *bisat* 'calf of leg'
PMP *di-taqas > *disat* 'high ground'

There is also a long-distance metathesis of *tVCVs to *sVCVt.

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[5] (Blust 1980)
[6] The double star ** is used to indicate a hypothetical intermediate step in the reconstruction.

21. PMP *tangis > *sanget* 'cry'

Some forms with problematic etymologies do not exhibit the metathesis,

22. PMP *Ratus > *gatu* 'hundred' (with unexplained loss of final *s, perhaps from *s > h)
PAn *tebaS > *tabas* 'clear vegetation' (expected *S > h > ø, expected gemination of medial consonant)

Moreover, the process is not active in the language today, as there are words with the forms tVs and tVCVs.

23. *tulos* 'continue'
attas 'stay up late'
tasuluk 'kind of arrow with a narrow arrowhead' (perhaps with *ta-* 'DIMINUTIVE')

2.1.1.8 *s > h

The fricative *s has sporadically lenited to /h/ in Dupaningan. The Northern Cordilleran long form nominative pronouns, as reconstructed by Tharp (1974: 88) are listed below along with their reflexes in Dupaningan Agta, where the reconstructed *s has become /h/.

Table 2.1 Proto-Northern Cordilleran and Dupaningan pronouns

	PNC	Dupaningan Agta
1sg	*si akən	*hikan*
2sg	*si kaw	*hikaw*
3sg	*iya, *V(n)su	*(hikuna)*
1du incl	*si kita	*hikita*
1pl incl	*si kitam	*hikitam*
1pl excl	*si kami	*hikami*
2pl	*si kamu, *si kayu	*hikam*
3pl	*ida	*hidi*

This change seems to occur with frequent words, especially grammatical forms, and we also get, for example, PWMP *sa > ha 'OBLIQUE MARKER'. There are also cases of *s > h in content words; a selection is given in 24 below.

24. PPh *sidaq > *hida* 'main course'
PAn *bəRas > *bagah*[7] 'rice' (with *R > g)
PMP *lasəR > *lahag* 'testicles' (with *ə > a, *R > g)

This change is unconditioned and completely sporadic, and in the vast majority of cases *s remains /s/.

25. PMP *asu > *asu* 'dog'
PMP *basəq > *ma-bɛsa* 'wet' (with *ə > a, LVF)
PMP *pusuq > *pusu* 'heart' (with *q > ø)
PPh *wasay > *wasay* 'axe'
PMP *diRus > *dɛgus* 'bathe' (with *R > g, *i > e)
PPh *u(R)sah > *ogsa* 'deer' (with *u > o, *R > g, *h > ø)

2.1.1.9 Gemination

Consonants became geminate after a schwa vowel. Schwa subsequently became [a] (see section 2.1.1.11 below).

26. PAn *ləzəp > *laddap* 'dive in water' (with *z > d)
PMP *bəngəR > *bangngag* 'deaf' (with *R > g)
PAn *qətut > *attot* 'fart' (with *u > o, *q > ø)
PAn *təlu > *tallo* 'three' (with *u > o)

2.1.1.10 *ə > ø

In reconstructed trisyllables, schwa was lost in the penultimate syllable. This seems to be related to a synchronic process of schwa deletion discussed in 2.1.1.12.1 below.

[7]Expected **bagga(s,h) because the consonant should geminate after *ə.

27. Proto-Malayo Polynesian (PMP)[8] *baqəRu > *bigo* 'new' (with *a > i, *R > g, *u > o)
PMP[9] *aRəmang[10] > *agmang* 'kind of ocean eel' (with *R > g)
Proto-Western Malayo-Polynesian (PWMP) *sangəlaR > *sanglag* 'to fry' (with *R > g)
PAn *qaləjaw > *aldew* 'day' (with *j > d, *a > i, *q > ø)

2.1.1.11 *ə > a

PMP *ə (also PAn *ə) became /a/ in Dupaningan.

28. PMP *qatəp > *atap* 'roof' (with *q > ø)
PAn *səpsəp > *sapsap* 'suck'
PMP *bəngəR > *bangngag* 'deaf' (with *R > g, gemination)
PAn *təlu > *tallo* 'three' (with *u > o, gemination)
PAn *qətut > *attot* 'fart' (with *u > o, *q > ø, gemination)

The merger of *ə and *a as /a/ is not complete in Dupaningan. In the dialect of Dupaningan on which this dissertation is primarily based, there are still a handful of forms with schwa (see 2.2.2.2 below). Moreover, in certain dialects of Dupaningan, these two phones have not merged at all, especially in the far southern reaches of the language and on Palaui island in the north[11].

2.1.1.12 Synchronic or diachronic?

2.1.1.12.1 Nasal substitution

In some cases, the final /ŋ/ of the prefix *mang-* (see section 4.2.1.3) undergoes a process similar to nasal assimilation. The final /ŋ/ coalesces with the first consonant of the root to form a nasal at the point of articulation of the original consonant, in a process

[8] Unless otherwise noted, PAn and PMP reconstructions are from Blust (1995) or Blust (1999)
[9] From Blust (1986)
[10] The velar nasal [ŋ] will be represented as <ng> in this work. The combination of velar nasal and voiced velar stop [ŋg] will be represented as <ngg>.
[11] Although Palaui Agta speakers do not consider themselves speakers of Dupaningan, I consider it a dialect of Dupaningan because of the lexical and phonological similarities (see section 1.1 for more information).

called nasal substitution. It can be considered an instance of nasal place assimilation and then deletion of the initial consonant of the root. In the Austronesian languages where this process takes place, it most commonly occurs with voiceless obstruents, and of the voiced obstruents, /b/ is the most likely to undergo nasal substitution (Blust 2004), a pattern which mirrors Dupaningan, where nasal substitution is found in roots which begin in p, t, k, and b.

29. *mamitukan* 'get honey comb' *mang-* + *pitukan* 'bee'
mamangal 'shoot an arrow' *mang-* + *pangal* 'arrow'

30. *manareptep* 'walk along the edge of a river' *mang-* + *tareptep*
manarod 'believe' *mang-* + *tarod* 'truth'
manaktak 'crawl' *mang-* + *taktak*

31. *mangabanga* 'marry' *mang-* + *kabanga* 'spouse'
mangudut 'sneak up on' *mang-* + *kudut*

32. *mamulan* 'do something under the moonlight' *mang-* + *bulan* 'moon'
mamunot 'burn in order to drive bees from hive' *mang-* + *bunot*[12] 'coconut husk'

Nasal substitution, however, is sporadic, even when all the conditions for it to take place are met. It seems, then, that nasal substitution is no longer a productive process in Dupaningan, and the forms where it does occur are lexicalized. Below are some examples where nasal substitution has not taken place[13].

33. *mang-peta* 'tell'
mang-katlad 'slash'
mang-biyu 'pound rice'

Nasal substitution never occurs with consonants other than p, t, k, or b.

[12] Although the verbal form *mamunot* occurs in this dictionary (Appendix A), the root *bunot* was not something I came across in my fieldwork, and the definition comes from the unpublished dictionary by Nickell and Nickell (1987). *Bunot*, therefore, is excluded as a separate lexical item in the dictionary.
[13] There is also no nasal assimilation in the forms in example 33 because they were given in contexts where they were pronounced slowly and carefully; nasal substitution still occurs in careful contexts, indicating its status as a morphophonemic rule rather than an automatic phonological process.

34. *mang-rukad* 'dive for eels'
mang-loku 'harm'

2.1.1.12.2 Geminate morphophonemics

There are a number of phonological processes in Dupaningan that can only be understood with reference to historical facts relating to *ə. As mentioned in section 2.1.1.7, *ə triggered following consonants to geminate, and, as mentioned in 2.1.1.10 above, there is a process of medial *ə deletion. Finally, both *ə and *a have merged as /a/ (see 2.1.1.11 above). Synchronically, there are a number of cases where /a/ vowels which derive from *ə are deleted, and the following geminates become singletons. This section will examine these various synchronic changes and show that although understanding the origin of some /a/ vowels as coming from *ə explains most of the synchronic facts, there are still a number of similar-looking changes with /a/ vowels and geminates that are difficult to explain.

When /a/ from *ə becomes medial due to affixation, it is lost and the following geminate becomes a singleton (since *ə triggered gemination of the following consonant, these /a/ vowels from *ə are all followed by geminates today). That is, much as the changes in 2.1.1.10 above show loss of a medial historical schwa, the /a/ from *ə is still lost when it becomes medial due to affixation, and the geminate becomes singleton simply because it would otherwise create an illicit consonant cluster (see section 2.2.3 below). The examples below illustrate the change taking place with prefixation of *mag-*, suffixation of *-an*, prefixation of *ma-*, and infixation of *<um>*, where the change from u

→ o in the latter is expected because the syllable has become closed (see section 2.2.2.4 below).

35. *amman* 'betel nut chew' → *mag-man ~ mag-amman* 'chew betel nut'
mag-abbag ~ mag-bag 'lie down'

36. *saddap* 'enter' → *ke-sadp-an* 'entrance' (PAn *səjəp[14])

37. *ma-* + *tannog* → *matnog* 'noisy'
ma- + *battong* → *mabtong ~ ma-battong* 'deep'
ma- + *sallag* → *maslag ~ ma-sallag* 'strong-flowing, of a river current' (PWMP *sələg[15])

38. *l<um>annad* → *lomnad* 'sink' (PWMP *ləñəj)
<um>abbag → *ombag* 'lie down'
s<um>akkal → *somkal* 'get angry'
t<um>aggaw → *tomgaw* 'thirst'
<um>appes ~ ompes 'subside, ebb, of water'
l<um>attag → *lomtag* 'swell'

Although the etymologies for most of these words are not known, we can assume that the lost vowel comes from *ə, and the medial consonant was not originally geminate.

In two cases, an entire syllable is lost before a geminate.

39. *ma-daggas ~ ma-ggas* 'spicy' (cf., NE Luzon *dəgəs)
ma-takkak ~ makkak 'bitter, salty'

These changes are probably best understood as essentially the same as the ones discussed above. They probably involve the loss of an /a/ vowel and degemination, followed by assimilation, which is not unexpected because sequences of coronal-noncoronal are rare in Dupaningan and other Philippine languages (Blust 1970).

40. *ma-* + *daggas* → **madgas → *ma-ggas* 'spicy'
ma- + *takkak* → **matkak → *makkak* 'bitter, salty'

[14] (Blust 1983-4)
[15] (Blust 1989)

The medial vowel of the affixed form remains unless it is /a/ from *ə.

41. *mag-akkab* 'spear fish'
mag-attam 'suffer'

42. *ma-daggi* 'heavy'
ma-dinnang 'clear'

43. *abbut-an* 'open'
attas-an 'stay up late'
palattug-an 'shoot'
ballay-an 'await'
bikkal-an 'hang by rope'

44. *d<um>aggi* 'become heavy'
<um>ebbar 'to fly'
<um>abben 'carry on back'
d<um>innang 'become clear'

All of these rules have parallels in Ilokano and the other languages of northeastern Luzon. In these other languages, the lost vowel is usually an unstressed schwa [ə] (see Rubino 2000: xxxvii on Ilokano), although stress does not seem to be a factor in the Dupaningan rule. Example 45 below shows similar processes in the other languages of Northeastern Luzon.

45. Par[16], Kas *maktug* 'hard' (cf., Cas *mɛkətug*[17])
Cas, Pah *somdəp* 'enter' (cf., Par, Kas *s<um>əddəp* 'enter')

There is, however, variability among speakers in applying this rule, and some speakers apply the rule where others would not and vice versa. This may be because the conditioning has been lost in modern Dupaningan, so this vowel syncope/degemination rule must be memorized and is therefore subject to corruption.

[16] Par: Paranan, Kas: Kasiguranin, Cas: Casiguran (Dumagat) Agta, Pah: Pahanan (Palanan Dumagat)
[17] Cas is the only language in the group that does not geminate a consonant after schwa [ə], so this is the environment where other languages would have a geminate consonant (see section 2.1.1.7).

46. *<um>ebbar ~ ombar* 'to fly' (rule not expected to apply)
somdap ~ s<um>addap 'enter' (rule expected to apply; PAn *səjəp[18])
mag-attot 'fart' (expected **mag-tot; PAn *qetut)

A related process (in that it requires reference to *ə) involves gemination before the suffix *–an*. In these forms, the final /a/ vowels of the roots come from an earlier *ə. When there is no suffix, gemination cannot take place because geminates are not allowed in final position. In cases where we can determine what the original vowel was, the gemination clearly takes place only after historical schwa. The medial vowel that triggers the gemination might be expected to delete here, but it does not. It is still not clear why this is the case.

47. *dakap* + *-an* → *dakappan* 'catch something' (PAn *dakəp)
nakam 'mind' + *-an* → *nakamman* 'think about' (cf, Ilk *nakəm* 'mind')
bilas + *-an* → *bilassan* 'get revenge on' (PAn *baləs)
asak + *-an* → *asakkan* 'fill something' (cf., Cas *asək*)
silag + *-an* → *silaggan* 'hunt and gather for someone'
usak + *-an* → *usakkan* 'thing for descending, stairs'

It is not the case that all final consonants geminate before the suffix *-an*. It seems likely that the suffixed forms with gemination were derived before *ə was merged with *a, and speakers today simply memorize which forms geminate with suffixation.

48. *bunag* + *-an* → *bunagan* 'kill everyone'
salpak + *-an* → *salpakan* 'meet'
attam + *-an* → *attaman* 'endure'

A less easily explained but no less widespread phenomenon is gemination after certain prefixes.[19] The /a/ vowels in these prefixes do not derive from *ə, and gemination

[18] (Blust 1983-4)
[19] The same phenomenon occurs in other languages in Northern Luzon: Par, Pah *na-* + *kuyog* → *nakkuyug* 'accompany'. Rubino (1997: 25) claims that certain Ilocano prefixes also trigger gemination.

after these prefixes is sporadic. There is also no reason to assume two sets of prefixes, one from *ə and one from *a.

49. *ka-* + *toldu* → *kattoldu* 'pointer finger'
ka- + *kagi* → *kakkagi* 'language'
ka- + *sinag* → *kassinag* 'summer, dry season'

50. *ma-* + *tuwad* → *mattuwad* 'kneeling with face down'
ma- + *samondut* → *massamondut* 'sad'
ma- + *soklap* → *massoklap* 'frowning'

51. *mag-* + *pa-* + *patay* → *magpappatay* 'kill'

The cases without gemination far outweigh the cases with gemination. A few examples are given below.

52. *ka-* + *sinti* → *kasinti* 'thing that makes one angry'
ka- + *gesngaw* → *kagesngaw* 'harelipped person'
ka- + *talak* → *katalak* 'expectation'

53. *ma-* + *bigal* → *mabigal* 'thick'
ma- + *saket* → *masaket* 'sick'
ma- + *tangkay* → *matangkay* 'tall, high'

Since gemination normally takes place *after* historical schwa, the above data are difficult to explain. Positing a historical schwa in the prefixes does not fit either the historical data or the synchronic data, where we would expect gemination to occur only if those prefixes contained *ə. The cases of gemination after such prefixes, then, are likely a result of overgeneralization of the other gemination rules.

Although appealing to historical facts to explain synchronic phonology is problematic for understanding how a child could learn the phonology, there is no other way to explain these gemination patterns in Dupaningan. Today all these rules are most likely learned as irregular rules associated with certain lexical items, and thus it is not surprising that there are irregularities.

2.1.2 Dupaningan and Northeastern Luzon[20]

Dupaningan Agta shares a number of phonological changes that point to a common ancestry with the other languages of the northeastern coast of Luzon, namely, Pahanan Agta (also known as Palanan Dumagat), Paranan, Casiguran (Dumagat) Agta, Kasiguranin, and other similar varieties spoken by various groups of Agta in the region (two varieties described here will be called Dinapigue and Nagtipunan after their locations in Isabela and Quirino provinces, respectively).

Low vowel fronting (LVF) is a change that took place after the breakup of the Northern Cordilleran subgroup. It is found in all the languages of the Northeastern Luzon subgroup and in no other Northern Cordilleran languages. LVF was probably an active process in Proto-Northeastern Luzon (PNEL), as it does not occur in all the same words in the daughter languages. For example Dupaningan and Pahanan have *kabanga* 'spouse', whereas Paranan and Kasiguranin *kabinga*.

Much as with LVF, the change *s > h is found in all members of the Northeastern Luzon subgroup, but the change is sporadic and unconditioned in all languages. The table below gives a few selected forms which vary between /s/ and /h/ for the languages of Northeastern Luzon. The box is left blank if we did not find a cognate in that language. The /h/ forms are shaded.

[20] The following sections on the languages of Northeastern Luzon are based on fieldwork conducted by myself and Jason Lobel in 2006. The subsequent analysis is also the result of a collaborative effort between myself and Lobel.

Table 2.2 s/h variation in Northeastern Luzon languages

Dupaningan Agta	Pahanan Agta	Paranan	Dinapigue Agta	Casiguran Agta	Kasiguranin	Nagtipunan Agta	
	buwanghina	*buwanghina*		*buwangsina*	*buwangsina*		'thick bamboo'
hakab			*hakəb*	*sakəb*		*hakəb*	'lie on stomach'
kisap	*kihəp*	*kisəp*		*kisəp*	*kisəp*		'close eyes'
hidi	*hide*	*hidi*	*hide*	*side*		*sidi*	3PL.NOM

There are also a number of unique lexical innovations that define the Northeastern Luzon subgroup. The forms in example 54 below occur in all the languages of northeastern Luzon, and do not, to my knowledge, occur in any other language. The reconstruction given is for PNEL.

54. *pilas 'muscle'
*saduk 'horn'
*dəton 'put, place'
*ləbut 'boil in water'
*putat 'full'
*sanig 'hear, listen'
*demət 'arrive'
*ladu 'fever' (also general term for 'sick' in many of the languages)
*ma-dəga 'heavy' (with LVF in most of the languages)

The form *ubət is also found in all these languages with the meaing 'vulva', which is a unique semantic shift from PMP *ubət 'buttocks'.

There is also a group of lexical items that appear in all the languages of northeastern Luzon and no other language except Northern Alta[21]. These words could be borrowings into Northern Alta.

[21] Northern Alta is a poorly documented language spoken in Aurora province, which Reid (to appear) places in the Meso-Cordilleran subgroup of the northern Philippines. These items come from our own fieldwork on the language.

55. *butag 'betel nut' (also Northern Alta)
*ariyok 'look for, search' (Northern Alta aliyu)
*p(a,ə)rək 'hoarse' (Northern Alta pagəʔ)

Finally, there is a group of forms which are probably unique to the languages of northeastern Luzon but there are suspicious-looking potential cognates with irregular correspondences in other languages.

56. *lupəs 'rice husk'; Ilianen Manobo *qupis*, Siocon Subanon *pis* (Reid 1971)
*e(kt)nod 'sit'; Northern Alta *itlod*, Botolan Sambal *qiknoq*, Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta *mag-ituud* 'sit a while'; *(l)iŋkod* in various languages (Yap 1977)
*(k)e(n)nam 'taste, try'; PMP *ñamñam
*ma-sanike (Paranan *mansəngki*) 'shy, ashamed'; Ivatan *masnik* (Reid 1971)
*əgid 'ask for, request'; also in Northern Alta and Umiray Dumaget; many Central Philippine languages reflect *hagad.
*bəttong 'deep, of water'; Isneg *battoŋ* 'pool or deep pond in a river' (Vanoverbergh 1972)

2.1.3 Northeastern Luzon and Northern Cordilleran

There are a number of changes that take place in the other members of the Northern Cordilleran subgroup which do not take place in the languages of the Northeastern Luzon subgroup proposed here, thus distinguishing the Northeastern Luzon group from a Cagayan Valley group of Northern Cordilleran. A few of the most widespread ones are discussed here.

Tharp (1974) lists a set of ordered changes (1) *s > t, (2) ti > s /__ {V, y} that have taken place in the Northern Cordilleran languages except Ilokano. Dupaningan Agta and the other Northeastern Luzon languages have not shared in either change.

57. PMP *asu > PNEL *asu 'dog'
PMP *pusuq > PNEL *pusu 'heart'
PMP *asuk > PNEL *asok 'smoke'
PMP *basəq > PNEL *basa 'wet'
PMP *diRus > PNEL *digus

58. PMP *tiduR > PNEL *tidug
PAn *tiaN > PNEL *tiyan 'belly'

Dupaningan Agta and the languages of Northeastern Luzon do not participate in the change p > f / __u which is found in the Northern Cordilleran languages Yogad, Ibanag, Gaddang, Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta and Itawis. There is no [f] phone in any of the Northeastern Luzon languages.

59. PMP *pukpuk > PNEL *pokpok 'pound' (with *u > o)
PMP *pusəj > PNEL *pusəd 'navel' (with *j > d)
PAn *qapuR > PNEL *apog 'lime' (with *q > ø, *u > o, *R > g)
PPh *apu 'grandparent' > PNEL *apo 'grandchild' (with *u > o)

2.2 Synchronic Phonology

2.2.1 Consonants

Dupaningan Agta has sixteen consonant phonemes. They are shown in Table 2.3 below, although /ʔ/ has a very low functional load. It is inserted automatically at the beginning and end of words that are phonemically vowel-initial and vowel-final, respectively (see section 2.2.1.4 below).

Table 2.3 Dupaningan consonant phonemes

	labial	alveolar	velar	glottal
stop	p b	t d	k g	(ʔ)
nasal	m	n	ŋ	
trill/tap		r		
lateral		l		
fricative		s		h
glide	w	y		

(where symbols appear in pairs, the one to the right is voiced)

Each of these phonemes can occur in initial, medial, and final positions. Examples are given below.

Table 2.4 Examples of Dupaningan consonants

phoneme	initial position	medial position	final position
p	*pusu* 'heart'	*annipig* 'scorpion'	*kallap* 'night'
b	*buntok* 'head'	*kabanga* 'spouse'	*alab* 'knee'
t	*talinga* 'ear'	*matadam* 'sharp'	*kamat* 'hand'
d	*dungas* 'nose'	*madideg* 'red'	*alegid* 'old'
k	*kumilap* 'sleep'	*tikad* 'foot'	*budak* 'flower'
g	*giray* 'finger'	*tagubetan* 'chase'	*kassinag* 'summer'
m	*manay* 'aunt'	*idemat* 'bring'	*agom* 'companion'
n	*nagen* 'name'	*oni* 'yes'	*talon* 'place'
ng	*ngipan* 'tooth'	*umangay* 'go'	*abang* 'boat'
r	*ranak* 'stick'	*maribu* 'thousand'	*amur* 'dew'
l	*labi* 'mouth'	*bilay* 'house'	*bukal* 'seed'
s	*senggit* 'sun'	*paseng* 'tusk'	*pilas* 'meat'
w	*wakeg* 'corn'	*awan* 'not'	*tomgaw* 'thirsty'
y	*yamyammen* 'suck'	*amoyu* 'pet'	*wasay* 'axe'
h	*hoyutan* 'fetch'	*rahik* 'gnat'	*bagah* 'husked rice'
?	([?]*abeng*)	*alasey?as* 'fancy, new'	(*gabbu*[?])

2.2.1.1 Minimal pairs

Some minimal pairs and near minimal pairs for the consonants are given below.

60. /b/ vs. /p/
kallab 'lid, cover', *kallap* 'night'

61. /g/ vs. /k/
giray 'finger, toe', *kiray* 'eyebrow'
madiket 'young woman', *madiget* 'rough, of the sea'

62. /d/ vs. /t/
sabud 'fly around, of bees', *sabut* 'pubic hair'
karad 'end', *karat* 'hawk'

63. /l/ vs. /r/
amur 'dew', *amul* 'co-parent, parent-in-law of one's child-in-law'

64. /d/ vs. /g/[22]
sallad 'interval', *sallag* 'current of a river'

[22] A suspect pair; see section 2.2.1.7.

65. /s/ vs. /h/[23]
ha 'oblique case marker', *sa* 'then'
habu 'honey', *sabut* 'pubic hair'
hulat 'tire of doing something', *sulet* 'to change'

66. /r/ vs. /h/[24]
habu 'honey', *rabon* 'bird nest'

2.2.1.2 Geminates

All of the stops, nasals, and /l/, /s/, and /w/ may occur as geminates, as the examples below demonstrate. The geminates given below are all morpheme-internal.

67. p: *kappeg*, 'wing' *appat* 'four'
b: *abbut* 'hole', *babbey* 'woman'
t: *gattak* 'sap', *attay* 'excrement'
d: *addag* 'back', *gaddang* 'skin'
k: *bakkan* 'other', *hekka* 'older sibling'
g: *baggaw* 'yard, cleared area', *duggung* 'mucus'
m: *amman* 'betel chew', *lammod* 'toothless person'
n: *kannet* 'ant', *annam* 'six'
ng: *bangngag* 'deaf', *tangngad* 'back of neck'
l: *ballek* 'small', *allad* 'fence'
s: *essa* 'one', *lassong* 'mortar'
w: *awwat* 'surface, emerge from the water'

There are no geminate /y/, /r/, or /h/s in the native stratum, but geminate /y/ does occur in Ilokano loan words, such as *bayyabas* 'guava'. Below are a few minimal pairs for geminate and non-geminate consonants.

68. *salang* 'dammar pine tree', *sallang* 'jaw'
mag-tagad 'build a fire', *mag-taggad* 'prune a tree'

Geminates may also occur as a result of encliticization and affixation.

69. *mag-* + *gakad* 'rope' → *maggakad* 'tie'
anak 'child' + *=ko* 'my' → *anakko* 'my child'
kanan 'food, rice' + *=na* 'his' → *kananna* 'his rice'

[23] A suspect pair; see section 2.1.1.8.
[24] A suspect pair; see section 2.2.1.5.

2.2.1.3 Liquids

Although Dupaningan distinguishes the consonants /l/ and /r/, the sequences r(vowel)l and l(vowel)r are prohibited in Dupaningan. They do not occur anywhere in the native or loan strata in Dupaningan, and where speakers of Dupaningan encounter words with such sequences, they are often changed, although these changes are not systematic. The following are data from Dupaningan speakers attempting to pronounce Ilokano words.

70. Ilokano (Ilk) *relo* 'watch' (from the Spanish *reloj* /relox/) > *lero*
Ilk *kaserola* 'pot' (from the Spanish *caserola* /kaserola/) > *kasilora*

In general, sequences of /l/s and /r/s are disfavored, and may be treated differently by different speakers and on different occasions. The following example illustrates how even non-adjacent /l/s and /r/s may be sporadically altered.

71. Ilk *pulseras* 'bracelet' (from Spanish *pulceras* /pulseras/) > *porselas*
Ilk *eroplano* 'airplane' (from Spanish *eroplano*) > *roprano*

But note that the personal name *Charles* [tʃɛrles] or [tʃarles] occurs.

2.2.1.4 Glottal stop

Although glottal stop occurs in Dupaningan, it is almost always predictable and has a very low functional load[25]. Although the various grammatical particles often end in phonetic vowels, no lexical item in Dupaningan can begin or end with a vowel, and a glottal stop is inserted at the beginning and/or end of every word that begins or ends with a vowel phonemically.

72. ø → ʔ / #__V
ø → ʔ / V__#

[25] Glottal stop is represented as <ʔ> in this work, but it is omitted unless under discussion.

Vanoverbergh (1937: 119) notes that this occurs in all the Negrito languages of northern Luzon.

The only case in which a glottal stop regularly appears morpheme-internally is in historically reduplicated monosyllables.

73. *ma-ʔalʔal* 'newborn baby that does not come all the way out'
<um> ʔasʔas 'subside, ebb'[26]
[ʔ]*utʔut* 'dove'

Of approximately 1,500 entries in the dictionary (see Appendix A), only three have glottal stops that are unaccounted for by the above rules and are not known to be loan words.

74. *alaseyʔas* 'nice, fancy'
ayeʔin 'today'
mag-alosʔos 'slide down'

Thus the status of glottal stop as a phoneme is quite marginal in Dupaningan. It can be considered a phoneme with *very* low functional load.

2.2.1.5 r[27]

The phoneme /r/ is generally a tap [ɾ], but it becomes a trill at the beginning of a stressed syllable and in final position.

75. ɾ → r /__ v́
ɾ → r /__ #

[26] Infixes are enclosed in <>. The affixes <*in*> 'COMPLETIVE' and <*um*> 'ACTOR FOCUS' infix before the first vowel of the root. As a result, they appear to be prefixes when combined with vowel-initial roots. They will be represented in this work as infixes whether the root is vowel-initial or consonant-initial for the sake of consistency.

[27] The phoneme /r/ will be represented orthographically as <r> in this work, without reference to whether it is tapped or trilled.

76. [ɾuˈmapog] 'cross a river' (tap)
[ɾaˈpot-ɾaˈpot] 'grass, weeds' (tap)
[ˈsarek] 'lice crusher' (tap)
[ˈduro] 'gather' (tap)
[ˈbarot] 'fishing spear' (tap)

77. [saˈrek] 'termite' (trill)
[kadˈdur] 'thunder' (trill)
[ʔˈibar] 'spit' (trill)

The phoneme /r/ becomes /h/ in some regional dialects and among certain speakers. This is an unconditioned change, and thus it is a case of merger r, h → h[28]. Occasionally, speakers of Dupaningan who favor /r/ will hypercorrect and substitute /r/ for /h/ phonemes that do not derive historically from *r. A few examples are listed below[29].

78. Spanish *espejo* /espexo/ > Ilk *ispeho* > Du *ispeho ~ ispero*
PMP **hasang* (Blust 1995) > PNEL *asang > Du *ahang ~ arang* 'gill' (with *s > h, see section 2.1.1.7 above)
Ilk *sikig* > Du *hikeg ~ rikeg* 'lie on side' (with *s > h, see section 2.1.1.7 above)

2.2.1.6 Glottal fricative h

The phoneme /h/ is often omitted in fast speech and in syllable-final position.

79. *baga ~ bagah* 'rice' (syllable-final)

Combined with r → h, mentioned above, this can surface as the loss of /r/. It is actually a series of changes /r/ → /h/ → ø.

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[28] This merger also takes place in other Negrito languages of the area, such as Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta (Oates and Oates 1958), Pahanan Agta (Palanan Dumagat), Casiguran (Dumagat) Agta, and other regional varieties of Agta. It should be considered an areal feature of northern Luzon Agta languages rather than a shared historical innovation.

[29] The same process has taken place in Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta, where karon 'wooden box' (Oates and Oates 1958: 14) comes from Spanish cajon [kaxon] (presumably via Ilokano).

80. *magtokram ~ magtokam* 'duck head, bow head' (fast speech)

2.2.1.7 Alveolar versus velar voiced stops

Although /d/ and /g/ are separate phonemes in Dupaningan, they are found in variation in a number of words. The variation is often in words where these stops are reflexes of PMP *j (see section 2.1.1.3 above).

81. *naden ~ nagen* 'name' PAn *ngajan
disalad ~ gisalad 'inside'
ma-madi ~ ma-magi 'dry' (PMP *maja 'evaporate')
gedtan-an ~ digtan-an ~ i-gegtan-an 'step on'
ma-baksag ~ ma-baksad 'fast' (cf., Proto-Northeastern Luzon *bagsəg)

In some cases, the Dupaningan varies from the reconstructed form for northeastern Luzon form by having sporadically changed /d/ to /g/ or /g/ to /d/.

82. Dupaningan *pugang* 'nipple' vs. Proto-Northeastern Luzon *pudəng

2.2.1.8 Velar Nasal

Although the phoneme /ŋ/ may occur in initial position in Dupaningan, it is rare in this position, and some of the words with this phoneme in initial position have variants that avoid this dis-preferred position.

83. *ngumidit ~ gumidit ~ umidit* 'laugh'

Most of the Dupaningan forms with an initial velar nasal belong to the semantic domain of the mouth (see Appendix A: Dictionary). Blust (2003) shows that initial ng- is a phonestheme for the domains of 'mouth' and 'nose' in many Austronesian languages, and it should be considered as having a real psychological reality for speakers.

2.2.1.9 Affrication

Although there are no phonemic affricates in Dupaningan Agta, affricates may occur as the result of a palatalization process that mirrors one found in Ilokano (and other

Philippine languages). The phoneme /i/ optionally becomes a glide /y/ before the vowel /a/. This sequence /dy/ is then palatalized to [dʒ].

84. i → y / __ a (optional)
dy → dʒ

85. *adia-ʼan* → *aʼdʒan* 'open'
madi-ʼan → *maʼdʒan* ~ *madiʼyan* 'don't want'

In this latter example, we see which the variant that has not undergone affrication has undergone automatic glide insertion. This glide insertion is not unexpected, and it occurs in other forms.

86. *i-* + *atad* → *iyatad* 'give'
mag- + *lati* + *=ak* → *maglatiyak* 'I will gather rattan'
s<um>alo + *=ak* → *sumalowak* 'I will borrow'
ammo + *-an* → *ammowan* 'kiss'
nag- + *ladu* + *=ak* → *nagladuwak* 'I had a fever'

In some words, the affricate variant occurs to the exclusion of the stop, and one may be tempted to say that the affricate is the underlying phoneme, but these cases are rare enough that they do not warrant postulating a separate phoneme (the two known cases being listed below).

87. *ʼadʒa* 'where'
maʼg-adʒa 'remove'

Unlike in Ilokano or Tagalog, this does not occur with /s/.

88. Dupaningan /pusian/ [pusiʼyan] 'star'
Dupaningan /siam/ [ʼsiyam] 'nine'
Ilokano /siak/ [ʃak] 'I'
Tagalog /siota/ [ʃota] 'girlfriend'
Tagalog, Ilokano /siam/ [ʃam] 'nine'

2.2.2 Vowels

Dupaningan Agta has five vowels, a reduction from the six vowel system with schwa found in its immediate ancestor, Proto-Northeastern Luzon, which also had *ə (see section 2.1.1.12 above).

Table 2.5 Dupaningan vowel phonemes

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

2.2.2.1 Minimal pairs

Minimal pairs and near minimal pairs for the vowels are given below.

89. /a/ and /e/ and /o/
abang 'boat', *abeng* 'older sibling (address)', *abong* 'crown of head'

90. /a/ and /e/ and /i/
malledum 'early', *malidum* 'dark', *aladum* 'clothes'

91. /a/ and /e/
i-allad 'add a feather to an arrow', *i-ellad* 'hide something in water'

92. /e/ and /i/
ma-singgat 'tasty', *senggit* 'sun'
digi 'blood', *diget* 'sea'

93. /o/ and /u/
mag-gulam 'play', *golang* 'orphan'
buntok 'head', *ontok* 'high'

Although the closely related language Casiguran Dumagat Agta has conflated the contrast between /ay/ and /e/, the contrast still exists in Dupaningan. Minimal pairs for this contrast are listed below.

94. *iday* 'that', *ide* 'this'
ihay 'there', *ihe* 'here'

2.2.2.2 Alternations between [a] and [ə]

The Dupaningan phoneme /a/ derives historically from both *ə and *a, but the change is still in progress in modern Dupaningan, with schwa [ə] still occurring as an alternate pronunciation for a small number of words. The following is a comprehensive list of lexical items in the dictionary (see Appendix A) which have a schwa [ə] as an alternate pronunciation.

95. *mag-baknag ~ mag-baknəg* 'to wrap, bundle'
t<um>aknag ~ t<um>aknəg 'to stand' (cf., PNEL *taknəg)
alsap ~ alsəp 'fog, mist'
kokombat ~ kokombət 'wrinkled'
ma-daggas ~ ma-daggəs 'spicy, strong-flavored' (cf., PNEL * ma-dəgəs)
massap ~ massəp 'shallow'

Although the first two words are quite similar phonologically, there is not enough evidence to claim that /a/ becomes [ə] under certain conditions, and other words with similar final syllables do not have alternative [ə] pronunciations (e.g., *maronag* 'rotten', *mabinag* 'strong').

A similar situation exists in the Northern Cordilleran language Yogad, where Davis and Mesa (2000: xiv) assert that "there are only thirty-one roots (out of more than 2,800 entries) and one grammatical morpheme in which *ə* appears in a position in which it can contrast with *a*, the vowel to which it is phonetically most similar."

2.2.2.3 Mid front vowels [e] and [ɛ]

The phoneme /e/ is most often realized as a lax vowel [ɛ]. The tense [e] occurs only before a glide.

96. ɛ → e /__ [-syll, -cons]

97. *alas*[e]*y ʔas* 'fancy, new'
babb[e]*y* 'woman'
ald[e]*w* 'day'
dibil[e]*w* 'across from'

2.2.2.4 Mid/high vowel alternations

Although the mid and the high vowels are separate phonemes in Dupaningan Agta (see section 2.2.2.1 above), there are a number of instances where /i/ and /e/ and /u/ and /o/ alternate. Some examples are given below.

98. *mag.-da.* ˈ*get* 'sew'[30]
ma.ka.-da.gi.-da. ˈ*get* 'sewing' (*maka-* prefix and CVCV- reduplication)

99. *<u.m>u.* ˈ*nek* 'climb'
uni. ˈ*k-an.=ta* 'we (two) climb something' (*-an* suffix)

100. ˈ*es.sa* 'one'
i. ˈ*s-es.sa* 'alone' (VC- reduplication)

101. *mag.-*ˈ*pot.pot* 'harvest by plucking'
ˈ*pot.put-an* 'pluck out' (-an suffix)

102. *ma.g-a.* ˈ*gom* 'gather'
a.gu. ˈ*m-an* 'increase, add to' (-an suffix)

103. *p<um>u* ˈ*las* 'steal, rob'
ˈ*pols-an* 'snatch, grab' (with loss of /a/ vowel; see section 2.1.1.12.1 above)

In the above examples, the mid vowels [e] and [o] become the high vowels [i] and [u] when their syllables become open and vice versa. A similar process takes place in Casiguran (Dumagat) Agta, where Headland and Healey (1974: 20) claim that "[w]henever the mid close vowels o and e occur in closed syllables, if the syllable

[30] A period . here denotes a syllable boundary.

becomes open due to suffixation, these vowels will be replaced by their high close counterparts, u and i." Although this rule does not place the two phones in complementary distribution, it does have some phonetic motivation: from a neutral tongue position, a high vowel takes longer to produce than a mid vowel, so it is not uncommon, either in the Philippines or in the world's languages, to have mid vowels in closed syllables and high vowels in open syllables[31]. The more consistent rule that mid vowels occur exclusively in closed syllables and high vowels occur exclusively in open syllables, however, does not account for all the data in Dupaningan, as the words below illustrate. In example 104 below, high vowels occur in closed syllables, and in example 105 below low vowels occur in open syllables, which would not be expected if they were in complementary distribution. Therefore, mid and high vowels are not in complementary distribution, and they must be considered separate phonemes even though they alternate.

104. ***bis***. *ʔkal* 'muscle'
ʔdig.dig 'edge'
ba. ***ʔyug*** 'thorny bamboo'
bug. *ʔong* 'only child'
*ma.****buk***. *ʔet* 'pregnant'

105. *ba.* ***ʔyo****.bang* 'guava'
ʔto*.lay* 'person'
l<u. ***ʔm>e****.get* 'look down'
ʔhe*.na* 'mother'

Even the rule posited above that mid vowels become high when their syllables become open and high vowels become mid when their syllables become closed does not

[31] Thanks to Victoria Anderson for pointing out the phonetic motivation and to Robert Blust for noting that this is a common feature among Austronesian languages.

account for all of the synchronic alternations between mid and high vowels in Dupaningan. In example 106 below, mid vowels do not become high despite the proper conditions for the change. In example 107 below, mid and high vowels simply alternate without apparent conditioning.

106. *mangi-ˈbunong* 'to divide', *buˈnong-an* 'divide something'
magˈdappon 'guard', *dapˈpon-an* 'care for someone'
alukoˈp-an 'cuddle'

107. *maka-tiˈman* 'able to hear', *mag-ˈtɛman* 'listen'
mag-itˈnod 'sit' ~ *<uˈm>ɛtnod* 'sit'
g<um>uˈtap 'dive' , *g<in><uˈm>otap* 'dived'

In the above examples, it seems that the mid vowels occur in stressed syllables, whereas the high vowels occur in unstressed syllables, but this is not always the case.

108. *maˈlagɛn* 'lightweight'
gaˈlampɛs 'water buffalo'

109. *ˈsiyu* 'bolo knife'
maˈribu 'thousand'

110. *amoˈgud* 'forest'
maˈlogon 'cheap'

111. *aˈsu* 'dog'
paˈlungo 'first'

High vowels occur more often in open syllables and mid vowels more often in stressed syllables, but sometimes mid and high vowels simply vary among speakers or by a single speaker on various occasions. It seems likely that the mid vowels are in transition from their historical status as separate phonemes to a new situation where they vary allophonically, but that this change has not yet diffused through the entire lexicon.

2.2.2.5 Stress & vowel length

Stress is phonemic in Dupaningan Agta, but it will not be represented in this work unless it is being specifically discussed. This is for two reasons: first, it is not the convention in the orthographies of Philippine languages; second and more importantly, stress was not always recorded on full-length utterances, and although the stress was recorded in citation forms (provided in the vocabulary in Appendix B) , citation forms are notoriously unreliable with regard to stress. It would therefore be misleading to provide the tentative stress transcriptions from the original data. Below are minimal and near-minimal stress pairs.

112. *ma'lapat* 'somewhat small', *mala'pat* 'burned, scorched'
di'gi 'blood' *a'digi* 'house post'

Any of the five vowels may be stressed.

113. *di'gi* 'blood'
di'gu 'broth, sauce'
di'get 'ocean, sea'
bag'gat 'uncooked rice'
ma'gota 'vomit'

When a stressed vowel falls on an open penultimate syllable, it is also long. Stress can fall on open or closed syllables, in any position within the word.

114. *pat.'ta:.ma* 'family'
ma.gat.'tam 'suffer'
i.'tam.lad 'press'
'pa:.tit 'kind of bright yellow bird'
ka.li.'pat 'opposite side'
'pat.pa.tan 'clear land'

In suffixed forms, the stress is assigned one syllable later than in the un-suffixed forms.

115. *a'gom* 'companion' → *agu'm-an* 'increase'
'bilang 'number' → *bi'lang-an* 'count'
pu'sot 'bag' → *pusu't-an* 'wrap up'

But this is not always the case, and the exact conditions of stress assignment under affixation remain unclear.

116. *'ennam* 'taste (n.)' → *'ennam-an* 'to taste'
gi'lot 'rope' → *gi'lut-an* 'tie'
na'gen 'name (n.)' → *i-na'gin-an* 'to name'

2.2.3 Syllable structure

The basic Dupaningan syllable structure is (C)V(C). Phonemically, a syllable minimally contains a single vowel, and may contain one onset consonant and one coda consonant.

117. /du.a/ 'two'
/ag.tay/ 'liver'
/u.ru/ 'medicine'
/bal.bag/ 'large frog'

Phonetically, however, the Dupaningan syllable structure is CV(C), and every syllable must phonetically contain an onset. Word-initially a glottal stop is inserted to fulfill this requirement. Medially, a transitional glide may be inserted. Moreover, a word cannot end in a phonetic vowel. Again, glottal stop is inserted word-finally to fulfill this requirement.

118. [du.wa?] 'two'
[?ag.tay] 'liver'
[?u.ru?] 'medicine'
[bal.bag] 'large frog'

Re-syllabification occurs after affixation. When the first morpheme ends in a consonant and the second one begins in a vowel, no glottal stop will occur and the final consonant will syllabify with the initial vowel, as in the following examples.

119. *mag-* + /uray/ [ʔuray] → [ma.g-u.ray] 'wait'
/akdet/ [ʔakdet] + -an → [ʔak.di.t-an] 'remove from fire'

Consonant combinations occur only across syllable boundaries.

120. *ma-.seg.kat* 'lazy'
ap.du 'bile, gall'
me.pod.ru 'island'
bang.wes 'hook'
tak.wa.b-an 'open'
a.lem.tak 'leech'
i-.tag.mak 'put, place, set'
mag-.gar.tod 'pluck'
m<u.m>ang.he 'smile'
bag.yo 'storm'
karoykoy 'large crab'

The phonemes /h/ and /w/ never occur as the first member of a consonant sequence unless they involve a reduplicated form (whether or not the reduplicant itself is a morpheme).

121. *ali.bukaw.kaw* 'circular'
mag-kaseh-kaseh 'rough, hard'[32]

Sequences of vowels and glides should not be considered true diphthongs in Dupaningan because they do not occur in the V slot of the syllable. A vowel followed by a glide then another consonant (C_0VGC) constitutes a prohibited syllable, and only occurs in the data on a single isolated instance, where the pronoun *moy* '2PL.GEN' was

[32] This definition was never confirmed with a second speaker and does not appear in the dictionary appendix. The word is given here to illustrate a phonological point.

encliticized with the =*n* variant of the enclitic =*dan* 'already', yielding *moyn*, instead of the usual *moydan* (see section 4.7.3.2.1 on the enclitic =*dan* and its variants).

2.2.4 Word structure

Dupaningan strongly disfavors one syllable lexical items, although single syllable grammatical morphemes are relatively common. Of the over 1,500 entries in the dictionary (Appendix A), there are only eleven one syllable content words. Where their etymologies are known, they all derive from the loss of a medial glottal stop or *h (see sections 2.1.1.4 and 2.1.1.5 above, respectively. The result is a word of the shape CV:C. It seems likely, however that with the dispreference for monosyllables, speakers will soon add a syllable to these words, as with *attay* 'feces' from Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *taqi[33] > ta?i > tay > pre-NELuzon *ətay > Dupaningan *attay*.

122. *leːg* 'neck' (PAN *liqeR)
doːn 'leaf' (PMP *dahun)
buːk 'hair' (PMP *buhek)
beːg 'loincloth' (PWMP *bahaR)
beːy 'kind of yam'
keːn 'skirt'

The coalescence of the medial vowels is not unexpected because we also see coalescence of vowels synchronically in Dupaningan. When the adjectival prefix *ma-* is added to a root which begins with /a/, the result is often a single long vowel.

123. *ma-* + *asok* → *maːsok* 'smoky'
ma- + *alap* → *maːlap* 'hungry'
ma- + *alay* → *maːlay* 'long time'
ma- + *apsot* → *maːpsot* 'sour'

There are exceptions to this generalization, however.

[33] (Blust 1995)

124. *ma-* + *akot* → *ma?akot* 'pick up'

Although the existence of monosyllabic lexical items can be explained with reference to historical facts, synchronically Dupaningan has a word minimality constraint. That is, one syllable words all contain an extra heavy syllable with a long vowel and a coda consonant. Such one syllable roots are not lengthened when they are affixed, even though they may derive historically from a similar loss of medial consonant and vowel coalescence.

125. mag-kan 'eat' (PAN *kaen)
mag-tap 'winnow rice' (PMP *tahep)
mag-dɛs 'arrive'

2.2.5 Other phonological rules

2.2.5.1 Complete assimilation of /n/

Alveolar nasals fully assimilate to following laterals.

126. n → l / _l
[+cor, +nas] → [-nas, +lat] / ___ [-nas, +lat]

This is most evident with pronouns and adverbial enclitics (see sections 3.8 and 4.7.3, respectively).

127. *=dan* 'already' + *=la* 'just' → *=dalla*
hikan '1SG.LFNOM' + *=la* 'just' → *hikalla*
=kan 'HSY' + *=la* 'just' → *=kalla*
=man 'CONTRASTIVE' + *=la* 'just' → *=malla*

But this process is optional and is not found in reduplicated forms or in careful speech.

128. *lamon-lamon* 'grass' (reduplicated)
ma-likon-likon 'twisted' (reduplicated)
mɛnsan=la 'even if' (careful speech)
nokkan liggu 'next Sunday' (careful speech)

2.2.5.2 Nasal assimilation

All of the nasal stops assimilate in position to a following consonant[34].

129. /ayag-an=mo/ → [ayagam=mo] 'you call (someone)'
/garsat-an=ko/ → [garsatang=ko] 'I cut (something)'
/im do:n/ → [in do:n] 'than the leaf'
/mapongsit/ → [maponsit] ~ [mapongsit] 'white'
/dangper/ → [dampɐr] ~ [dangpɐr] 'attack'

But this assimilation is optional, and is not likely to be found in careful speech.

2.2.5.3 Pronoun vowel deletion

Under the influence of Ilokano, Dupaningan speakers will occasionally coalesce the verbal suffix *–an* and the second person singular enclitic pronoun *=mo* as the portmanteau morpheme *–am*. This is a mandatory process in Ilokano, but optional in Dupaningan, where the standard form is the unconflated *–am=mo* with nasal assimilation.

130. *kallab-am ~ kalab-am=mo* '(you) cover it!'
apellak-am ~ apellak-am=mo'(you) make it shorter!'
angay-am ~ angay-am=mo 'Where are you going?'

Although the same process takes place in Ilokano with first person singular enclitic pronoun *=ko*, yielding *–an* + *=ko* → *-ak*, this conflation does not occur in Dupaningan, where there is only nasal assimilation.

131. *madi-ang=ko* **madi-ak* 'I don't like it.'
alap-ang=ko **alap-ak* 'I will get it.'

[34] There were no cases in the data of /m/ assimilating to a following velar, but all the other possibilities were attested in the data, and it is assumed that /m/ can assimilate to velars but is simply not attested in the dataset.

3 The noun phrase

3.1 Defining a noun

Aside from the tried-and-mostly-true semantic definition of a nominal as a person, place, thing, or idea, nominals[1] can be defined in Dupaningan distributionally. The first criterion is that only a nominal can occur with the definite article *i*.

1. ni-datton=na i **urah**[2] ha daklat=ayo
   CMPL.TV-put=3SG.GEN **DEF** **rice** OBL floor=DIST.SPC
   'He put **the rice** on a floor over there.'

2. <in>alap-ø=mi[3] i **makadaklan** ha ni Pedru
   <CMPL>-PV[4]=get=1PL.EXC.GEN **DEF** **carabao** OBL PERS Pedro
   'We got the water buffalo (carabao) from Pedro.'

Even forms that are not prototypically nouns and do not fit the semantic definitions of nouns can be nominalized simply by virtue of following the definite article *i*. This kind of nominalization is most often seen in cleft and question constructions (see sections 5.2.2 and 5.6, respectively).

3. di Lubak hidi ni Abi i **<um>emmang** **hidi** ihu
   PERS.PL Lubak PL PERS Abi **DEF** **<AV>rest** **PL** DIST.LOC
   'Lubak and Abi are **the ones resting** over there.'

---

[1] In this section, I use *nominal* as a cover term for any argument that serves a nominal function, whereas *noun* refers to arguments that serve nominal functions, are semantically nominal, and generally appear in nominal positions in Dupaningan.

[2] This is *murah* for most speakers.

[3] The affixes <*in*> 'COMPLETIVE' and <*um*> 'ACTOR VOICE' infix before the first vowel of the root. As a result, they appear to be prefixes when combined with vowel-initial roots. They will be represented in this work as infixes whether the root is vowel-initial or consonant-initial for the sake of consistency.

[4] The infix <*in*> marks completive verbs in the patient, locative and actor (<*um*>) voices. With completive actor and locative verbs, <*in*> combines with voice affixes to form the completive. In the patient voice completive, however, there is no voice affix, only <*in*>. There are two ways of analyzing such verbs: 1) the <*in*> marks both voice and aspect in these instances or 2) the patient voice affix is null in the completive. Although I dislike positing null elements, I also want to avoid multiple different meanings for a single morpheme (i.e., only aspect in most instances, but aspect *and* voice in the patient voice). Therefore, I reluctantly posit a null element here. It is represented as ø in the first line and glossed as PV for patient voice.

4. panyan=na=noman a maka-kagi i **bangngag=ayo**
how=3SG.GEN=ASRT LK ABIL-speak DEF **deaf=DIST.SPC**
'How is **that deaf person** able to speak?'

In example 3 above, *umemmang* 'rest' carries the actor voice verbal infix <*um*>, but in this sentence, it is a nominal embedded in the nominal phrase *i umemmang hidi* 'the resting ones'. In example 4 above, the monomorphemic adjective *bangngag* 'deaf' is used nominally in the phrase *i bangngag=ayo* 'that deaf person'. In example 5 below, we see that the adjective *nalutu* 'ripe' is used nominally in the phrase *i nalutu=ayo* 'that ripe one', and we also see an example of the adjective *makata* 'unripe' used nominally, pointing us to another way of distributionally defining nominals. In this case, we can see that *makata* 'unripe' is used nominally because it is followed by the specificity particle *a*, another distributional characteristic for defining nominals.

5. ma-singgat i **na-lutu=ayo** im **ma-kata=a**
ADJ-tasty DEF **ADJ-ripe=DIST.SPC** than **ADJ-unripe=SPC**
'That ripe one is tastier than an unripe one.'

Nominals are also followed by the specific deictics *aye* 'this' (proximal), *aya* 'that' (medial), and *ayo* 'that' (distal). See section 3.8.7 below for more information on deictics.

6. ni-sabit ni Manet i **sulu=ayo**
CMPL.TV-hang PERS Manet DEF **light=DIST.SPC**
'Manet hung up **that light**.'

Again, elements that are not prototypically nouns can be nominalized in this way, and in example 7 below we see that the verb *angay* 'to go', with the locative voice suffix *-an* is nominalized in the phrase *angay-an=na=aya a talon* 'that forested place where he is going'.

7. d<um>itang=kan hikuna ha angay-an=na=aya a talon
<AV>arrive=HSY 3SG.LFNOM OBL go-LV=3SG.GEN=MED.SPC LK forest
'They say he arrives at that forested place where he is going.'

Another distributional characteristic of nominals is that they can be pluralized with the marker *hidi* (see section 3.3 below for more information on plurality).

8. ma-anggad i agom=ko hidi=aye
ADJ-smell DEF companion=1SG.GEN PL=PROX.SPC
'These companions of mine smell bad.'

Finally, nominals that are personal names (or certain kinship terms) are preceded by the personal marker *ni* or its plural *di* (see section 3.2.2 below), which is another way of distributionally defining nominals.

We can see from the examples above, then, that no single distributional or semantic characteristic defines a nominal in Dupaningan. In contrast, it is possible for an indefinite nominal to occur without any of the above mentioned grammatical morphemes.

3.2 Case/Noun markers

Noun phrases in Dupaningan Agta are often marked for what I will call case (see section 1.14 for a discussion of terminology and the framework of this dissertation). The voice of the verb determines which noun phrases will receive which case, much as the active/passive distinction in English determines how the cases nominative and accusative will be mapped onto the various noun phrases of the sentences. In Dupaningan, for example, in a clause where the verb carries actor voice morphology (discussed in section 4.2.1), the semantic actor of the clause is in nominative case (whether that noun phrase is a common noun phrase, a proper noun phrase, or a pronoun). In a clause where the verb carries patient voice moprhology, the semantic patient is in nominative case. Verbal morphology is discussed more thoroughly in chapter four.

There are three cases in Dupaningan: nominative, genitive, and oblique. These terms should not be understood as neatly corresponding with those categories in European languages. These terms are chosen in line with scholarly tradition in the study of Philippine languages and are used here for the sake of simplicity. The term nominative is used for the most grammatically salient of the cases (a notion corresponding to syntactic subject or pivot). The nominative, for example, is the only argument that can be relativized in Dupaningan. The term genitive is used for a case which covers both possession and non-nominative actors (the latter are sometimes called *ergative*). Dupaningan oblique case is used for both peripheral noun phrases, such as time or location, and also for the non-actor arguments (undergoers) in actor voice clauses.

3.2.1 Common nouns

In Dupaningan, case is marked differently depending on whether the noun phrase is common, proper, or pronominal. The common nouns will be addressed first. The distribution of case in Dupaningan common nouns is given in Table 3.1 below. Readers familiar with Philippine languages such as Tagalog should note that Dupaningan has a different distribution of case than Tagalog or Ilokano.

Table 3.1 Dupaningan, Tagalog, and Ilokano, and Central Cagayan Agta case

	topic	syntactic subject (actor of an actor voice verb, patient of a patient voice verb, etc.)	actor of a non-actor voice verb	possessor	semantic object of an actor voice verb	oblique
Dupaningan Agta	*ø* nominative		*(na/di*[5]*)* genitive		*(ha)* oblique	
Tagalog	*ang* nominative		*ng* [nang] genitive			*sa* oblique
Ilokano	*ti* core argument (Rubino 1997)					*(i)ti* oblique
Central Cagayan Agta	*ya* nominative		*na* genitive		*ta* oblique	

The non-subject (undergoer) of an actor voice verb is given in the oblique case in Dupaningan, whereas it is genitive in Tagalog. The Dupaningan pattern is not unique within Philippine languages, and is also found in the geographically proximate Central Cagayan Agta (see Reid 1978 for a discussion of the diversity of case-marking systems in Philippine languages).

In example 9 below, the cases are exemplified with a non-actor voice sentence. The genitive argument (semantic actor) *babbey* 'woman' is marked by the presence of the third person singular genitive pronoun *na* (not actually a dedicated case marker; see section 3.2.1.2 below), the oblique *lallaki* 'man' is marked with the oblique marker *ha* and the nominative (semantic object) is morphologically unmarked except for the definite marker *i* (see section 3.3 below about definiteness).

9. i-demat=na [babbey]$_{GEN}$ [i kape]$_{NOM}$ [ha lallaki]$_{OBL}$
TV-bring=3SG.GEN woman DEF coffee OBL man
'A woman will bring the coffee to a man.'

[5] *Na* and *di* are not case markers, per se. They are genitive pronouns that also co-occur with full genitive noun phrases. See the section on genitives below.

In example 10 below, the verb is in the actor voice, so the semantic object *padut* 'fish' is marked with the oblique *ha* and the nominative *anak* 'child' is unmarked except for the definite marker *i*.

10.	nag-hida	[i	anak]$_{NOM}$	[ha	padut]$_{OBL}$
	AV.CMPL-eat.with.rice	DEF	child	OBL	fish
	'The child ate fish (with rice).'				

3.2.1.1 Nominatives

In Dupaningan, nominative case is used for topics, the semantic actor of an actor voice verb, the patient of a patient voice verb, the goal/location of a locative voice verb, or the theme of a theme voice verb. Generally there can only be one nominative noun phrase per clause in Dupaningan (although see section 5.7.1 on a special double nominative construction that is reminiscent of the English double object construction). Nominative common nouns are unmarked for case in Dupaningan, although they are often definite and therefore co-occur with the definite marker *i*. Reid & Liao (2004) claim "that most Nominative full noun phrases are unmarked morphologically" in Philippine languages and that "[t]ypically, the Determiners that are listed as Nominative case markers...are also indistinguishable from those that mark any definite noun..." (466). This is exactly the situation found in Dupaningan.

In the examples below, the nominative noun phrases are enclosed in brackets. We can see that these nominative phrases are morphologically unmarked for case (and the ones exemplified here do not have the definite marker *i*). In example 11 below, the nominative noun phrase *kammegus* 'boyfriend' is unmarked, and the presence of the genitive noun phrase *i bakla=a* 'the gay man' is marked by the third person singular genitive pronoun *na* on the verb. Likewise, the nominatives *agom=di hidi=a* 'their

companions' (12 below) and *gahut=di he* 'their debt' (13 below) are both nominatives unmarked for case.

11. ni-peta=na i bakla=a [kammegus=na] ha nikitam
TV.CMPL-say=3SG.GEN DEF gay.man=SPC [boyfriend=3SG.GEN] OBL 1PL.INC.GEN
'The gay man introduced his boyfriend to us.'

12. da-dappon-an=na i hapu=di=a [agom=di hidi=a]
MULT-guard-LV=3SG.GEN DEF boss=3PL.GEN=SPC companion=3PL.GEN PL=SPC
'Their boss will take care of their companions.'

13. b<in>aly-an di Maribel hidi ni Lubi [gahut=di=he]
<CMPL>pay-PV PERS.PL Maribel PL PERS Lubi debt=3PL.GEN=SPC
'Maribel and Lubi paid their debt.'

Topicalized nominatives are likewise unmarked. In 14 below, *anak=ayo* 'that child' is the nominative. It has been topicalized and is in initial position in the sentence, but it is still unmarked for case.

14. anak=ayo awan a saniki
child= DIST.SPC NEG.EXT LK shame
'That child has no shame.'

Nominative phrases may sometimes be omitted, as in the examples below, but they are always realized semantically, so that sentences with no overt nominal phrase are usually translated as having a pronoun, such as English *it*. This is only possible if the meaning of the nominative can be inferred from the context.

15. i-peta=mo=pat
TV-say=2SG.GEN=still
'Say it again.'

16. ma-singgat suwa=ayo im majan=ko a kanan
ADJ-tasty pomelo= DIST.SPC but don't.want=1SG.GEN LK eat-PV
'That pomelo is tasty, but I don't want to eat it.'

17. nang-alap ha [budak]$_1$ i ulitaw=a;
CMPL.AV-get OBL flower DEF young.man=SPC

ni-atad=na ha madiket=a
CMPL.TV-give=3SG.GEN OBL young.woman=spc
'The young man got a flower, and he gave it to the young woman.'

18. alegid=dan i bilay ni Garwet im (i bilay) ni Bukaw
old=already DEF house PERS Garwet than DEF house PERS Bukaw
'Garwet's house is older than Bukaw's (house).'

19. ma-enta=di i burog=a hidi ha agta
ACD-see=3PL.GEN DEF monkey=SPC PL OBL person

no na-lutu=dan i adika=a o no ma-soprad
if ADJ-ripe=already DEF banana=SPC or if ADJ-unripe
'The monkey and the person can see if that banana is ripe or if (it is) unripe.'

3.2.1.2 Genitives

The Dupaningan genitive case is used for the semantic actor of a non-actor voice verb, and also for possessors (hence the term genitive; see section 3.6 below). The genitive, like the nominative, is unmarked morphologically, but almost always co-occurs with the third person genitive pronouns *na* '3SG.GEN' and *di* '3PL.GEN'. In example 20 below, the actor *wadi=ko* 'my younger sibling' is in the genitive and is thus preceded by the third person singular genitive pronoun *na*.

20. i-tobbak=na wadi=ko ha pag-i-duru-an
TV-throw.away=3SG.GEN younger.sib=1SG.GEN OBL NMLZ-TV-gather-LV
'My younger sibling is throwing out garbage.'

In example 21 below, the plural actor *i hama=di ken hena=di* 'their father and their mother' follows the plural pronoun *di*.

21. na-nakam-an=di i hama=di ken hena=di 'anak[6]=di hidi=a
ADJ-mind-LV=PL.GEN DEF father=3PL.GEN and mother=3PL.GEN children=3PL.GEN PL=SPC
'Their father and their mother worry about their children.'

[6] The word *anak* 'child' is singular with final stress and plural with initial stress (see section 3.5).

If the genitive noun phrase is definite, then the definite marker *i* will come between the pronoun and the noun, as in 21 above and 22, 23, and 24 below. In informal speech, the combination of *na* and *i* can coalesce to *ni*, as in example 25.

22. ni-tago=na i anak=a i bobog=na
CMPL.TV -hide=SG.GEN DEF child=SPC DEF toy=3SG.GEN
'The child hid his toy.'

23. dadapon-an=na i anak=a i sansanat=na hidi=a
take.care-LV=3SG.GEN DEF child=SPC DEF doll=3SG.GEN PL=SPC
'The child will take care of his dolls.'

24. ballay-an=di i 'anak hidi=a i kemukasan
await-LV=3PL.GEN DEF children PL=SPC DEF new.year
'The children are looking forward to the new year.'

25. ngamin nga ta-bi-biskwit[7] a ta-kan-an ni 'anak=a[8] hidi
all LK DIM-REDUP-cracker LK DIM-eat-PV GEN.DEF children PL
'All of the little crackers that the children eat'

There are several reasons I consider these simply agreement pronouns rather than case markers, per se. First, the other case marker in Dupaningan, namely, oblique *ha* does not have alternate forms for plural and singular, and if *na* and *di* were case markers, we would need to posit plural/singular distinction in only one grammatical case. Second, *na* and *di* do not always directly precede the nouns with which they agree, as we would expect if they were true case markers. In the following example, the genitive 'case marker' does not directly precede the genitive noun phrase but instead the entire genitive phrase occurs at the end of the sentence. The nominative phrase *i pusad na anak a* 'that child's belly button' intervenes between *na* and the genitive phrase *i bakas=aya a maragaplos* 'that old woman who massages'. This is the usual position in which a genitive pronoun would be expected: immediately following the verb.

[7] From English *biscuit* via Ilokano.
[8] Dupaningan *anak* is singular with final stress and plural with initial stress.

26. p<in>utad-ø=[na]$_1$ i pusad na anak=a [i bakas=aya a marag-aplos]$_1$
<CMPL>cut-PV=SG.GEN DEF navel LK child=SPC DEF old.woman=MED.SPC LK HBT-massage
'That midwife cut the child's umbilical cord.'

On the other hand, a small number of sentences contain what appears to be both genitive pronouns on the verb and a gentive case marker *na* preceding the genitive noun phrase.

27. ni-karsag=**na**=kami **na** [awan=ayo ha nakam]$_{GEN}$
CMPL.TV-kick=3SG.GEN=1PL.EXC.NOM **GEN** NEG= DIST.SPC OBL mind
'The thoughtless one kicked us.'

28. ni-unod=nayak[9] **na** [babbey=heya]$_{GEN}$ ha lapos=ayo
CMPL.TV-follow=3SG.GEN\1SG.NOM **GEN** woman=SPC OBL outside=DIST.SPC
'A woman brought me to town.'

3.2.1.3 Obliques

Oblique noun phrases in Dupaningan are marked with *ha*. Oblique phrases include location, time, recipient, goal, and source and the patients of actor voice verbs. Examples 29 through 31 below show the uses of *ha* in locative phrases.

29. <in><um>etnod=kam **ha** **parag-kan-an**
<COMP><AV>sit=2PL.NOM **OBL** **HBT-eat-LV**
'You (pl) sat **on the table.**'

30. atoy alemtak **ha** **dinum=a**
EXT leech **OBL** **water=SPC**
'There are leeches **in the water.**'

31. awan=ak=bi a naka-angay **ha** **Bolos**
NEG=1SG.NOM=also LK CMPL.ABIL-go **OBL** **Bolos**
'I've never been **to Bolos.**'

Examples 32 through 34 below show *ha* used with various time phrases.

32. na-lukag i malugyaw **ha** **malledum**
ACD.CMPL-wake DEF baby **OBL** **morning**
'The baby woke up **in the morning.**'

[9] The combination of the third person singular gentive pronoun *=na* and the first person singular nominative pronoun *=ak* is *=nayak*, with an intrusive glide instead of the expected *=naak*. See section 3.8.5 below.

33. d<in><um>emat ni botay=ko **ha meka-lima a pamalak**
<CMPL><AV>arrive PERS uncle=1SG.GEN **OBL ORD-five LK day**
'My uncle arrived five days ago.' (Literally, '**on the fifth day**')

34. i-labbang=di ni kakay **ha ugma**
TV-bury=3PL.GEN PERS grandfather **OBL morrow**
'They will bury Grandfather tomorrow.' (lit., '**on the morrow**')

Examples 35 through 38 below exemplify use of oblique marker *ha* with recipients, sources, and goals.

35. ni-atad=mi i adika **ha ni John**
CMPL.TV-give=1PL.EXC.GEN DEF banana **OBL PERS John**
'We gave the banana **to John**.'

36. ni-atad=na i tennon **ha sarupit=na=aya**
CMPL.TV-give=3SG.GEN DEF clothes **OBL child=3SG.GEN=MED.SPC**
'She gave the clothes **to that child of hers**.'

37. <in>alap-ø ni Ronald i galampes **ha ni Pedro**
<CMPL>get-PV PERS Ronald DEF carabao **OBL PERS Pedro**
'Ronald got the water buffalo (carabao) **from Pedro**.'

38. ni-sulet ni botay **ha bagah** i pilas na laman
CMPL.TV-trade PERS uncle **OBL rice** DEF meat GEN pig
'Uncle traded the pig meat **for rice**.'

The oblique phrase can also be an oblique pronoun (see section 3.8.4 below for more information on oblique pronouns). These are optionally preceded with the case marker *ha*.

39. ni-ditang=ko i madiyag **ha nikam**
CMPL.TV-arrive=1SG.GEN DEF food **OBL 2PL.OBL**
'I brought the food **to you all**.'

40. ni-atad=moy i habu **ha nikan**
CMPL.TV-give=2PL.GEN DEF honey **OBL 1SG.OBL**
'You all gave the honey **to me**.'

The marker *ha* also marks non-actors (undergoers) in actor voice constructions.

41. nag-kan=kitam **ha niyog**
AV.CMPL-eat=1SG.INC.NOM **OBL coconut**
'We ate **coconut**.'

42. nag-hida=ak=man **ha** **padut**
AV.CMPL-main.course=1SG.NOM=CONTRASTIVE **OBL** **fish**
'I ate **fish**.'

A clause can have more than one phrase marked with *ha*.

43. <um>angay=kitam **ha** **dipon** **ha** **liggu**
<AV>go=1SG.INC.NOM **OBL** **market** **OBL** **Sunday**
'We (inc) will go **to market on Sunday**.'

44. s<um>alo ni Ronald **ha** **pana** **ha** **ni** **Garwet**
<AV>borrow PERS Ronald **OBL** **arrow** **OBL** **PERS** **Garwet**
'Ronald will borrow **an arrow from Garwet**.'

45. i-ditang=ko **ha** **nikam** **ha** **apon**
TV-arrive=1SG.GEN **OBL** **2PL.OBL** **OBL** **afternoon**
'I will bring it back **to you all in the afternoon**.'

The marker *ha* has an optional variant *a*.

46. kasur=ko i <um>arabes **a** **dinum**
want=1SG.GEN DEF <AV>cross.water **OBL** **water**
'I want to cross **a river**.'

There are no prepositions in Dupaningan, and preposition-like locations are expressed as locational nouns in an oblique noun phrase.

47. nag-tubu **ha** **sidung** na kayu
AV.CMPL-sprout **OBL** **underside** GEN tree
'They sprouted **under** the tree.'

48. ni-datton=ko i padut **ha** **sidung** na tariaw
CMPL.TV-set=1SG.GEN DEF fish **OBL** **underside** GEN plate
'I put the fish **under** the plate.'

49. awan=bi a maka-taknag **ha** **dibbew=na** na daklat
NEG=also LK ABIL-stand **OBL** **top=3SG.GEN** GEN floor
'It's not possible to stand **on top** of the floor.'

The oblique case marker, although usually present, is optional. In example 50 below, *laman* 'pig' is the non-actor (undergoer) of an actor voice verb, which should be encoded in the oblique case. In example 51 below, we know that *abagatan=ayo* 'far

south' is a noun phrase because =*ayo* 'DISTAL DEICTIC' co-occurs with nominals (see 3 above).

50. t<imm>iru=kan hikuna [laman]$_{OBL}$
<CMPL.AV>shoot=HSY 3SG.LFNOM pig
'He shot a pig.'

51. **mapan**=kitam=pala [**abagatan**=ayo]$_{OBL}$
AV.**go**=1PL.INC.NOM=still **south**= DIST.SPC
'We'll all go to the south first.'

3.2.2 Proper nouns

Proper nouns are marked differently from common nouns in Dupaningan (and many other Philippine languages). Marking of proper nouns does not depend on case, but proper noun markers are sensitive to number. Singular proper nouns are marked with *ni*. The plural proper noun marker *di* is used with conjoined names (as English *Jane and Gary*) and can also be used with a single name to imply that individual and other unnamed individuals (as colloquial English *Jane and them*).

52. babbey ni Lingling, lallaki ni John
female PERS Lingling male PERS John
'Lingling is a girl and John is a boy.'

53. maka-hida-hida di Lingay hidi ni Roxanne ha iget
CONT-REDUP-eat.with.rice PERS.PL Lingay PL PERS Roxanne OBL eel
'Lingay and Roxanne are eating eel.'

54. <in><um>angay=kan di Garwet ha didiya
<CMPL><AV>GO=HSY PERS.PL Garwet OBL upstream
'They say Garwet and his companions went upstream.'

Although these personal noun markers are prototypically found with personal names, they are also used with certain kinship terms or other common nouns, making them proper nouns, much as Mom and Dad can be proper nouns in English.

55. na-lukag=dan ni botay=ko
ACD.CMPL-awake=already PERS uncle=1SG.GEN
'My uncle woke up.'

56. i-labbang=di ni kakay ha ugma
TV-bury=3PL.GEN PERS grandfather OBL tomorrow
'They will bury Grandfather tomorrow.'

57. nag-buybuy hidi ha ni kapitan
AV.CMPL-story 3PL.NOM OBL PERS captain
'They spoke with the barangay captain (local official)'.

58. b<in>adas-an=na ni ilay=ko i dilan
<CMPL>clear-LV=3SG.GEN PERS friend=1SG.GEN DEF path
'My friend cleared the path.'

The personal marker can also be used with other kinds of common nouns to indicate a person. Often, the salient characteristic of a person can be used to metonymically indicate the individual, as in 59 below, where *latugat* 'fever, illness', when combined with the personal noun marker indicates an individual with that property.

59. pamangal=na=kan ni latugat
SEQ\arrow=3SG.GEN=HSY PERS fever
'They say Fever shot an arrow.'

60. pang-gakad=na ha ni b<in>itag
SEQ-tie=3SG.GEN OBL PERS <CMPL>skin.disease
'He tied up Skin Disease.'

Personal name markers do not occur with the definite marker *i*, which is reserved for common nouns and would be redundant because proper nouns already imply a definite referent.

3.2.2.1 Singular

The singular personal noun marker *ni* is used with all the grammatical cases. Examples 61 and 62 below show nominative proper noun phrases.

61. nag-kan [ni Lubak]$_{NOM}$
AV.CMPL-eat PERS Lubak
'Lubak ate.'

62. mappya=man [ni Agnes]$_{NOM}$
pretty=CONTRASTIVE PERS Agnes
'Agnes is pretty.'

Examples 63 and 64 below show fronted nominative proper noun phrases in cleft constructions.

63. [ni Idring]$_{NOM}$ i nag-hida ha padut
PERS Idring DEF AV.CMPL-main.course OBL fish
'Idring is the one who ate fish.'

64. [ni Lubak]$_{NOM}$ i <in><um>angay ha kalipat
PERS Lubak DEF <CMPL><AV>go OBL opposite.side
'Lubak is the one who went to the other side.'

Examples 65 and 66 below show genitive proper noun phrases.

65. ni-ditang [ni Charles]$_{GEN}$ i siyu
CMPL.TV-arrive PERS Charles DEF bolo
'Charles brought the bolo knife.'

66. ni-sabit [ni Manet]$_{GEN}$ i sulu=ayo
CMPL.TV-hang PERS Manet DEF light= DIST.SPC
'Manet hung up that light.'

Genitive proper noun phrases are usually marked only with *ni*, but may optionally co-occur with the third person singular genitive pronoun *na*.

67. i-demat=na [ni Lubak]$_{GEN}$ i kape
TV-arrive=3SG.GEN PERS Lubak DEF coffee
'Lubak will bring the coffee.'

When the personal name is in the oblique case, it is preceded by the oblique marker *ha*.

68. ni-atad=mi i p<in>ag-tupu=mi [ha ni Pedro]$_{OBL}$
CMPL.TV-give=1PL.EXC.GEN DEF <CMPL>NMLZ-ride OBL PERS Pedro
'We give our fare to Pedro.'

69. ni-atad=ko i kape [ha ni Belong]$_{OBL}$
CMPL.TV-give=1SG.GEN DEF coffee OBL PERS Belong
'I gave the coffee to Belong.'

3.2.2.2 Plurals

Plural personal nouns are marked with *di*. In other words, *di* is used if 1) there are two personal names or 2) with one personal name to indicate that individual and other

unnamed individuals. In examples 70 and 71 below, we see that *di* marks the first personal name in a conjoined noun phrase (see section 3.5.2 below for more information on conjoined noun phrases).

70. b<in>aly-an di Maribel hidi ni Lubi gahut=di=he
<CMPL>pay-PV PERS.PL Maribel PL PERS Lubi debt=3PL.GEN=SPC
'Maribel and Lubi paid their debt.'

71. maka-ura-uray di Garwet hidi ni Greg ihay
CONT-REDUP-wait PERS.PL Garwet PL PERS Greg MED.LOC
'Garwet and Greg are waiting there.'

When the plural *di* is used with a single noun, it means that there are other unnamed individuals.

72. di Garwet i r<um>ettat a <um>angay ha Aparri
PERS.PL Garwet DEF <AV>start.journey LK <AV>go OBL Aparri
'Garwet and his companions are the ones who are leaving to go to Aparri.'

73. na-bannag=dan di botay=ko
ADJ-tired=already PERS.PL uncle=1SG.GEN
'My uncle and his companions are tired.'

74. hadia i parag-hen-an di manay=mo
where DEF HBT-live-LV PERS.PL aunt=2SG.GEN
'Where do your aunt and her companions live?'

3.3 Definiteness & indefiniteness

The marker *i* marks definite phrases in Dupaningan. The examples below show the difference in meaning when *i* is present versus when there is no *i*.

75. limus i agom=ko
NEG.EXT DEF companion=1SG.GEN
'My companion is not here.'

76. limus agom=ko
NEG.EXT companion=1SG.GEN
'I have no companion.'

77. atoy=man i anak ihe
EXT=CONTRASTIVE DEF child PROX.LOC
'The child is here.'

78. atoy anak=mo
EXT child=2SG.GEN
'You have a child.'

The definite has a high incidence of correspondence to the nominative, as nominatives in Dupaningan (and most other Philippine languages) have a tendency to be given in the discourse and thus to be definite. The definite marker *i*, however, can also be used with non-nominative phrases. Examples 79 and 80 below show *i* occurring with genitives.

79. ni-tago=na [i anak=a]$_{GEN}$ i bobog=na
CMPL.TV-hide=SG.GEN DEF child=SPC DEF toy=3SG.GEN
'The child hid his toy.'

80. hen-an=di [i 'anak hidi=aye]$_{GEN}$
live-LV=PL.GEN DEF children PL=PROX.SPC
'Where are these children?'

Although oblique phrases marked with *ha* are usually indefinite, it is possible to get a phrase marked with both *ha* and *i*. The result is the combined form *hi*.

81. awan=bi ito i-unuy=pala [hi dinom=a]$_{OBL}$
NEG=also it TV-drift=still OBL.DEF water=SPC
'It still isn't being sent downstream on the water.'

The definite marker *i* also marks a nominalized verb.

82. hikita i nang-alap ha apgas
1DU.INC.LFNOM DEF CMPL.AV-get OBL salt
'You and I were the ones who bought salt.'

3.4 Specificity

Specificity in Dupaningan is marked by the post-nominal modifiers *a* and *heya* (and variant *he*) plus a set of specific deictics (discussed in section 3.4.1 below), which indicate that a noun is specific. This is to be distinguished from definiteness, which is indicated by the determiner *i* (discussed in Section 3.3 above). Definiteness markers indicate a nominal that is previously identified in the discourse or otherwise known to

both speaker and listener. Specificity, in contrast, implies *only* that the entity being referred to is *specific*, not necessarily that it is known to the listener. English is ambiguous with reference to specificity. *A woman* could be either interpreted as *any woman*—non specific reading (*a woman will be president of the United States someday*) or as *a particular woman who you don't know*—specific reading (*a woman picked up the book on the table*). This distinction is marked explicitly in Dupaningan with the markers *a* and *heya* (and the specific deictics). In example 83 below, *ulitaw=a* 'young man' is specific, but not definite, whereas *i pusa=na=he* 'his cat' is definite and specific (marked with *he*).

83. k<in>a-kabeng-ø=na [ulitaw=a] [i pusa=na=he]
<CMPL>REDUP-abandon-PV=SG.GEN young.man=SPC DEF cat=3SG.GEN=SPC
'A (particular) young man got rid of his cat.'

84. no <um>angay=ka ha dinum=a ma-limas=ka
if <AV>go=2SG.NOM OBL water=SPC ACD-drown=2SG.NOM
'If you go in that (particular) body of water, you will drown.'

85. lallaki=noman ilay=mo=a
man=ASRT friend=2SG.GEN=SPC
'That (particular) friend of yours is a boy!'

As in the above examples, the noun *manjilen* 'ghost' in example 86 is indefinite, but specific. This example came from a story where it constitutes the first introduction of the ghost, who goes on to become a prominent character in the story.

86. mag-hen=kano ha rukab mangilen=a
AV-live=HSY OBL cave ghost=SPC
'They say a ghost was living in a small cave.'

The specificity marker contains a long vowel and can be easily distinguished phonetically from the linker *a* (see section 5.3), which is short and unstressed. In the

following sentence, the first *a* is the long specificity marker, and the second *a* is the unstressed linker.

87. katandi=na=noman=dan [i anak=a] a mag-lutu ha kanan=na
know=3SG.GEN=ASRT=already DEF child=SPC LK AV-cook OBL rice=3SG.GEN
'The child already knows how to cook his own rice.'

The specificity marker *a* often co-occurs with the definiteness marker *i*, as in 87 above and 88 below.

88. ma-kata pala i adika=a
ADJ-unripe still DEF banana=SPC
'The banana is still unripe.'

Specificity is also marked with the post-nominal modifer *heya*. It is tempting to consider it a combination of the shortened locative *(i)he* 'here' and the specificity enclitic *=a*, but it should probably be considered a single lexical item because it does not have a clear deictic reading (as would be expected if it contained the deictic *ihe*). There is also a form *heya* that is an interrogative pronoun (see section 5.6.2.1).

89. <um>angay=nin hidi salpak-an i madiket=heya nougma[10]
<AV>go=FUT 3PL.NOM meet-PV DEF young.woman=SPC tomorrow
'They will go meet the young woman tomorrow.'

90. alap-an=mo=dalla=agat i balli na laman=heya
get-PV=2SG.GEN=already\just=please DEF payment GEN pig=SPC
'Please get the payment for a pig.'

91. i-lugen=mi=n ha paray=heya ha pasagad=ayo
TV-vehicle=1PL.EXC.GEN=already OBL rice=SPC OBL cart=DIST.SPC
'We will carry rice on that cart.'

The form *heya* seems to be interchangeable with *a*, both marking the specificity of the modified noun. The following two sentences were given as freely alternating.

[10] The word *nougma* actually has a medial glottal stop [no?ugma] and probably derives from a combination of *no* plus *ugma*, but will be written as a single word because the *no* is fossilized (see section 4.7.2 for more details).

92. awan=bi a nag-ga-galgal i **ulitaw=a** ha ogsa
NEG=also LK CMPL.AV-MULT-slice DEF **young.man=SPC** OBL deer
'The young man has never butchered a deer.'

93. awan=bi a nag-ga-galgal ha ogsa i **ulitaw=heya**
NEG=also LK CMPL.AV-MULT-slice OBL deer DEF **young.man=SPC**
'The young man has never butchered a deer.'

When the nominal is modified, the enclitic *heya* follows the modifier rather than the head noun.

94. ma-soprad=heya a adika
ADJ-unripe=SPC LK banana
'unripe banana'

95. i make-lima=heya a ni-peta=mo
DEF ORD-five=SPC LK CMPL.TV-say=2SG.GEN
'the fifth thing you said'

The enclitic *heya* is also used to indicate past times.

96. "na-lukag=ak=dan" kona ni Bebet ha malledum=heya
CMPL.ACD-awake=1SG.NOM=already say PERS Bebet OBL morning=SPC
'"I'm awake," Bebet said this morning.'

97. k<in><um>ilap=kam ihe ha kallap=heya
<CMPL><AV>sleep=2PL.NOM PROX.LOC OBL night=SPC
'You (pl) slept here last night.'

98. ne-enak ni ussit ha essa=heya a ka-[s]sinag
CMPL.ACD.TV-birth PERS toddler OBL one=SPC LK NMLZ-year
'The toddler was born one year ago.'

99. d<in><um>itang ni Laura ha essa=heya a bulan
<CMPL><AV>arrive PERS Laura OBL one=SPC LK month
'Laura arrived here one month ago.'

The form *heya* can be shortened to *he*.

100. na-tirak=di i kalupi hidi=he
ACD.CMPL-leave=3PL.GEN DEF basket PL=SPC
'They left the baskets.'

101. makpal=noman i agta ha apon=he
many=ASRT DEF person OBL afternoon=SPC
'There were too many people this afternoon.'

The shortened form *he* is homophonous with the shortened form of the locative *ihe* 'here' (see section 3.8.8.2 below).

3.4.1 Specific deictics

The specificity marker *a* does not indicate deictic distance from the speaker. The markers *aye,aya,* and *ayo* occur in the same position as *a*, but they mark distance from speaker as well as specificity (see section 3.8.7 below on other deictics). Again, specificity should be distinguished from definiteness, and we can see in the example below that *lupog* 'old man' is specific because it is marked with the deictic *aya*, but it is clearly not definite because the indefiniteness of the phrase is reinforced by the number one *essa*.

102.	essa=aya	a	lupog	naka-nga-ngatngat	ha	pilas
	one=MED.SPC	LK	old.man	CONT-REDUP-chew	OBL	meat
	'An old man there is chewing meat.'					

The marker *aye* is used for a distance near to both the speaker and the hearer.

103.	nasnas-an=tam	i	daklat=aye
	wipe-LV=1PL.INC.GEN	DEF	floor= PROX.SPC
	'Let's wipe this floor.'		

104.	heya	i	nag-gimet	ha	alad=aye
	who	DEF	CMPL.AV-make	OBL	fence= PROX.SPC
	'Who made this fence?'				

The marker *aye* can also be used when the close distance is metaphorical.

105.	hapu=tam=pala=aye	i	mang-egkam	nikitam
	boss=1PL.INC.GEN=still= PROX.SPC	DEF	AV-hold	1PL.INC.OBL
	'Is god still our ruler?' (lit., Is this boss of ours still the one who holds us?)			

The deictic *aya* indicates a distance either (1) far from the speaker and close to the listener or (2) somewhat far from both (but not as far as the distance indicated by *ayo*).

In examples 106 through 108 below, *aya* indicates a distance away from the speaker and near the listener.

106. madi-an=ko i posit=aya
don't.want-LV=1SG.GEN DEF squid= MED.SPC
'I don't want that squid.'

107. nag-hida i anak=aya ha padut
CMPL.AV-main.course DEF child= MED.SPC OBL fish
'That child ate fish.'

108. ni-toldo=di i sallag na dinum=aya
CMPL.TV-point=3PL.GEN DEF current GEN water= MED.SPC
'They pointed out the current of that river.'

The deictic *ayo* indicates a distance far from both speaker and listener.

109. panyan=tam=waden a maka-angay a mepodru=ayo no awan ha abang
how=1PL.INC.GEN=perhaps LK ABIL-go LK island= DIST.SPC if NEG.EXT OBL boat
'How can we go to that island over there if there is no boat?'

110. toktok-an=ta=dan i ke-sadp-an=ayo
knock-LV=1DU.INC.GEN=already DEF NMLZ\TV-enter-LV= DIST.SPC
'We will knock on that door over there.'

In example 111 below, *aya* indicates a distance somewhat far from both the speaker and the listener. In Dupaningan, the word *lapos* 'outside' is used to indicate populated areas, 'the outside world', as opposed to the small camps where Dupaningan Agta usually live. In this particular utterance, the speaker used the deictic *aya* to indicate the 'barrio', a small, nearby settlement of non-Agta people, which is a twenty minute walk from the speaker's home. The phrase *lapos=ayo*, with the far deictic, would be used to indicate the town center, where the market and town hall are located, which is a thirty minute ride (by motorized vehicle) away from the speaker's house.

111. ni-kuyog=mi ni Lingay ha lapos=aya
CMPL.TV-accompany=1PL.EXC PERS Lingay OBL outside= MED.SPC
'We accompanied Lingay to the barrio.'

112. mag-uden=kan ha lapos=ayo
AV-rain=HSY OBL outside= DIST.SPC
'They say it's raining over there in town.'

Much like with the specificity marker *a*, enclitic pronouns and the plural marker *hidi* intervene between the noun and the deictics *aye*, *aya*, and *ayo*.

113. <in><um>ebbar i manok hidi=aye
<CMPL><AV>fly DEF bird PL= PROX.SPC
'These birds flew.'

114. ni-pa-kaget ni pedro i asu=na=ayo
CMPL.TV-CAUS-bite PERS pedro DEF dog=3SG.GEN= DIST.SPC
'Pedro made that dog of his bite (someone).'

When there is an adjective, the deictic follows the adjective, and the adjective phrase is joined to the noun with the linker *a* (see section 3.10.1 below on the relative order of nouns and adjectives).

115. dakal=aya a kayu
large= MED.SPC LK tree
'a large tree there'

116. i apellak=aya a anak
DEF short= MED.SPC LK child
'that short child'

117. i manok=ayo a ma-ponsit
DEF bird= DIST.SPC LK ADJ-white
'that white bird'

3.5 Plurality

Plurals are formed either by using the plural deictics mentioned in section 3.8.8.1 below, by adding a number (discussed in 3.10.1 below) or by adding *hidi* after the noun. This is the same form that is used for third person plural nominative pronouns (both long-form and short-form).

118. ni-kuyog=mo i ulitaw hidi=aye
CMPL.TV-accompany=2SG.GEN DEF young.man PL= PROX.SPC
'You accompanied these young men.'

119. <in><um>angay golang hidi ha Tuguegarao
<COMP><AV>go orphan PL OBL Tuguegarao
'Orphans went to Tuguegarao.'

120. manok hidi=ayo i hida=tam
bird PL= DIST.SPC DEF main.course=1PL.INC.GEN
'Those birds are our meal.'

121. da-daponan=na i anak=a i sansanat=na hidi=a
REDUP-take.care.of=3SG.GEN DEF child=SPC DEF doll=3SG.GEN PL=SPC
'The child will care of his dolls.'

122. hikami=waden i mang-pa-kan ha manok hidi=aye
1PL.INC.LFNOM=perhaps DEF AV-CAUS-eat OBL chicken PL= PROX.SPC
'We will probably be the ones to feed these chickens.'

In the following example, we see that *hidi* modifies the entire noun phrase *i manok na agom=mi* 'our companion's chicken'.

123. me-kabus=dan [i manok na agom=mi] hidi=a
ACD.TV-finished=already DEF chicken LK companion=1PL.EXC.GEN PL=SPC
'Our neighbor's chickens are all gone.'

In two cases with frequent human nouns, plurals are indicated by stress shift. With the words *anak* 'child' and *agom* 'companion', stress on the second syllable indicates either singular (example 124) or neutral (example 125) number, whereas initial stress indicates plurality. In 126, we see the initial-stress form as it co-occurs with the plural formative *hidi*. In 127, we can see that *hidi* is not necessary, that stress alone makes this form plural.

124. awan=man anak ihe
NEG.EXT=CONTRASTIVE child PROX.LOC
'The child is not here.'

125. awan anak=mo
NEG.EXT child=2SG.GEN
'You don't have a child.'

126. mag-buybuy i 'anak=a hidi
AV-story DEF children=SPC PL
'The children are telling stories.'

127. mag-kayag=dan i 'anak=mo
AV-play=already DEF children=2SG.GEN
'Your children are playing.'

A similar phenomenon is found in some other Austronesian languages, such as Hawaiian, where *wahine* 'woman' is singular, and *wāhine* with a long first vowel is plural.

3.5.1 Plurality via reduplication

Reduplication of the first two syllables minus the coda of the second syllable (CV(C)CV-) can be used to indicate a distributive plural.

128. ....ha digdig=na sika-sikaw=di
....OBL edge=3SG.GEN CVCV-swidden=3PL.GEN
....at the edge of their (scattered) swidden fields

This same reduplication can be used with a negative to indicate a complete lack of something.

129. awan pala ha ana-anak=di=a
NEG.EXT still OBL CVCV-child=3PL.GEN=SPC
'They still didn't have any children yet.'

The same function exists in Ilokano, but Ilokano uses (C)VC- reduplication instead (Rubino 1997: 73; Rubino 2000: xlvi). Since all Dupaningan are equally fluent in Ilokano, they may use this (C)VC- reduplication when speaking Dupaningan, as well.

130. awan=man=pala ha ug-ogden=mi
NEG.EXT=CONTRASTIVE=still OBL REDUP-Ilokano=1SG.EXC.GEN
'We still didn't have any of our Ilokanos (as trading partners).'

3.5.2 Conjoined noun phrases

Noun phrases are conjoined with the third person plural nominative pronoun *hidi*, which is also a plural marker. When *hidi* is used in this manner, it follows the first noun phrase. It does not matter what case the conjoined noun phrase is in; the conjoined NP

will take this form whether it is nominative (example 131 below), genitive (132 below), oblique (133 below), or fronted in a pseudo-cleft construction (134 below).

131. <in><um>angay di [Lubak hidi ni Belong] ha lapos
<CMPL><AV>go PL.PERS Lubak PL PERS Belong OBL outside
'Lubak and Belong went to town.'

132. b<in>ilang-ø di [Maribel hidi ni Lubak] i kurinnat=di
<CMPL>count-PV PL.PERS Maribel PL PERS Lubak DEF money=3PL.GEN
'Maribel and Lubak counted their money.'

133. ni-atad ni Lebi i butag ha [di Ronald hidi ni Manet]
CMPL.TV-give PERS Lebi DEF betel.nut OBL PL.PERS Ronald PL PERS Manet
'Lebi gave the betel nut to Ronald and Manet.'

134. di [Garwet hidi ni Balsig] i nang-alap ha adika
PL.PERS Garwet PL PERS Balsig DEF CMPL.AV-get OBL banana
'Garwet and Balsig were the ones who got bananas.'

When the conjoined NPs are common nouns, the second noun phrase is preceded by the oblique marker *ha*, even though the phrase may not be oblique (as 135 below, in which the conjoined NPs are both nominative).

135. maka-buy-buybuy i [madiket=a hidi ha dena=na]
CONT-REDUP-story DEF young.woman=SPC PL OBL PL.mother=3SG.GEN
'The young woman and her relatives told stories.'

Conjoined noun phrases do not need to be adjacent.

136. atoy alemtak ha karayan=ayo hidi (h)a tokak
EXT leech OBL river= DIST.SPC PL OBL frog
'There are leeches and frogs in that river.'

137. nag-dakan nekka=ko ha iget hidi ha ni manay=ko
COMP.AV-cook old.sib=1SG.GEN OBL eel PL OBL PERS aunt=1SG.GEN
'My older sibling cooked the eel with my Auntie.'

138. ni kabanga=ko i <in><um>angay ha laud hidi ni manugang=ko
PERS spouse=1SG.GEN DEF <COMP><AV>go OBL west PL PERS parent-in-law=1SG.GEN
'My spouse was the one who went west with my parent-in-law.'

Conjoined noun phrases may even be plural themselves, which creates a situation where *hidi* is serving two different functions within a single sentence.

139. b<um>ikan i [[manok hidi=a] hidi a pato] ha parag-dukut-an=a
<AV>near DEF chicken PL=SPC PL OBL duck OBL HBT-cook-LV=SPC
'The chickens and ducks come near the hearth.'

The Ilokano conjunction *ken* 'and' can also be used to conjoin NPs. When *ken* is used, the singular personal name marker *ni* is used instead of the plural *di*.

140. ni-atad=mo i paray ha ni wadi=mo **ken** nekka=mo
CMPL.TV-give=2SG.GEN DEF rice OBL PERS young.sib=2SG.GEN **and** old.sib=2SG.GEN
'You gave the rice plants to your younger sibling and older sibling.'

In the examples below, the traditional Dupaningan form of conjunction (i.e., *hidi*) has been combined with the Ilokano *ken* to conjoin a set of three items.

141. na-tirak=na i beg=na hidi ha amman-an=na ken busog=na
ACD-left=3SG.GEN DEF loincloth=3SG.GEN PL OBL betel-LV=3SG.GEN and bow=3SG.GEN
'He left his loincloth and betel nut chewing case and bow and arrow.'

142. ito=bi=la nokkan i mang-alap ha padut a kengwa
it=also=just FUT DEF AV-get OBL fish LK catch

ni Garwet hidi di lalakay Bukaw ken=ni[11] babakat Raboy
PERS Garwet PL PERS.PL old.man Bukaw and=PERS old.woman Raboy
"He would be the one to get the fish that Garwet and the old man Bukaw and the old woman Raboy caught.'

3.6 Possession

The Dupaningan genitive case marks not only the actors of non-actor voice sentences, but also possessors. The possessor follows the possessed in Dupaningan, and when the possessor is a common noun, the two nouns are linked by *na*, which is also the third person singular genitive pronoun.

143. kulet na kayu
bark GEN tree
'tree bark'

144. paseng na laman
tusk GEN pig
'pig's tusk'

[11] The entire form *kenni* is an Ilokano borrowing. It has been segmented here for clarity's sake.

145. bilay na lallaki
house GEN man
'man's house'

146. asu na anitu
dog GEN ghost
'ghost's dog'

The genitive marker *na* also links entire noun phrases, as in example 147 below.

147. limus i sesit na [iday a padut]
NEG.EXT DEF fish.bone GEN MED.DEM LK fish
'That fish doesn't have any bones.' (lit., The bones of that fish don't exist.')

The possessive *na* should be distinguished from the pronoun *na*, although the latter can be a possessive pronoun. We can see that the two uses should be distinguished because they can co-occur before a single noun. In example 148 below, the first *na* is the pronominal enclitic and is co-indexed with *anak* 'child' (his name), whereas the second *na* is the possessive, attributing *anak* 'child' to *nagen* 'name', making 'name of the child'. Example 149 has a comparable form.

148. anya i nagen=na$_1$ na anak$_1$=mo
what DEF name=3SG.GEN GEN child=2SG.GEN
'What is your child's name?'

149. t<in>akaw-ø=na i bobog=na$_1$ na wadi$_1$=na=ayo
<CMPL>steal-PV=3SG.GEN DEF toy=3SG.GEN GEN younger.sib=3SG.GEN= DIST.SPC
'He stole his younger sibling's toy.'

Although there is no human actor in example 150 below, the first genitive is similarly co-indexed with *daklat* 'floor'.

150. awan=bi a maka-taknag ha dibbew=na$_1$ na daklat$_1$
NEG=also LK ABIL-stand OBL top=3SG.GEN GEN floor
'It's not possible to stand on top of the floor.'

Another reason to distinguish the possessive *na* from the third person singular genitive pronoun is that the possessive *na* does not have separate forms for plural and singular. Plural possessors still take *na*, as in the examples below.

151. liwa-liwat na ag-agum=tam
REDUP-sin GEN REDUP-companion=1PL.INC.GEN
'the sins of our companions' (Anonymous 2001)

152. i gubernador na Judyo=a hidi
DEF governor GEN Jew=SPC PL
'the governor of the Jews' (Anonymous 2001)

Personal nouns that are possessors simply have the personal noun marker *ni* and follow the possessed noun.

153. bilay ni Lubak
house PERS Lubak
'Lubak's house'

154. asu ni Lubak
dog PERS Lubak
'Lubak's dog'

When a plural proper name is the possessor (usually with the meaning X and his/her companions; see section 3.2.2.2 above), the plural proper name marker is used.

155. i pang-apon di Jesus ha piyesta
DEF NMLZ-afternoon PERS.PL Jesus OBL party
'the meal of Jesus and his companions at the party' (Anonymous 2001)

156. bilay di Simon
house PERS.PL Simon
'the house of Simon and his companions' (Anonymous 2001)

157. i pag-demat di Jesus ha Jerusalem
DEF NMLZ-arrival PERS.PL Jesus OBL Jerusalem
'the arrival of Jesus and his companions in Jerusalem' (Anonymous 2001)

158. parag-hen-an di manay=mo
HBT-live-LV PERS.PL aunt=2SG.GEN
'the residence of your Aunt and her companions'

See section 3.8.3 below on use of genitive pronouns as possessives and section 3.7.11 below for a special construction indicating ownership.

3.7 Noun Formation

As mentioned above, word class in Dupaningan is fairly fluid, and verbs can be nominalized simply by co-occuring with a determiner (see section 3 above). Nevertheless, nouns can also be formed from verbs by affixation.

3.7.1 Roots as nominals

Although it is not truly nominalization, it should be noted that many roots in Dupaningan can be pressed into service as nouns. Since verbs are almost invariably affixed forms in Dupaningan, words that most commonly occur as verbs are rarely heard in their unaffixed forms. When they do occur in unaffixed form, they are generally nominal. The examples in the table below illustrate a few forms that are prototypically adjectival or verbal in Dupaningan and the meanings of their corresponding nominal roots.

Table 3.2 Dupaningan 'derived' roots

	affixed form	**unaffixed noun**
with adjectival prefix *ma-*	*ma-bikan* 'near'	*bikan* 'area nearby'
	ma-arob 'smelly'	*arob* 'smell'
with verbal actor voice prefix *mag-*	*mag-kagi* 'speak'	*kagi* 'sound'
	mag-barot 'spear fish'	*barot* 'fishing spear'
	mag-bilang 'count'	*bilang* 'number, date'
	mag-dukot 'build fire'	*dukot* 'firewood'
	mag-toblol 'to lie, tell an untruth'	*toblol* 'lie, untruth'
with verbal actor voice infix *<um>*	*l<um>endum* 'take shelter under a tree'	*lendum* 'shade'

This violates the hypothesis that William Croft (1991) makes regarding markedness and word class: he assumes that the root will be the prototypical form of a particular word—that the root is *unmarked*, both morphologically and semantically. This implies

that if a word is protypically a verb, then the morphologically simple form of the word (ie, the root) will be a verb, and morphologically complex (affixed) forms will be other parts of speech. In Dupaningan, no verb is unmarked, and words that are semantically verbal are morphologically *marked* when acting as verbs but morphologically *un*marked when acting as nouns.

3.7.2 Nominalizing *ka-*

The prefix *ka-* is used to form nominals. While the meaning of *ka*-prefixed forms is not predictable, they are often abstract nouns and people. The table below illustrates nouns formed with the prefix *ka-* and their adjectival or verbal counterparts (usually containing adjectival or verbal affixes).

Table 3.3 ka- prefix

	prefixed with *ka-*	**usual form of word**
adjectives	*ka-dakal* 'size	*dakal* 'large'
	ka-talak 'expectation, hope'	*ma-talak* 'happy, hopeful'
	ka-alay 'length of time'	*ma-alay* 'long time'
	ka-lassak 'blind person'	*na-lassak* 'blind'
verbs	*ka-*[k]*kagi* 'language'	*mag-kagi* 'speak'
	ka-kalan 'relative'	*mag-kalan* 'equal'
	ka-soli 'return (n)'	*mag-soli* 'return (v)'
	ka-angay 'departure'	*<um>angay* 'go'
	ka-[t]*toldu* 'pointer finger'	*i-toldu* 'point, teach'

3.7.3 Nominalizing *-an*

The suffix *-an* is a nominalizer that often creates locative nouns. It has the same form as the verbal locative voice suffix *-an*, and it is often ambiguous whether the suffix *-an* actually creates a nominal or whether it is simply the verbal locative voice suffix *-an* with the nominal meaning created by the context.

159. d<um>itang kan hikuna ha angay-an=na=aya a talon
<AV>arrive HSY 3SG.LFNOM OBL go-LV=3SG.GEN= MED.SPC LK forest
'They say he arrives at that forested place where he is going.'

160. ngay na-enta ha nag-taggad-an
go CMPL.ACD-see OBL CMPL.AV-prune-LV
'He went to see the place where they had pruned (the tree of its fruit).'

But there are cases where the suffix *-an* is unambiguously a nominalizer, as in 161 below.

161. *gangat-an* 'fire, flame' (cf. *g<um>angat* 'to flame up, flare up')
kan-an 'rice, food'(cf. *mag-kan* 'to eat')

3.7.4 Nominalizing *ka- -an*

The more common way to create locative nouns is by combining the prefix *ka-* with the suffix *-an*. The root is usually another noun, unlike with the nominalizer *-an*, which is used alone with verbs. This circumfix is homophonous with the superlative (see section 3.10.6 below).

162. *ka-rusu-an* 'rocky place' (< *rusu* 'rock')

It is also found with certain kinship terms.

163. *ka-*[l]*laky-an*[12] 'sibling or cousin of the same sex' (cf. *lallaki* 'man')

And other forms.

164. *ka-baks-an* 'female monkey' (cf. *bakas* 'old woman')

Examples 163 and 164 above should illustrate the unpredictability of the nominalization affixes, where the meaning of the derived forms cannot be predicted from the meaning of the roots.

[12] The forms *kallakyan* and *kabaksan* also show vowel and consonant changes. These changes are not unexpected (see section 2.1.1.12.2).

3.7.5 Nominalizing *pag-*

The prefix *pag-* can also be used for nominalization. Unlike *ka- -an*, *pag-* occurs with roots that have verbal meanings. Although this is the same function covered by *-an*, *pag-* is a much more productive affix than nominalizing *-an*.

165. *pag-balli* 'fare, fee, payment' (cf. *mag-balli* 'pay')
pag-galgal 'saw' (cf. *mag-galgal* 'to cut, slice, saw')

Pag- overlaps a great deal with *ka-*.

166. *pag-awwat ~ ka-awwat* 'sunrise' (cf. *<um>awwat* 'emerge')
pag-soli ~ ka-soli 'return time' (cf. *mag-soli* 'to return')

It can even alternate with the root itself.

167. *pag-tennon* 'clothing' (cf. *tennon* 'clothes')
pag-dukot ~ dukot 'firewood'

The prefix *pag-* can also combine with other affixes to create more complex nominals.

168. pag-i-toldu
NMLZ-TV-teach
'teaching' (New Testament translation Anonymous 2001)

169. p<in>ag-pa-enta
<CMPL>NMLZ-CAUS-see
'revelations'(New Testament translation Anonymous 2001)

A prefix *pag-* is also used verbally to indicate sequential action in the context of a story (see section 4.3.5).

3.7.6 Nominalizing *pag- -an*

The nominalizing prefix *pag-* often co-occurs with the locative suffix *-an*, giving a locational nominal.

170. *pag-diyag-an* 'table, eating place' (cf. *mag-diyag* 'to eat')
pag-mula-an 'farm, planting place' (cf. *mag-mula* 'to plant')
pag-sagudsud-an 'dancing place' (cf. *mag-sagudsud* 'to dance')
pag-isan-an 'temporary hut in the forest' (cf. *mag-isan* 'make camp in the forest')
pag-usog-an 'mouth of a river' (cf. *mag-usog* 'travel downstream')

The combination of *pag-* and *-an* can also create nominals that are not locative.

171. *pag-eryuk-an* 'work, livelihood' (cf. *mag-eryok* 'search, work')
pag-kagi-an 'language' (~ *ka-*[k]*kagi*; cf. *mag-kagi* 'speak')

The circumfix *pag- -an* can also combine with other affixes to create more complex nominals.

172. pag-i-duru-an
PAG-TV-gather-NMLZ
'garbage'

173. pag-pa-binag-an=na
PAG-CAUS-strong-NMLZ=3SG.GEN
'place where he got her strong[13]'

A prefix *pag-* is also used to indicate sequential action in a story (see section 4.3.5).

3.7.7 Nominalizing *parag-*

The nominalizing prefix *parag-* indicates a habitual action (see section 4.3.6 on the prefix *marag-*). It often co-occurs with the suffix *-an*.

174. *parag-kilap-an* 'usual sleeping place' (cf. *k<um>ilap* 'sleep')
parag-isan-an 'usual camp in the forest' (cf. *pag-isan-an* 'temporary hut in the forest', *mag-isan* 'make camp in the forest')

3.7.8 Nominalizing *pang-* & *pang- -an*

Less commonly, we find the prefix *pang-* as a nominalizer (sometimes in combination with other affixes).

[13] See Appendix B: Text 2 where a woman is weak and her husband takes her home to their house which is *the place where he got her strong.*

175. *pang-apon* 'afternoon meal' (cf. *apon* 'afternoon')
pang-ugma 'breakfast' (cf. *no-ugma* 'tomorrow')
pang-anak-an 'nephew, niece' (cf. *anak* 'child')
pang-i-darum-an 'lawsuit' (New Testament translation Anonymous 2001) (cf. Ilk *i-darum* 'to confess')
pang-i-eryuk-an 'place for searching for something' (cf. *eryuk-an* 'search for something')

The use of such nominalization does not need to be specified in the lexicon. In the following example, the speaker uses the nominalizer *pang-* to create an ad-hoc nominalization that specifies an instrument needed to carry out the action of the verb.

176.

awan=kami	ha	pang-mula	idi	ha	pahay
NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM	OBL	NLZR-plant	PST	OBL	rice.plant

'We didn't have the tools to plant rice (i.e. rice seeds) then.'

The prefix *pang-*, much like *pag-*, is also used with verbs to indicate sequential action within a story (see section 4.3.5).

3.7.9 Familial relationships

The prefix *mag-* can be used to indicate reciprocal familial relationships.

177. *mag-kabanga* 'married couple' (cf. *kabanga* 'spouse')

The prefix *pat-* can also be used to create reciprocal familial terms.

178. *pat-wadi* 'pair of siblings' (cf. *wadi* 'younger sibling (either sex)')
pat-epag 'a brother- and sister-in-law' (cf. *ipag* 'sibling in law of opposite sex')
pat[t]-*ama* 'father and son pair' (cf. *hama* 'father')

With the prefix *pat-*, *Ca-* reduplication can be used to create a multiple (see section 4.5 for more information on multiplicative *Ca-* reduplication).

179. *pa-pat-wadi* 'sibling set (more than two)'
pa-pat[t]-ama 'father and children'

3.7.10 Diminutive

The prefix *ta-* is used to indicate smallness. It is generally prefixed to nouns.

180. *ta-anak* 'small child (cf. *anak* 'child')
ta-madiket 'young girl' (cf. *madiket* 'bachelorette, young unmarried woman')

For the young of animals, the *ta-* forms are often more common than the unaffixed forms.

181. *ta-piyak ~ piyak* 'chick'
ta-barak ~ barak 'piglet'
ta-titu ~ titu 'puppy'

It can also be prefixed to adjectives.

182. *ta-ballek* 'very small, very few' (cf. *ballek* 'small, few')

With a complex noun phrase, the prefix is attached to the entire phrase.

183. ta-[essa=la a nagngipan]
DIM-one=just LK piglet[14]
'just one small piglet'

It can even be prefixed to other elements in the clause, as with the verb in 184 below.

184. ngamin nga ta-bi-biskwit a ta-kan-an ni 'anak[15]=a hidi
all LK DIM-REDUP-cracker LK DIM-eat-LV GEN.DEF children=SPC PL
'All of the little crackers the children eat'

3.7.11 Ownership

The prefix *makin-* is used to indicate ownership of the root to which it is attached.

185. hikam=noman makin-kuwa ha lutak=aye
2PL.LFNOM=ASRT OWNER-whatchamacallit OBL land= PROX.SPC
'You are the ones who own this land.'

186. makin-pangal iday
OWNER-arrow MED.DEM
'Whose arrow is that?'

This prefix is relatively rare in the data, however, and it is only used to highlight ownership, as opposed to the more common possessive construction discussed in section 3.6 above or the use of genitive pronouns, discussed in 3.8.3 below.

[14] This is not synonymous with *barak* 'piglet', but refers to a specific stage of development of a female whose teeth are not fully grown (cf. *ngipan* 'tooth').

[15] With initial stress, *'anak* 'children' is plural, whereas it is singular with final stress.

3.7.12 Origin

The prefix *taga-* is used to indicate place of origin.

187. taga-hadia=ka=dud
ORIGIN-where=2SG.NOM=Q
'Where are you from?'

188. ide a buybuy, buybuy na Dupaningan a taga-Pasaweg
PROX.DEM LK story story GEN Dupaningan LK ORIGIN-Pasaweg
'This story is a Dupaningan story from Pasaweg.'

3.8 Pronouns

Dupaningan has a typical Philippine-type voice system that makes one particular noun phrase in a sentence syntactically prominent. It is the voice of the verb that determines which noun phrase will be the syntactic subject (expressed in nominative case), and unlike in accusative languages, it is not always the agent that is the most syntactically prominent argument in the clause. Instead, it depends on the voice of the verb, so if the verb carries actor voice morphology, the actor of the clause will therefore be a nominative pronoun (most commonly a short-form nominative). Other noun phrases in the clause will take pronouns from a different set, as each clause has only one nominative (except in the special double nominative construction, discussed in section 5.7.1). Below is a chart of the Dupaningan pronouns.

Table 3.4 Dupaningan pronouns.

	long-form NOMINATIVE	short-form NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
1SG	*hikan*	*=ak*	*=ko*	*nikan*
2SG	*hikaw*	*=ka*	*=mo*	*nikaw*
3SG	*hikuna*	*ø/hikuna*	*=na*	*nikuna*
1DU INC	*hikita*	*=kita*	*=ta*	*nikita*
1PL INC	*hikitam*	*=kitam*	*=tam*	*nikitam*
1PL EXC	*hikami*	*=kami*	*=mi*	*nikami*
2PL	*hikam*	*=kam*	*=moy*	*nikam*
3PL	*hidi*	*hidi*	*=di*	*nidi*

The nominative pronouns are syntactic subjects of the sentence, as indicated by verbal morphology. The short-form nominatives are the most common and are simply called nominatives in most places in this work. The long form nominatives are independent forms (i.e., not clitics), and they occur most commonly in topicalization and cleft constructions. The genitive pronouns are used both as possessives and as the actors of non-actor voice constructions. The oblique pronouns generally encode a locative or goal argument.

Dupaningan has no gender distinctions in the pronouns, and the third person pronouns can refer to non-human entities (i.e., he/she/it). Like most Austronesian languages, Dupaningan does, however, distinguish between inclusive and exclusive in the first person plural. That is, the first person pronouns are sensitive to whether the addressee is included in the utterance. Like many other Philippine languages, Dupaningan also has one dual form, the first person inclusive dual 'you and I'.

In all the grammatical cases, a second person plural pronoun can be used to mark politeness when speaking to a single addressee who is older or otherwise deserving of a

polite form of address, although this usage is not mandatory. In example 189, the young man addresses his mother using a plural pronoun.

189. "ina" kona=kan "mang-biyu=**kam**=agat
mother say=HSY AV-mill=**2PL.NOM**=please

ha bilun-an=ko a bagah" kona=kan i ulitaw=a
OBL provision-LV=1SG.GEN LK rice say=HSY DEF young.man=SPC
'"Mother," he said, "please mill me some rice to take with me as provisions" that young man said.'

Likewise, in example 190, a female ghost addresses an unknown male with a plural pronoun (with the addition of the polite kinship term *akka* 'older sibling').

190. nag-gipu-an=**moy** akka
CMPL.AV-originate-LV=**2PL.GEN** older.sibling
'Where did you come from, brother?'

3.8.1 Short-form nominatives

The nominative pronouns occur as the agents of actor voice verbs or as the patients of patient voice verbs. Except in the third person, they are all enclitic. They follow the first item in the clause rather than consistently attaching to the verb or another element in the sentence.

Table 3.5 Short-form nominative pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1INC	-	*=kita*	*=kitam*
1EXC	*=ak*		*=kami*
2	*=ka*		*=kam*
3	*ø*		*hidi*

191. ma-bannag=ak
ADJ-tired=1SG.NOM
'I'm tired.'

192. mag-hida=ka
AV-main.course=2SG.NOM
'Eat the meal!'

193. mag-kan=kita
AV-eat=1DU.INC.NOM
'Let's eat!'

194. <um>angay=kitam nougma
<AV>go=1PL.INC.NOM tomorrow
'Let's go tomorrow.'

195. nag-kape=kami
CMPL.AV-coffee=1PL.EXC.NOM
'We drank coffee'

196. <in><um>etnod=kam
<CMPL><AV>sit=2PL.NOM
'You sat down.'

197. mag-pokpok hidi
AV-wash.clothes 3PL.NOM
'They are washing clothes.'

There is no third person singular short-form nominative pronoun. When such a pronoun is licensed by the construction, the argument is left unexpressed.

198. <um>angay mag-angkat ha laman
<AV>go AV-hunt OBL wild.pig
'He is going to hunt pigs.'

199. nag-enak ha kallap=he
CMPL.AV-give.birth OBL night=SPC
'She gave birth last night.'

When necessary, a third person singular nominative argument can be expressed by using the long-form nominative pronoun. In such cases, the third person singular long-form nominative pronoun *hikuna* occurs in contexts where long-form nominative pronouns do not normally occur.

200. na-ellaw hikuna
ADJ-drunk 3SG.LFNOM
'S/he is drunk.'

201. mag-sulog=dan hikuna
AV-swim=already 3SG.LFNOM
'S/he is swimming.'

202. b<in><um>uyot hikuna
<CMPL><AV>run 3SG.LFNOM
'S/he ran.'

3.8.2 Long-form nominatives

Table 3.6 Long-form nominative pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1INC	-	*hikita*	*hikitam*
1EXC	*hikan*		*hikami*
2	*hikaw*		*hikam*
3	*hikuna*		*hidi*

The long-form nominative pronouns occur in cleft and topicalized constructions, almost always in sentence-initial position.

203. hikan=mina i <um>angay a amogud=ayo
1SG.LFNOM=hopefully DEF <AV>go LK forest= DIST.SPC
'Hopefully I will be the one to go to the forest over there.'

204. hikaw=pala i nag-degus
2SG.LFNOM=still DEF CMPL.AV-bathe
'You were the only one who bathed.'

205. hikuna=noman i maka-unek a dakal=aya a kayu
3SG.LFNOM=ASRT DEF ABIL-climb LK large= MED.SPC LK tree
'He is still the only one able to climb that large tree.'

206. hikita i nang-alap ha apgas
1DU.INC.LFNOM DEF CMPL.AV-get OBL salt
'You and I were the ones who got salt.'

207. hikami=waden i mang-pa-kan ha manok hidi=aye
1PL.EXC.LFNOM=perhaps DEF AV-CAUS-eat OBL bird PL= PROX.SPC
'We will probably be the ones to feed these chickens.'

208. hikam=noman makin-kuwa ha lutak=aye
2PL.LFNOM=ASRT OWNER-whatchamacallit OBL land= PROX.SPC
'You (pl) are the ones who own this land.'

209. hidi i maka-sang-sanget ihu
3PL.LFNOM DEF CONT-REDUP-cry DIST.LOC
'They are the ones crying over there.'

Although the long-form nominatives are typically topicalized and found in initial position, they can occur in other positions within a sentence.

210. atoy na-enta=ko ha ogden a nang-loku hikan[16]
EXT ACD-see=1SG.GEN OBL Ilokano LK CMPL.AV-harass 1SG.LFNOM
'I saw an Ilokano who was giving me troubles.'

211. paka-e-enta-an=di hikitam
CONT-REDUP-see-LV=3PL.GEN 1PL.INC.LFNOM
'They are watching us.'

The third person singular long-form nominative can also be used to refer to non-human entities (see section 3.8.7 below for more information on pronouns that refer to non-human entities).

212. hikuna ito ni-soli=na ha bilay=di
3SG.LFNOM it CMPL.TV-return=3SG.GEN OBL house=3PL.GEN
'This is what he brought back to their house.'

213. hikuna i angay-an=ko nougma
3SG.LFNOM DEF go-LV-1SG.GEN tomorrow
'That is where I'm going tomorrow.'

214. hikuna=la i kaya=na a ma-sabinet
3SG.LFNOM=just DEF able-3SG.GEN LK ACD-carry
'It is all he is able to carry.'

3.8.3 Genitives

Table 3.7 Genitive pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1INC	-	*=ta*	*=tam*
1EXC	*=ko*		*=mi*
2	*=mo*		*=moy*
3	*=na*		*=di*

The genitive pronouns are all enclitic, and therefore attach to the first element of the clause, usually a verb. The first function of genitive pronous is as the agents of non-actor voice verbs, as in examples 215 through 222 below.

[16] It is unclear why the long-form nominative *hikan* is used in this sentence.

215. garsat-an=ko i lubid
cut-PV=1SG.GEN DEF rope
'I will cut the rope.'

216. hida-an=mo i padut=aya
main.course-LV=2SG.GEN dEF fish= MED.SPC
'You will eat that fish.'

217. alap-an=na i butag nokkan nougma
get-PV=3SG.GEN DEF betel FUT tomorrow
'He will get the betel nut tomorrow.'

218. i-soli=ta i kakpal=aye ha anak=he hidi
TV-return=1DU.INC.GEN DEF bunch= PROX.SPC OBL child=SPC PL
'We will take back this bunch of children.'

219. ni-atad=tam ni Idring i kape=he
CMPL.TV-give=1PL.INC.GEN PERS Idring DEF coffee=SPC
'We gave the coffee to Idring.'

220. <in>alap-ø=mi ni Pedru i galambud
<CMPL>get-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN PERS Pedro DEF carabao
'We got the water buffalo (carabao) from Pedro.'

221. angay-an=moy
go-LV=2PL.GEN
'Where are you (pl) going?'

222. i-labbang=di ni kakay
TV-bury=3PL.GEN PERS grandfather
'They will bury Grandfather.'

The second function of genitive pronouns is as possessives, as in examples 223 through 230 below.

223. agom=ko
companion=1SG.GEN
'my companion'

224. anak=mo
child=2SG.GEN
'your child'

225. islip=na
goggles=3SG.GEN
'his goggles'

226. dilan=ta
path=1DU.INC.GEN
'our path'

227. hida=tam
main.course=1PL.INC.GEN
'our meal'

228. wadi=mi
younger.sibling=1PL.EXC.GEN
'our younger sibling'

229. asu=moy
dog=2PL.GEN
'your dog'

230. bilay=di
house=3PL.GEN
'their house'

When common nouns are the possessors, possession is indicated with the genitive marker *na*, as discussed in section 3.6 above.

3.8.4 Obliques

Table 3.8 Oblique pronouns

	SG	DU	PL
1INC	-	*nikita*	*nikitam*
1EXC	*nikan*		*nikami*
2	*nikaw*		*nikam*
3	*nikuna*		*nidi*

The oblique pronouns are independent forms (i.e., not clitics) and are usually preceded by the oblique case marker *ha*.

231. apay a ma-ingal=ka ha nikan
why LK ACD-angry=2SG.GEN OBL 1SG.OBL
'Why are you angry with me?'

232. awan=ko=dud[17] a ni-peta ha nikaw
NEG=1SG.GEN=Q LK CMPL.TV-say OBL 2SG.OBL
'I couldn't really tell you.'

233. ni-atad=di i padut ha nikuna
CMPL.TV-give=3PL.GEN DEF fish OBL 3SG.OBL
'They gave the fish to him.'

234. ni-ditang ni Ronald i lati ha nikita
CMPL.TV-arrive PERS Ronald DEF rattan OBL 1DU.INC.OBL
'Ronald brought the rattan to us.'

235. ni-ditang ni Garwet i padut ha nikitam
CMPL.TV-arrive PERS Garwet DEF fish OBL 1PL.INC.OBL
'Garwet brought the fish to us.'

236. ni-atad ni Priming i butag ha nikami
CMPL.TV-give PERS Priming DEF betel OBL 1PL.EXC.OBL
'Priming gave the betel nut to us.'

237. ni-ditang=ko i ma-diyag ha nikam
CMPL.TV-arrive=1SG.GEN DEF ?[18]-eat OBL 2PL.OBL
'I brought the food to you.'

238. ni-bisag ni Ronald i laya ha nidi
CMPL.TV-throw PERS Ronald DEF ginger OBL 3PL.OBL
'Ronald threw the ginger to them.'

But the oblique case marker can be omitted without a difference in meaning.

239. ni-bisag ni Idring i padut nikan
CMPL.TV-throw PERS Idring DEF fish 1SG.OBL
'Idring threw the fish to me.'

240. atoy=manon i d<in><um>emat nikaw
EXT=again DEF <CMPL><AV>arrive 2SG.OBL
'Do you have visitors again?'

241. atoy=bi=la=dud nikaw libro=a
EXT=also=just=Q 2SG.OBL book=SPC
'Do you have a book?'

---

[17] The enclitic *=dud* is generally used as a question marker (hence the marker Q), but it can also be used to soften a request (hence 'really' in the free translation). See section 4.7.3.3.5 for a more complete description of *=dud*.

[18] The prefix *ma-* is usually used for accidental verbs and adjectives. The clearly derivational function of the prefix in this case is, to my knowledge, unique, and may be based on the Ilokano *makan* 'food' (cf. root *kan* 'eat').

242. i lallaki=aya a nang-i-peta nikuna
DEF man=MED.SPC LK CMPL.AV-TV-say 3SG.OBL
'That man said to her....'

3.8.5 Pronouns in combination

When more than one pronoun occurs in a given clause, the genitive enclitic pronouns generally precede the nominative enclitic pronouns, but they can combine in irregular ways. A table is given below of the combinations that occur in the data upon which this dissertation is based. Irregular forms appear in **bold**.

Table 3.9 Dupaningan pronouns in combination

undergoer (NOM) / actor (GEN)	1SG *=ak*	2SG *=ka*	3SG *ø*	1DU.INC *=kita*	1PL.INC *=kitam*	1PL.EXC *=kami*	2PL *=kam*	3PL *hidi*
1SG *=ko*	-	***taka***					***takam***	***ko hidi***
2SG *=mo*	***moak***	-				***mokami***		
3SG *=na*	***nayak***	***naka***	-		***nakitam***	***nakami***		
1DU.INC *=ta*				-				
1PL.INC *=tam*					-			
1PL.EXC *=mi*						-		***mi hidi***
2PL *=moy*	***moyak***						-	
3PL *=di*	***diak***					***dikami***	***dikam***	-

Examples of regular combinations are given in 243 through 250 below.

243. <in>akdin-an=na=ka ha bunutan
<CMPL>give-LV=3SG.GEN=2SG.NOM OBL mango
'He gave you the mango.'

244. lukag-an=mo=ak nokkan alas singko
wake-LV=2SG.GEN=1SG.NOM FUT time five
'Wake me up at five.'

245. na-enta=di=kami ha dipon=ayo
CMPL.ACD-see=3PL.GEN=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL market=DIST.SPC
'They saw us at the market.'

246. amat-an=di=ak
stare-LV=3PL.GEN=1SG.NOM
'They are staring at me.'

247. bon-an=di=kam a mag-saddap ha rabon[19]
command-LV=3PL.GEN=2PL.NOM LK AV-enter OBL bird.nest
'They are commanding you to gather bird nests.'

248. ayag-en[20]=mo=kami=mina a maki-mula
call-LV=2SG.GEN=1PL.EXC.NOM=hopefully LK SOC-plant
'I wish you would call us to plant together.'

249. uksit-an=moy=ak=manon
bother-LV=2PL.GEN=1SG.NOM=again
'You are bothering me again.'

250. uno-unud-an=na=kitam[21]
REDUP-follow-LV=3SG.GEN=1PL.NOM
'He is following us.'

251. <in>ayag-en=mi hidi
<CMPL>call-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN 3SG.NOM
'We called them.'

Although the general order is for genitive enclitics to precede nominative enclitics, certain combinations yield portmanteau morphemes. A combination of the first person singular genitive *=ko* and the second person singular nominative *=ka* yields the combination pronoun *=taka*.

252. kasur=taka wadi=ko
like=1SG.GEN\2SG.NOM younger.sibling=1SG.GEN
'I love you, my younger sibling.'

253. katandi=taka=dan
know=1SG.GEN\2SG.NOM=already
'Do I know you already?'

When the first singular genitive pronoun *=ko* combines with the second person plural nominative pronoun *=kam*, the combination is *=takam*.

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[19] The phrase *magsaddap ha rabon* is idiomatic. Although the literal translation would be 'enter nests', it means 'enter caves for bird nests' or simply 'gather bird nests'.
[20] The suffix *-an* has become *-en* by the process of low vowel fronting after voiced stops (see section 2.1.1.6).
[21] This comes from the root *unod*, so the reduplicant is *uno*. The final vowel of the root is raised when the form is suffixed, yielding *uno-unud-an*.

254. i-pokpok-an=takam ha ulas nokkan nougma
TV-wash.clothes-LV=1SG.GEN\2PL.NOM OBL blanketFUT tomorrow
'I will wash a blanket for you tomorrow.'

255. i-alap-an=takam ha padut ha hida-an=moy
TV-get-LV=1SG.GEN\2PL.NOM OBL fish OBL main.course-LV=2PL.GEN
'I will get you some fish for your dinner.'

In the case where the third person singular genitive pronoun =*na* combines with the first person singular nominative pronoun =*ak*, the glide [y] is inserted, yielding =nayak.

256. ni-unod=nayak na babbey=heya ha lapos=ayo
CMPL.TV-take.along=3SG.GEN\1SG.NOM GEN woman=SPC OBL outside= DIST.SPC
'The woman took me along (with her) to town.'

257. <in>akdin-an=nayak ha subu
<CMPL>give-LV=3SG.GEN\1SG.NOM OBL tobacco
'He gave me some tobacco.'

3.8.6 Anaphoric pronoun

For anaphoric reference, the pronoun *ito* is used. The pronoun *ito* can substitute for nominative, genitive, and oblique phrases, human or non-human, although it was not found to occur with first or second person pronouns. *Ito* has no inherent deixis. Although *ito* can substitute for phrases in various grammatical cases, the pronoun itself does not need to be in that same grammatical case. The antecedent of *ito* need not be in the same clause or even the same sentence as the pronoun. In 258 through 260 below, the antecedents are obliques and the pronoun itself is a topicalized or clefted nominative. Both elements are in bold here to make the connection easier to see.

258. t<in><um>agdak=dan hikuna ha ka-rusu-an ha mag-saddap ha **rabon**
<CMPL><AV>ascend=already 3SG.LFNOM OBL NMLZ-rock-NMLZ OBL AV-enter OBL **bird.nest**
'He ascended the rocky cliff to look **for bird nests.**'

ito i-sulet=na i kurinnat hidi ha urah marag-gatang hidi a rabon
it TV-trade=3SG.GEN DEF money PL OBL rice HBT-buy PL LK bird.nest
'**These** he will trade for money and rice to the bird nest buyers.'

259. ka-demat=di **ha** **bilay=di**
NMLZ-arrive=3PL.GEN **OBL** **house=3PL.GEN**
'They arrived **at their house.**'

ito=dan i pag-pa-binag-an=na
it=already DEF NMLZ-CAUS-strong-LV=3SG.GEN
'That was the place where he got her strong.'

260. ngay[22] hidi nang-upas **ha** **kalbo**
went 3PL.NOM CMPL.AV-fish.with.net OBL mullet
'They went to fish (with nets) **for mullet fish.'**

ito i sulet=di[23] no atoy ma-kengwa=di a kalbo
it DEF trade=3PL.GEN if EXT ACD-catch=3PL.GEN LK mullet
'These are what they will exchange if they catch mullet fish.'

Although *ito* can substitute for locative phrases, as in example 259 above, there is also a separate anaphoric locative *hito*, which substitutes for oblique location phrases (see section 3.8.7 below).

The anaphoric pronoun *ito* can also co-occur with the third person singular long-form nominative pronoun *hikuna*. The pronoun *hikuna* and the anaphoric pronoun *ito* both have the same reference, and the doubling appears to function as emphasis.

261. naka-kengwa hikuna **ha** **pilas**
CMPL.ABIL-catch 3SG.LFNOM **OBL** **meat**
'He was able to catch **an animal** (lit., **'some meat'**).'

hikuna **ito** ni-soli=na **ha** bilay=di
3SG.LFNOM **it** CMPL.TV-return=3SG.GEN OBL house=3SG.GEN
'That he brought back to their house.'

The antecedent for the anaphoric pronoun *ito* can also be nominative, as in 262 below.

[22] The word *ngay* is a shortened form of the actor voice verb *<um>angay* 'to go'. The shortened form often serves an auxiliary function (see section 4.6.1.1).
[23] This could also be analyzed as the verb *i-sulet*, with the instrumental prefix.

262. k<in>a-kuyog-ø=di i **ibay=di=heya**
<CMPL>REDUP-accompany-PV=3PL.GEN DEF **Ilokano.friend=3PL.GEN=SPC**

a marag-nagen ha Cherles
LK HBT-name OBL Charles
'They took with them **their Ilokano friend named Charles.**'

ito=bi=la nokkani mang-alap ha padut
it=also=just FUT DEF AV-get OBL fish
"He would be the one to get the fish.'

The antecedent of *ito* can also be a genitive, as in example 263 below, where the antecedent is the third person singular genitive pronoun *=na.*

263. obus=na pag-man
finish=3SG.GEN SEQ-chew.betel
'After he finished chewing betel nut...'

pang-i-abad=na i arikawat=na
SEQ-TV-tie.around.waist=**3SG.GEN** DEF betel.pouch=3SG.GEN
'...**he** tied his betelnut pouch around his waist.'

hikuna=la ito a l<in><um>akset
3SG.LFNOM=just it LK <CMPL><AV>leave
'He just left.'

Ito can be used in explanations, with a meaning like 'so, therefore'. In such cases, the antecedent could be considered the whole previous sentence.

264. idi nag-udek=ak
PST CMPL.AV-go.upstream=1SG.NOM
'When I went upstream....'

atoy na-enta=ko ha ogden a nang-loku hikan
EXT ACD-see=1SG.GEN OBL Ilokano LK CMPL.AV-harass 1SG.LFNOM
'....I saw an Ilokano who was giving me troubles.'

ito s<in>igid-an=ko l<in><um>aksep
it <CMPL>hurry-LF=1SG.GEN <CMPL><AV>leave
'So I hurried up to leave.'

The pronoun *ito* can also occur as a modifier (in the genitive case). In the examples below, the antecedent is the entire previous phrase.

265. d<imm>emat hikuna ha isan=na
<CMPL.AV>arrive 3SG.LFNOM OBL camp=3SG.GEN

pag-gimet=na ha toklong=na ha amogud=ayo ha apon
AV-make=3SG.GEN OBL hut=3SG.GEN OBL forest=DIST.SPC OBL afternoon
'He arrived at his camp, then he made his hut in that forest in the afternoon.'

ka-malledum=a na ito
NMLZ-morning=SPC GEN it
'That next morning...'

<in><um>angay hikuna ha amogud ha nag-angkat
<cmpl><av>go 3sg.lfnom obl forest obl cmpl.av-hunt

'...he went into the forest to hunt.'

266. "apon=ak=dan agay" kona=kan a ulitaw=a
afternoon=1SG.NOM=already friend say=HSY LK young.man=SPC
'"It's getting late on me, man" the young man said.

pag-gal-galgal pag-i-sokad=na ha agtay hidi dinaga
AV-REDUP-slice AV-TV-roast=3SG.GEN OBL liver PL snack.meat
'He sliced up and roasted the liver and other bits (of a pig he had caught).'

k<in>a-ugma na ito pag-usog=na=dan
<CMPL>NMLZ-morning GEN it AV-
go.downstream=3SG.GEN=already
'That next morning, he went downstream.'

3.8.7 Anaphoric locative

The form *hito* is the locative version of the anaphoric pronoun *ito*, and it refers to a known, specific location, but without inherent deixis (distance from the speaker and/or listener). The locative *hito* may or may not have a specific antecedent in the discourse. In example 267 below, *pekuan na dilenas* 'bend in the rocky cliff' is the antecedent location.

267. ka-demat=na=kan ha **peku-an**[24] na **dilenas**
NMLZ-arrive=3SG.GEN=HSY OBL **bend-LV** GEN **rocky.area**
'He arrived at **the bend in the rocky cliff.**'

hen=kan=bi **hito** i lakay=a
stay=HSY=also **there** DEF husband=SPC
'The husband was staying **there.**'

In example 268 below, the location is not mentioned specifically in the preceding sentences, but is clearly understood from the context of the story, where a young woman has been abandoned by her friends while she is stuck in a tree.

268. ma-ari-aridid hanggan ha ka-[s]sinag
ACD-REDUP-winter until OBL NMLZ-summer
'She stayed all through the winter until the summer.'

hen=kan=pala hikuna **hito,** agay[25]
stay=HSY=still 3SG.LFNOM **there** friend
'She just stayed there, my friend.'

In the following example taken from later in the same story, there is again no antecedent location, and the *hito* seems to be coindexed with a following noun phrase, *toklong=na* 'his hut'

269. hen=na p<in>a-abben ni-ussak=na
stay=3SG.GEN <CMPL>CAUS-carry.on.back CMPL.TV-descend=3SG.GEN
'She held on to his back as he brought her down.'

hito=kan=bi=la i nang-pa-kan-an=na **ha toklong=na**
there=HSY=also=just DEF CMPL.AV-CAUS-eat-LV=3SG.GEN **OBL hut=3SG.GEN**
'There is where he fed her, **at his hut.'**

3.8.8 Deictics, demonstratives, and locatives

There are several sets of deictic demonstratives in Dupaningan, corresponding to the range of meanings covered by English 'here, there' and 'this, that'. Each set contains a

[24] This form is not in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because speakers did not agree on it, but see *pikon-an* 'bend'.

[25] The word *agay* 'friend' is an address form with certain social restrictions in contrast to the neutral form *ilay* 'friend', which is usually used in reference, but can also be used in address and carries no social restrictions. Because *agay* is used in address, I usually give the free translation 'my friend', even though there is no pronoun.

three-way distinction in location. The deictics ending with *-e* are the close/near set, used for a distance near to both the speaker and the hearer, corresponding to English 'here' and 'this'. The deictics ending with *-ay* represent a distance either (1) far from the speaker and close to the listener or (2) somewhat far from both. The deictics ending with *-u* or *-o* represent distance far from both the hearer and the speaker. The post-nominal demonstratives that indicate specificity in addition to deixis are discussed in section 3.4.1 above. A table of deictics is given below.

Table 3.10 Dupaningan deictics

	proximal (close)	medial (middle)	distal (far)
specific	*=aye* 'this'	*=aya* 'that'	*=ayo* 'that there'
singular demonstrative (nominal)	*ide* 'this (thing)'	*iday* 'that (thing)'	*idu* 'that (thing) over there'
plural demonstrative (nominal)	*daginde* 'these (things)'	*daginday* 'those (things)'	*daginto* 'those (things) over there'
oblique (locative)	*ihe* 'here'	*ihay* 'there'	*ihu* 'over there'

3.8.8.1 Demonstrative pronouns

The first set of deictics, *ide* (near), *iday* (medial distance), and *idu* (far), are called demonstrative pronouns here because they can stand alone as independent NPs.

270. kan-an=mi=dud=dan=waden ide
eat-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN=Q=already=perhaps PROX.DEM
'Will we eat this?'

271. ma-kagi-kagi=la iday
ACD-speak-speak=just MED.DEM
'That one (by you) is just chattering.'

272. iday i ka-tabi-an a laman a na-kengwa=ko
MED.DEM DEF SUPER-fat-SUPER LK pig LK ACD.CMPL-catch=1SG.GEN
'That is the fattest pig I ever caught.'

273. idu=man i bilay ni Hevyo
DIST.DEM=CONTRASTIVE DEF house PERS Hevyo
'That (far) is Hevyo's house.'

274. heya makin=aso ha iday
who OWNER=dog OBL MED.DEM
'Whose dog is that (by you)?'

These demonstratives can also be modifiers. Unlike the specific set (see section 3.4.1 above), these deictics precede the nominals they modify.

275. mappya [idu a bilay]
pretty DIST.DEM LK house
'That (far) house is pretty.'

276. ma-tadam [iday a siyu] im [ide a siyu]
ADJ-sharp MED.DEM LK bolo than PROX.DEM LK bolo
'That bolo knife (by you) is sharper than this one.'

277. maka-eryok=dan [iday a ulitaw]
ABIL-work=already MED.DEM LK young.man
'That young man (by you) can work already.'

The plural versions of *ide*, *iday*, and *idu* are *daginde*,*daginday*, and *daginto*, respectively. They can be used as nominals (examples 278 through 281 below) or as modifiers (examples 282 through 284 below).

278. daginde i 'anak[26] a mappya
PROX.PL.DEM DEF children LK good
'These are the good children.'

279. heya i makin=atap ha daginde
who DEF OWNER=roof OBL PROX.PL.DEM
'Whose roofing materials are these?'

280. ma-nabab daginday
ADJ-loud MED.PL.DEM
'Those (people by you) are loud.'

281. awan=pala i kabanga=di daginto
NEG=still DEF spouse=3PL.GEN DIST.PL.DEM
'Those (women) didn't have husbands yet.'

282. ma-ponsit [daginde a tennon]
ADJ-white PROX.PL.DEM LK clothes
'These clothes are white.'

[26] The word *anak* 'child' is singular with final stress and plural with initial stress (see section 3.5).

283. da-dakkal [daginday a kayu]
MULT-large MED.PL.DEM LK tree
'These trees are big.'

284. na-ellaw [daginday a ulitaw]
ADJ-drunk MED.PL.DEM LK young.men
'Those young men are drunk.'

3.8.8.2 Oblique demonstratives/locatives

The set of demonstratives *ihe, ihay, ihu* are purely locatives, corresponding to the English meanings 'here' and 'there'. They occur in the same position as locative (oblique) phrases. As with the other sets of deictics/demonstratives, the form that ends in *-e* indicates close range, the form ending in *-ay* indicates a location distant from the speaker but close to the listener, or a close distance away, while the form ending in *-u* indicates a location distant from both speaker and listener.

285. mag-soli=ak=bi=la ihe
AV-return=1SG.NOM=also=just PROX.LOC
'I will come back here.'

286. maka-ura-uray di Garwet hidi ni Greg ihay
CONT-REDUP-wait PL.PERS Garwet PL PERS Greg MED.LOC
'Garwet and Greg are waiting there (by you).'

287. hidi i maka-sang-sanget ihu
3PL.NOM DEF CONT-REDUP-cry DIST.LOC
'They are the ones crying over there.'

They have variant forms without the initial *i* in less careful speech.

288. mag-hen=kita=dan he
AV-live=1DU.NOM=already PROX.LOC
'Let's stay here.'

289. hen=ka=n hay, ilay
stay=2SG.NOM=already MED.LOC friend
'You just stay there, friend.'

290. <um>angay=ak hu
<AV>go=1SG.NOM DIST.LOC
'I'm going there.'

These locatives can optionally co-occur with the oblique case marker *ha*, perhaps as a way of emphasizing the location.

291. ma-pasi ha ka-ssinag ha ihe
ADJ-hot OBL NMLZ-sunlight OBL PROX.LOC
'It is hot here in summer.'

292. maka-kela-kellap di Balsig hidi ni Ister ha ihu
CONT-REDUP-sleep PL.PERS Balsig PL PERS Ister OBL DIST.LOC
'Balsig and Ister sleep over there.'

293. ka=moy=dan mag-gulam ha ihu
IMPERATIVE.go=2PL.GEN=already AV-play OBL DIST.LOC
'Go play over there!'

3.9 Vocatives/Address forms

Dupaningan has five different sets of words for certain close family members in which the vocative (address form) differs from the reference term by only a single phoneme. The words in question are *ama* 'father', *ina* 'mother', and *akka* 'elder sibling'. The forms are listed in Table 3.11 below.

Table 3.11 Dupaningan Agta address/reference kinship terms

Address	Address (childish)	Reference (generic)	Reference (specific)	Plural, Reference	English
a'ma	*'amang*	*'hama*	*'hama*	*'dema*	father
i'na	*'inang*	*'hena*	*'hena*	*'dena*	mother
ak'ka	-[27]	*'hekka*	*'hekka*	*'dekka*	elder sibling

While Blust (1979) notes the existence of similar sets in many Western Malayo-Polynesian languages, he also observes that no language has more than three: address, reference, and plural. Dupaningan has five sets: two address (childish and neutral), two reference and one plural, each of which is derived from the same root.

[27] But note Dupaningan *abeng* 'address term for elder sibling'.

The two sets of address terms—plain forms with final stress and derived forms that end in a velar nasal—have the same meaning, but the latter is more appropriate for young children, whereas the former is the neutral address term. Blust (1979) reconstructs both stress shift and final velar nasals in Proto-Western Malayo-Polynesian as devices for deriving vocatives, but does not give any languages with a childish/neutral distinction in its address forms. Neither stress shift nor addition of a final velar nasal is a productive process in Dupaningan today and both appear to be limited to these three forms.

There are also two sets for reference (i.e., non-address forms): those that begin with the formative *h-* and those that begin with the formative *n-*. Again, neither formative is known to be used in any other morphological process in Dupaningan, although the *h-* does appear in Dupaningan *hapu* 'god, boss, master, respected older person' from Proto-Austronesian *apu-? 'grandparent, ancestor, lord, master, owner (vocative)' (Blust 1995). It seems likely that these forms were originally formed with the person marker *si (*s has sporadically changed to /h/ in Dupaningan; see section 2.1.1.8). This would also explain the otherwise unexplainable vowel in *hekka* as a process of monophthongization of *si + akka. The set beginning with *n-* probably has a similar origin with the modern Dupaningan person marker *ni*, which would again account for the vowel shift.

Although these two sets (with *h-* and with *n-*) appear to have similar origins, they serve slightly different functions today, with the *n*-set used for specific individuals in a way comparable to using the personal name marker *ni* with other common nouns. So, although the marker *ni* normally occurs with proper names (see section 3.2.2 above), it can also be used to create proper names from common nouns: *ni Pedro* 'Pedro', *i kakay* 'the grandfather' (with the definite noun marker *i*), but *ni kakay* 'Grandfather' (with the

personal name marker *ni*). Use of *nama* 'Father', *nena* 'Mother', and *nekka* 'Older Sibling' appears to be comparable to use of *ni kakay* 'Grandfather'. Unlike in English, however, it is possible for such derived names to co-occur with personal pronouns.

294. katandi=na i asu=a no heya i **hena**=na
know=3SG.GEN DEF dog=SPC if who DEF **mother**=3SG.GEN
'The dog knows who its mother is.'

295. na-nakam-an=di i **hama**=di ken **hena**=di 'anak[28]=di hidi=a
ADJ-mind-LV=PL.GEN DEF **father**=3PL.GEN and **mother**=3PL.GEN children=3PL.GEN PL=SPC
'Their father and their mother worry about their children.'

296. <um>ales i ta-madiket=a ken **nekka**=na ha pag-hen-an=di
<AV>move DEF DIM-young.woman=SPC and **old.sibling**=3SG.GEN OBL NMLZ-live-LV=3PL.GEN
'The young girl and her Older Sibling moved their home.'

297. mag-buybuy hidi **nekka**=ko ken **nekka**=na
AV-story 3PL.LFNOM old.sibling=1SG.GEN and old.sibling=3SG.GEN
'My Older Sibling and her Older Sibling are chatting.'

The final set of derived forms are plural reference forms with the formative *d-*. Blust (1979: f63) gives the reconstruction *Da for this function, and notes that it is the same as the third person plural genitive pronoun. The reflex of the Dupaningan third person plural genitive pronoun is *di* (with low vowel fronting; see section 2.1.1.6), and it seems likely that this *di* is the formative at work in these plural reference forms, which again explains the vowel changes in the roots. It is curious that the form *dema* 'fathers' has a mid vowel rather than a low vowel, unlike *nama* 'father' and *hama* 'father', but the mid vowel is expected given the high vowel in the formative. *Nama* and *hama*, then, have the unexpected vowels. These plural forms can be used as traditional plurals, that is *dema* 'fathers', *dena* 'mothers', and *dekka* 'older siblings', or to include other individuals (i.e., *dema* 'father and others', *dena* 'mother and others', and *dekka* 'older sibling and others').

[28] The word *anak* 'child' is singular with final stress and plural with initial stress (see section 3.5).

298. mag-sulog dekka=ko
AV-swim PL.old.sibling=1SG.GEN
'My older siblings are swimming.'

299. katandi=di i dema=ko i ilay=ko=he hidi
know=3PL.GEN DEF PL.father=1SG.GEN DEF friend=1SG.GEN=SPC PL
'My parents (i.e., 'my father and other(s)') know my friends.'

300. <um>angay=ak=bi d<um>idug ha dena=ko
<AV>go=1SG.NOM=also <AV>visit OBL PL.mother=1SG.GEN
'I will also go visit my mother (and the rest of my family).'

3.10 Adjectives/Nominal modifiers

Aside from the traditional definition of adjectives as elements that modify nouns, adjectives are distinguished from verbs in Dupaningan in that an adjective does not inflect for aspect. In the examples below, we see that the adjectival prefix has the same form *ma-* when it is in the non-completive (example 301) as when it is in the completive aspect (example 302).

301. ma-buktet ni Manet[29]
ADJ-pregnant PERS Manet
'Manet is pregnant.'

302. ma-buktet ni Manet ha ngangay, ayein, nag-enak=dan
ADJ-pregnant PERS Manet OBL long.ago now CMPL.AV-give.birth=already
'Manet was pregnant before, but she gave birth already.'

In contrast, a verb always inflects for aspect. The examples below illustrate verbs with the accidental prefix *ma-*, which is homophonous with the adjectival prefix. In examples 303 and 305 below, we see accidental (non-volitional) *ma-* verbs that are in the non-completive (future) aspect. Their completive counterparts in 304 and 306 below have the prefix *na-*, which is the completive version of the *ma-* prefix (see section 4.4.5 for more information on accidental verbs).

[29] This example was constructed for this dissertation by the author.

303. **ma-tegbak=ak=nin** nokkan no bakas=ak
ACD-die=1SG.NOM=FUT FUT if old.lady=1SG.NOM
'I will die when I am an old lady.'

304. idi ta-anak=ak, **na-tegbak** ni babong=ko
PST DIM-child=1SG.NOM **ACD.CMPL-die** PERS grandmother=1SG.GEN
'When I was a small child, my grandmother died.'

305. ni Roxanne **ma-lukag=ka** no ma-nabab=ka
PERS Roxanne **ACD-wake=2SG.NOM** if ADJ-loud=2SG.NOM
'You will wake Roxanne up if you are loud.'

306. **na-lukag** i malugyaw ha malledum
ACD.CMPL-wake DEF baby OBL morning
'The baby woke up in the morning.'

Thus, although the adjectival prefix *ma-* and the accidental verb prefix *ma-* are homophonous in the incompletive, we can see that they exhibit differing behaviors in the completive aspect, thus necessitating a distinction in the grammar between verbs and adjectives.

Not surprisingly, however, Dupaningan roots are not confined to a single word class. Although a particular root may most commonly occur with verbal affixation, for example, it can also be affixed with other morphemes to change its word class. In the table below, we see both the prototypical verbal usage and the less common adjectival counterpart of the same word.

Table 3.12 Verbs and their adjectival counterparts

***<um>* verbs**	**adjectives**
b<um>uyot 'run'	*ma-buyot* 'fast'
k<um>ilap 'sleep'	*ma-kellap* 'asleep'[30]
h<um>ikeg 'lie down'	*ma-hekig*[31] 'lying down'

[30] The word *kilap* or *kellap* meaning sleep is irregular in having geminate and non-geminate forms in different distributions. The change in vowel, however, is expected. See section 2.2.2.4.
[31] The vocalic changes in the root here are not unexpected. See section 2.2.2.4.

3.10.1 Placement of adjectives within the noun phrase

In Dupaningan, modifiers generally precede nouns, and the modifier is linked to the noun with the linker *a*.

307. i ma-singgat a natang
DEF ADJ-tasty LK vegetable
'the tasty vegetable'

308. i ballek a manok
DEF small LK bird
'the little bird'

309. bigu a siyu
new LK bolo
'new bolo knife'

310. i apellak=aya a anak
DEF short= MED.SPC LK child
'that short child'

311. ma-soprad=heya a adika
ADJ-unripe=SPC LK banana
'the unripe banana'

312. i meka-duwa=he a anak
DEF ORD-two=SPC LK child
'the second child'

Although the tendency is for the adjective to come first, the order is sometimes reversed, without any change in meaning.

313. i agta a nellaw
DEF person LK ADJ\drunk
'the drunk person'

314. i bakas a mag-uyung
DEF old.woman LK AV-crazy
'the crazy old woman'

315. i manok=ayo a ma-ponsit
DEF bird= DIST.SPC LK ADJ-white
'that white bird'

When either the nominal or the modifier is a complex phrase, there is a tendency for the modifier to follow the nominal. This may be due to information structure. Kaufman (2005) notes that while the adjective/noun order in Tagalog does vary, pragmatically focused information tends to be presented last. The same may be true for Dupaningan.

316. i [g<in>imet-ø ni kabanga=na] a ma-dukas
DEF <CMPL>do-PV PERS spouse=3SG.GEN LK ADJ-bad
'the bad things her husband had done'

317. pilas=aya a k<in>engwa-ø=na
meat= MED.SPC LK <CMPL>catch-PV=3SG.GEN
'that meat that he had caught'

318. i ibay=di=heya a marag-nagen ha Cherles
DEF Ilokano.friend=3PL.GEN=SPC LK HBT-name OBL Charles
'their Ilokano friend named Charles'

Nominals can also act as modifiers. When a nominal is a modifier, either order is possible (the modifier may follow or precede the head). In example 319, *wadi* 'younger brother' is the head noun, and *ulitaw* 'young man' is a modifier, so the modifier follows the head nomimal. Example 320 is very similar, in that *laman* 'pig' is the head noun, and *lallaki* 'man' is the modifier, so the modifier follows the head. In example 321, on the other hand, *bilay* 'house' is the head noun, and *kalipat* 'other side' is the modifier, so the modifier precedes the head.

319. wadi=na=a a ulitaw
younger.sibling=3SG.GEN=SPC LK young.man
'his bachelor younger brother'

320. i laman=ayo a lallaki
DEF wild.pig= DIST.SPC LK male
'that male pig'

321. kalipat=ayo a bilay
other.side= DIST.SPC LK house
'that house on the other side'

The demonstrative pronouns (which are nominal) can also act as modifiers, as shown in the examples below. The demonstrative pronoun invariably precedes the modified nominal. See section 3.8.8.1 above for more information on the demonstrative pronouns.

322. iday a madiket
MED.DEM LK woman
'that young woman'

323. ide a siyu
PROX.DEM LK bolo
'this bolo knife'

324. daginday a ulitaw
MED.PL.DEM LK young.man
'those young men'

When numbers or quantifiers are used as modifiers, they always precede the modified noun.

325. lima a laman
five LK pig
'five pigs

326. makpal a agta
many LK person
'many people'

3.10.2 Monomorphemic adjectives

Although it is typical for an adjective to be an affixed form in Dupaningan, and Dupaningan roots tend to be nominal (see section 3.7.1 above), there are a number of monomorphemic adjectives in Dupaningan. A few are listed below.

327.

ballek 'small'
dakal 'large'
bigu 'new'
alegid 'old'
apellak 'short'
atakdug 'long'
alsey?as 'fancy'
tallobag 'naked'

3.10.3 Adjectival prefix *ma-*

The most common adjectival prefix in Dupaningan is *ma-*. This is homophonous with the accidental prefix *ma-*, but the two can be distinguished in the completive aspect, as is shown at the beginning of this section on adjectives.

328. *ma-soprang* 'annoying'
ma-dideg 'red'
ma-bannag 'tired'
ma-romsa 'dirty'
ma-kanot 'slippery'
ma-lamsak 'bland'

Although the roots of most adjectives do not have independent meanings, some do, as shown in Table 3.13 below.

Table 3.13 Adjectives and their nominal roots

adjective	nominal root
ma-tadam 'sharp'	*tadam* 'point, hook'
ma-tabi 'fat'	*tabi* 'fat (n.)'
ma-pilas 'rich'	*pilas* 'meat'
ma-arob 'smelly'	*arob* 'smell'
ma-asok 'smoky'	*asok* 'smoke'
ma-nakam 'thoughtful'	*nakam* 'mind'
ma-paras 'windy'	*paras* 'wind'
ma-diget 'rough, of the sea'	*diget* 'sea'
ma-sallag 'strong, of a current'	*sallag* 'current'

3.10.4 Adjectival prefix *na-*

Adjectives in Dupaningan may have the prefix *na-* instead of *ma-*. This is by far the less common of the two, and seems to be an influence of Ilokano, where *na-* is the most

common adjectival prefix, and *ma-* only occurs on a handful of roots (Rubino 1997: 126-27). A single adjective in Dupaningan may take either prefix without change in meaning. There are a few adjectives, however, that seem to prefer the *na-*, although these may be analyzed as completive accidental verbs, as the prefix *na-* is homophonous with the completive aspect of the accidental prefix *ma-* (as shown at the beginning of this section on adjectives).

329. *na-apgad* 'salty' (cf. Ilk *na-apgad*)
na-imbal 'brackish'
na-ellaw 'drunk'
na-bisag 'shattered'

3.10.5 Reduplicated roots

A small subset of adjectives employs full reduplication iconically to represent repeated textures. They may or may not have an adjectival prefix. The unreduplicated roots are not known to have any independent meaning.

330. *kilaw-kilaw* 'crooked'
ma-ragas-ragas 'rough'
ma-rudog-rudog 'bumpy'
ma-likon-likon 'coiled, twisted'
ma-pukat-pukat 'curly, of hair'
na-kumal-kumal 'tangled'

3.10.6 Superlatives

Superlatives in Dupaningan are formed by adding the circumfix *ka- -an* to the root of the adjective (i.e., if it is a polymorphemic stative verb, just the root is used to form the superlative). This is homophonous with the *ka- -an* circumfix that indicates a location with a particular property (see 3.7.3 above).

331. idu i galambud a ka-binag-an
DIST.DEM DEF carabao LK SUPER-strong-SUPER
'That is the strongest water buffalo (carabao).'

332. tangi i ka-singgat-an a hida
tuna DEF SUPER-tasty-SUPER LK main.course
'The tastiest meal is tuna.'

333. ogsa=ayo i ka-dakal-an a na-enta=ko
deer=DIST.SPC DEF SUPER-big-SUPER LK CMPL.ACD-see=1SG.GEN
'That deer is the biggest I have ever seen.'

334. iday i ka-tabi-an a laman a na-kengwa=ko
MED.DEM DEF SUPER-fat-SUPER LK pig LK CMPL.ACD-catch=1SG.GEN
'That is the fattest pig I have ever caught.'

3.10.7 Comparatives

Two items may be compared in Dupaningan by using the comparative word *im* 'but, than' before the second item being compared.

335. ballek i asu=di im asu=moy
small DEF dog=3PL.GEN than dog=2PL.GEN
'Their dog is smaller than your (pl) dog.'

336. ma-kapoy nena=ko im nekka=ko
ADJ-weak PERS.mother=1SG.GEN than PERS.older.sib=1SG.GEN
'My mother is weaker than my older brother.'

Although comparative constructions such as 335 and 336 above are possible, it is more common to find comparative constructions in which the word *mas* 'more' usually occurs before the first item being compared.

337. mas ma-pongsit i Americano im i Agta
more ADJ-white DEF American than DEF Agta
'The American is whiter than the Agta.'

338. mas ma-toldug ni Priming im ni Agnes
more ADJ-smart PERS Priming than PERS Agnes
'Priming is smarter than Agnes.'

The comparative adjective may optionally be reduplicated. Since the form of the reduplication in these constructions is CVC-, the use of reduplication here seems to be due to the influence of Ilokano, in which CVC- reduplication is used in comparative

constructions. CVC- reduplication is not found in Dupaningan except in Ilokano-influenced constructions.

339. mas ap-apellak ni Jon im ni Charles
more REDUP-short PERS Jon than PERS Charles
'Jon is shorter than Charles.'

3.10.8 Similarity

To indicate similarity between two items, the form *konna* is used. The object of comparison is always in the oblique case, and can even be a simple oblique demonstrative (see section 3.8.8.2 above)

340. konna ha ni Rudin
like OBL PERS Rudin
'like Rudin'

341. konna ha Manila
like OBL Manila
'like (in) Manila'

342. awan=bi a konna=hay, konna=he
NEG=also LK like=DEM.LOC like=PROX.LOC
'Not like that, like this.'

3.10.9 Numbers

The average Dupaningan person can count in Ilokano, Spanish, and English. The only Dupaningan number in common use is *essa* 'one' (and occasionally *mapulu* 'ten'). The Ilokano numbers are most commonly used for 2-10, Spanish numbers through 100, and English numbers over 100. It is very rare to hear Dupaningan speakers use the Dupaningan or Ilokano numerals for numbers above ten. For numbers under ten, English and/or Spanish numbers may be used in some situations. Spanish numbers are used for most monetary transactions, even those numbers under ten. Spanish numbers are used exclusively for times of the day. English numbers are used for giving the ages of people, although many Dupaningan do not actually know exactly how old they are. English or

Spanish numbers can be used for dates. The Dupaningan cardinal numbers are given below.

1) essa
2) duwa
3) tallo
4) appat
5) lima
6) annam
7) pitu
8) walu
9) siyam
10) mapulu
11) mapulu ha essa
12) mapulu ha duwa
13) mapulu ha tallo
14) mapulu ha appat
15) mapulu ha lima
16) mapulu ha annam
17) mapulu ha pitu
18) mapulu ha walu
19) mapulu ha siyam
20) duwapulu
21) duwapulu ha essa
22) duwapulu ha duwa
23) duwapulu ha tallo
24) duwapulu ha appat
25) duwapulu ha lima
26) duwapulu ha annam
27) duwapulu ha pitu
28) duwapulu ha walu
29) duwapulu ha siyam
30) tallupulu
40) appat a pulu
50) lima a pulu
60) annam a pulu
70) pitu a pulu
80) walu a pulu
90) siyam a pulu
100) magatu
200) duwagatu
1000) maribu
2000) duwaribu

The numbers one through nine are all monomorphemic. After that, numbers are in groups of ten with the formative *pulu*, in groups of hundreds with the formative *gatu*, and in groups of thousands with the formative *ribu*. If there is just one group of ten, hundred, or thousand (i.e., ten, one hundred, and one thousand), then the formative is prefixed with *ma-*. For two or three groups, the words *duwa* 'two' and *tallu* 'three' are compounded with the formative. For groups of four to ten, the linker *a* is needed. In contrast, to add single numbers, the oblique marker *ha* is used. It is unclear why *ha* is used instead of the plural marker *hidi*, but alas, it is.

3.10.9.1 Position

When the numerals are modifiers in Dupaningan, they precede the nominals they modify, as do most adjectives in Dupaningan (see section 3.10.1 above).

343. essa a asu
one LK dog
'one dog'

344. appat a manok
four LK bird
'four birds'

345. walo a padut
eight LK fish
'eight fish'

346. tallo a ka-ssinag
three LK NMLZ-sunlight
'three years'

3.10.9.2 Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers are formed with the prefix *make-*.

347. iday=noman i make-tallo a bunong=mo
MED.DEM=ASRT DEF ORD-three LK share=2SG.GEN
'That is your third share (of rice)'

348. iday=noman i make-siyam a laman a ni-lako ayein a ka-[s]sinag
MED.DEM=ASRT DEF ORD-nine LK pig LK CMPL.TV-sell now LK NMLZ-year
'That is the ninth pig sold this year.'

The word *palungo* 'first' is a lexical exception.

349. hikuna i palungo a d<in><um>itang
3SG.LFNOM DEF first LK <CMPL><AV>arrive
'He was the first to arrive.'

Occasionally, the prefix *meka-* is used instead of *make-*, possibly under influence of Ilokano where the comparable prefix is *mayka-*.

350. d<in><um>emat ni botay=ko ha meka-lima a pamalak
<CMPL><AV>arrive PERS uncle OBL ORD-five LK day
'My uncle arrived five days ago (lit., on the fifth day).'

3.10.9.3 Distributives

The prefix *tag-* is used for distributive cardinal numbers, which have the meaning 'one each', 'two each', 'three each', etc.

351. atoy=dan i tag-issa a ogden
EXT=already DEF DSTR-one LK Ilokano
'Everyone had their own Ilokano (trading partner).'
[lit., 'There was one Ilokano each.']

3.10.9.4 Restrictive numbers

Reduplication is used for restrictive numbers, which have the meaning 'only one', 'only two', 'only three', etc., as in the following noun phrase.

352. is-essa[32]=kanolla a tingi=na a na-tirak
REDUP-one=HSY\already\just LK branch=3SG.GEN LK ACD-remain
'reportedly only one remaining branch'

3.10.9.5 Multiplicatives

The prefix *mamen-* is used for multiplicative numbers meaning 'x times'.

[32] Although one might expect *es-essa* with CV- reduplication, the vowel in the reduplicant is raised because it is in an open syllable. See section 2.2.2.4 for discussion on mid/high vowel alternations.

353. **mamen-tallo=kami a ag-i-biyahe=dan ayenan ha lati ha onos maka-lawas**
MULT-three=1PL.EXC.NOM LK AV-TV-travel=already now OBL rattan OBL during CONT-week
'We take the rattan out three times in one week now.'

4 The verb phrase

This chapter will discuss the various aspects of the complex Dupaningan verb phrase, including voice morphology, aspect morphology, and other verbal affixes. It will also discuss auxiliary verbs, including what have been termed 'pseudo-verbs' (Schachter and Otanes 1972), a class of verbs which does not take full verbal inflection and can take either nominal or verbal complements. Finally, there will be a survey of the array of Dupaningan adverbial particles.

4.1 Defining a verb

A single root in Dupaningan, as in most other Philippine languages, can take a variety of different affixes, yielding a range of meanings and lexical functions. The same root can function as an adjective, a noun, or a verb, depending on the affixes and the context. Verbs in Dupaningan are forms that inflect for either voice (see section 4.2 below) or aspect (see section 4.3 below). As mentioned in section 3.1, however, a verb can be nominalized simply by appearing in a nominal context, even if it carries verbal affixation. In the following sentence, the verb *nang-alap* 'bought' has the verbal prefix *nang-*, which includes both completive aspect and actor voice. However, the verb follows the definite marker *i*, and so it serves as a nominal in this sentence.

1.	hikita	i	nang-alap	ha	apgas
	1DU.INC.LFNOM	DEF	CMPL.AV-get	OBL	salt
	'You and I were the ones who got salt.'				

4.2 Voice

Dupaningan has a typical Philippine-type voice system that makes one particular noun phrase in a sentence syntactically prominent. In Dupaningan, these syntactically prominent noun phrases are realized in nominative case, and only nominatives are

available for certain syntactic processes such as relativization. Which noun phrase is nominative depends on the voice of the verb, as determined by the verbal affixation. If the verb carries actor voice morphology, for example, the semantic *actor* of the clause will be nominative. If the verb carries patient voice morphology, on the other hand, the semantic *patient* of the clause will be nominative (nominative is morphologically unmarked for common nouns; see section 3.2.1.1). The other noun phrases in the clause will be either genitive or oblique because usually only one noun phrase in a clause can be nominative (but see 5.7.1 on double nominative constructions).

Dupaningan distinguishes four types of voice morphology: actor (three different affixes), patient, locative, and theme. A single verbal root can be used with multiple types of voice morphology, yielding different related meanings. For example, the root *lakad* can be used with actor voice morphology in *mag-lakad* 'walk', where the nominative is the actor doing the walking, theme voice morphology in *i-lakad* 'kidnap, walk away with', where the nominative is the person or item that was kidnapped, and locative voice morphology in *lakadin-an*[1] 'abandon, walk away from', where the nominative is the person or location that has been abandoned. A table of Dupaningan voice affixes is given below.

Table 4.1 Principle Dupaningan voice affixes

Voice / Aspect	Actor			Patient	Locative	Theme
Incompletive	*mag-*	*<um>*	*mang-*	*-an*	*-an*	*i-*
Completive	*nag-*	*<inum>*	*nang-*	*<in>*	*<in> -an*	*ni-*

[1] The form *lakadin-an* has the historical residue of a second locative voice suffix .T he form was presumably *lakad-an*, which became *lakaden* with the process of low vowel fronting (see section 2.1.1.6), and then the locative voice suffix *-an* was subsequently re-applied to yield *lakadin-an* (with concomitant vowel changes).

As the names suggests, the nominatives in actor voice constructions are semantic actors, the nominatives in patient voice constructions are semantic patients, the nominatives in theme voice constructions are themes, and the nominatives in locative voice constructions are locations (the semantics of each voice construction is discussed in greater detail in the respective sections below).

Although the various voices can be distinguished to some degree by the semantics of the nominative noun phrase, these are very rough semantic guidelines, and much of the relationship between voice morphology and the semantics of the nominative noun phrase is lexicalized. In the following examples, we see that a single root *lukag* is used with two different voice affixes (locative in example 2 and theme in example 3), but with essentially the same meaning 'wake someone up'.

2. lukag-an=mo=ak nokkan alas singko
   wake-LV=2SG.GEN=1SG.NOM FUT TIME five
   'Wake me up at five.'

3. ni-lukag=na=kan i kabanga=na
   CMPL.TV-wake=3SG.GEN=HSY DEF spouse=3SG.GEN
   'They say he woke his wife up.'

Because the voice of the verb implies the existence of a particular thematic role (e.g., actor voice constructions imply the existence of an actor, patient voice constructions imply the existence of a patient, etc.), speakers can exploit the voice system by leaving a nominative phrase unexpressed. The unexpressed nominative, however, must be understood from the context, so that sentences with no overt nominal phrase are usually translated into English with a pronoun like *it*. Example 4 below has a theme voice verb, and no overt nominative argument, and example 5 below is in the patient voice, again with no overt nominative.

4. i-ditang=ko ha nikam ha apon
TV-arrive=1SG.GEN OBL 2PL.OBL OBL afternoon
'I will bring it back to you in the afternoon.'

5. g<in>imet-ø=ko ha nokkan=in ha p<in>ag-soli=di
<CMPL>do-PV=1SG.GEN OBL FUT=FUT OBL <CMPL>NMLZ-return=3PL.GEN
'I did it before they went home.'

The verb rain always has an unexpressed nominative argument in the actor voice (example 6), although it can have a nominative in other constructions, such as example 7 below, where *ide a talon* 'this land' is the nominative.

6. mag-uden=kan ha lapos=ayo
AV-rain=HSY OBL outside= DIST.SPC
'They say it's raining over there in town.'

7. kanayon a ma-uden-an ide a talon
always LK ACD-rain-LV PROX.DEM LK land
'This land is always being rained upon.' (Anonymous 2001)

4.2.1 Actor voice

Dupaningan has three affixes (*mag-*, *<um>* and *mang-*) which are all syntactic equivalents indicating actor voice in the unmarked, incompletive aspect. These affixes are used when the actor of the sentence is in nominative case. Generally, the nominative is old information in the discourse, so actor voice constructions are used when the *actor* is a known entity. In general, each root takes only one actor-voice affix and may not alternate among the three actor-voice affixes. The choice among *mag-*, *mang-* and *<um>* is primarily lexical, rather than phonological or semantic. We can see that the distinction is not phonological by looking at two lexical items which are distinguished only by stress. The Dupaningan root *paʲyad* with final stress takes the actor voice affix *mag-*, yielding *mag-paʲyad* 'to wave the hand', whereas the the root *ʲpayad* with initial stress takes the actor voice infix *<um>* to yield *p<u ʲm>ayad* 'to lie down'. Segmental

phonology, then, plays no role in choosing one affix over the other (there is no reason to believe stress plays a role, either).

The choice among the various affixes is a memorized property of the verb. Below is a table of all the verbs from the Dupaningan lexicon (Appendix A) that take both *mag-* and *<um>* with a difference in meaning (the affix *mang-* is relatively rare in the data and there are no verbs that take *mang-* as well as one of the other actor voice affixes).

Table 4.2 Verbs that take both *mag-* and *<um>* with a difference in meaning

mag-	*<um>*
mag-laddap 'go spear fishing'	*lomdap*[2] 'dive into water; sink'
mag-didug 'lie down with someone'	*d<um>idug* 'visit relatives'
mag-digi 'menstruate'	*d<um>igi* 'bleed'
mag-abbag 'go somewhere to lie down'	*<um>abbag* 'lie down'
mag-kagi 'speak'	*k<um>agi* 'make noise'
mag-lakad 'walk'	*l<um>akad* 'leave'

Most roots, however, simply choose one of the actor voice affixes, and this is a property of the verb that speakers must memorize. In other words, the choice among actor voice affixes is lexicalized. So, *kan* is always *mag-kan* 'to eat' but never **k<um>an*. For many roots, however, more than one affix is acceptable with no change in meaning, so 'breathe' can be either *mag-angas* or *<um>angas*[3]. In such cases, choice of affix will vary by speaker, and even a single speaker may use different affixes on different occasions.

4.2.1.1 *mag-*

The most common actor voice affix in the data is *mag-*. In example 8 below, the noun phrase *i 'anak=mo* 'your children' is the nominative actor singled out for syntactic prominence by the actor voice verb (nominative in Dupaningan is morphologically

[2] *Lomdap* is the expected result of a combination of *laddap* and *<um>*; see section 2.1.1.12.2.
[3] The form *mag-ingas* 'breathe' with low vowel fronting (see section 2.1.1.6) is also acceptable.

unmarked for common nouns; see section 3.2.1.1). Likewise, the pronoun *hidi* 'they' in example 9 is the syntactically prominent nominative NP, and in example 10, the NP *ni kabanga=na=a* 'her husband' is the syntactically prominent nominative.

8. mag-kayag=dan i ˈanak[4]=mo
AV-play=already DEF children=2SG.GEN
'Your children are playing.'

9. mag-pokpok hidi ha tennon=tam
AV-pound 3PL.NOM OBL clothes=1PL.INC.GEN
'They are washing our clothes.'

10. mag-ladu ni kabanga=na=a
AV-fever PERS spouse=3SG.GEN=SPC
'Her husband has a fever.'

Occasionally speakers of Dupaningan will use the comparable Ilokano prefix *ag-*, even with a Dupaningan verb, although most speakers would not consider this usage 'true Dupaningan'.

11. ag-soli=kita-n agay na apon=dan
AV-return=1DU.INC.NOM=already friend because afternoon=already
'Let's go home, my friend, because it's getting late.'

4.2.1.2 *<um>*

The second most common actor voice affix in the data is *<um>*. In example 12 below, the noun phrase *i laman hidi=a* 'the pigs' is the nominative actor singled out for syntactic prominence by the actor voice verb. Likewise, the pronoun *hidi* 'they' in example 12 is the syntactically prominent nominative NP.

12. s<um>akal i laman hidi=a
<AV>root DEF pig PL=SPC
'The pigs were rooting for food.'

[4] The word *anak* 'child' is singular with final stress and plural with initial stress (see section 3.5).

13. l<um>apos hidi nougma
<AV>out 3PL.NOM tomorrow
'They will go to town tomorrow.'

The actor voice infix *<um>* also is used with adjectival roots to create an inchoative meaning 'to become ADJ'. In example 14 below, the monomorphemic adjective *dakal* 'large' takes the infix *<um>* and has an inchoative meaning.

14. d<um>akal=dan i mula=ko
<AV>large=already DEF plant=1SG.GEN
'My crops are becoming large.'

When *<um>* is infixed into an adjective to create an inchoative, it does not take the adjectival prefix (see section 3.10.3). In example 15 below, the root of the adjective *ma-tangkay* 'tall' is infixed with the inchoative *<um>*.

15. t<um>angkay=pala nokkan i apellak=aya a anak
<AV>tall=still FUT DEF short=MED.SPC LK child
'That short child will still get taller.'

A constraint against successive labials in the onsets of successive syllables has been reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian (Chrétien 1965) and remains intact in many modern Austronesian languages. In such languages the sequence /pum/ is reduced to /m/ (see Wolff 1973: 84). In Tindal Dusun (Borneo), for example, the root *porobuat* 'work' becomes *morobuat* when combined with *<um>* (Robinson 2005). Dupaningan is not subject to this restriction and has a number of /p/-initial roots that are infixed with *<um>*, such as *p<um>ulas* 'snatch, steal' and *p<um>angal* 'shoot an arrow'. The difference between the prefixes *pag-* and *mag-* and *pang-* and *mang-* in many Philippine languages, however, has been attributed to this constraint, assuming an underlying representation for *mag-* as *pumag-*. This, of course, is not synchronically true for Dupaningan, but is likely the origin for the numerous sets of parallel affixes in Dupaningan, one beginning with /m/

and the other beginning with /p/. The /m/-initial set, moreover, often functions as actor-voice, whereas the *p-* set does not, thus pointing to the latter's origins with the infix *<um>*.

4.2.1.3 *mang-*

The least common actor voice affix in the data is *mang-*. In example 16 below, the noun phrase *i lallaki hidi=a* 'the men' is the nominative actor singled out for syntactic prominence by the actor voice verb. Likewise, the NP *nekka=ko* 'my older sibling' in example 17 is the nominative NP.

16. mang-anop i lallaki hidi=a nougma
AV-hunt DEF man PL=SPC tomorrow
'The men will hunt tomorrow.'

17. mang-alap nekka=ko ha bayobang
AV-get PERS\older.sibling=1SG.GEN OBL guava
'My older sister will get the guava.'

In some cases, the final nasal /ŋ/ of the prefix *mang-* coalesces with the first consonant of the root to form a nasal at the point of articulation of the original consonant, in a process called nasal substitution (see section 2.1.1.12.1). In Dupaningan, nasal substitution is found in roots which begin in /p/, /t/, /k/, and /b/. In example 18 below, the root *kabanga* 'spouse' has been prefixed with *mang-* to yield the actor voice verb *mangabanga* 'marry'. In example 19, the root *bunot* 'coconut husk'[5] has been prefixed with *mang-* to yield the actor voice verb *mamunot* 'smoke out bees by burning coconut husks'. In example 20 below, the root *pangal* 'arrow' has been prefixed with *mang-* to

[5] Although the verbal form *mamunot* was something I came across in my fieldwork, the root *bunot* was not, and the definition comes from the unpublished dictionary by Nickell and Nickell (1987). *Bunot*, therefore, is excluded as a separate lexical item in the vocabulary (Appendix A).

yield the actor voice verb *namangal* 'shot with an arrow' (the prefix surfaces as *nang-* in completive aspect; see section 4.2.7 below).

18. no ma-pilas=ak, mangabanga=ak=dan=mina
if ADJ-rich=1SG.NOM AV\spouse=1SG.NOM=already=hopefully
'If I were rich, I would get married already.'

19. mamunot=ka=n agay kaiget
AV\coconut.husk=2SG.NOM=already friend friend
'Smoke the bees out, friend.'

20. namangal=kan hikuna ha laman
CMPL.AV\arrow=HSY 1SG.LFNOM OBL pig
'They say he shot a pig.'

Nasal substitution does not occur with all verbs, however, even if they begin with /p/ /t/ /k/ or /b/. In example 21 below, *mang-* is prefixed to the root *biyu* 'mill', but nasal substitution does not take place.

21. mang-biyu=kam=agat ha bilun-an=ko a bagah
AV-mill=2PL.NOM=please OBL provision-LV=1SG.GEN LK rice
'Please mill me some rice to take with me as provisions.'

4.2.2 Patient voice *-an*

The patient voice in Dupaningan is encoded with the suffix *-an* and is homophonous with the locative voice in the incompletive aspect due to the merger of *ə and *a as /a/ (see section 2.1.1.11), since the patient voice was historically *-ən and the locative voice was historically *-an (see Wolff 1973 for a reconstruction of Austronesian verbal affixes). The two voices can be distinguished synchronically in the completive aspect because the completive of the patient voice is simply the infix <*in*>, whereas the completive of the locative voice is the combination of the infix <*in*> and the suffix *-an*. Semantically, the nominative arguments in patient voice constructions tend to be patients, whereas the nominative arguments in locative voice constructions tend to be locations or goals. Example 22 below shows a patient voice construction with the verb *angay* 'go',

and the nominative noun phrase is the pronoun *ito*. Example 23 shows the comparable locative voice construction with the same verb, and the nominative noun phrase is the unexpressed location.

22. angay-an=mo ito?
go-PV=2SG.GEN it
'Where are you taking that?' (lit., 'Place where you are taking that?')

23. angay-an=mo?
go-LV=2SG.GEN
'Where are you going? (lit., Place where you are going?)'

4.2.3 Locative voice *-an*

As mentioned in the section above on patient voice, the locative voice in Dupaningan is homophonous with the patient voice in the incompletive aspect. The nominative argument in a locative voice construction is the semantic goal or location. In example 24 below, *i ilay=di* 'their friend' is the nominative argument, and in example 25, the pronoun *=ak* 'I' is the nominative argument. Both are the semantic goals of the sentences.

24. ayag-an=di i ilay=di
call-LV=3PL.GEN DEF friend=3PL.GEN
'They will call their friend.'

25. atdin-an=mo=ak=agat ha urah
give-LV=2SG.GEN=1SG.NOM=please OBL rice
'Please give me some rice.'

4.2.4 Theme voice *i-*

The theme voice in Dupaningan is encoded with the prefix *i-*. The patient and theme voices overlap to a certain degree in semantics, but the nominative argument of a theme voice construction is generally an argument that moves through space, as opposed to the more static nominatives of patient voice constructions. Patient voice nominatives are also more likely to be wholly affected by the action of the verb, as opposed to partially

affected themes. In the examples below, we see that the nominative arguments *i kape* 'the coffee' (example 26), *i padut hidi* 'the fish (pl)' (example 27), and *i rabon hidi=a* 'the bird nests' (example 28) all undergo movement.

26. i-demat=na ni Lubak i kape nokkan liggu
TV-arrive=3SG.GEN PERS Lubak DEF coffee FUT Sunday
'Lubak will bring the coffee on Sunday.'

27. no i-soli=mo i padut hidi, mag-kan=kitam=on=en[6]
if TV-return=2SG.GEN DEF fish PL AV-eat=1PL.INC.NOM=already=already
'If you bring the fish home, we will eat.'

28. i-sulet=tam i rabon hidi=a
TV-trade=1PL.INC.GEN DEF nest PL=SPC
'We will trade the bird nests.'

But the nominatives of theme voice constructions do not always obviously undergo movement, although this may be more a problem of mapping English semantics onto Dupaningan verbs. Lawrence Reid (personal communication) claims that the verb 'wake' in many Philippine languages also implies 'get up' and thus does involve movement.

29. ni-lukag=na=kan kabanga=na
CMPL.TV-wake=3SG.GEN=HSY spouse=3SG.GEN
'He woke his wife up.'

Although the most common way to form beneficiary constructions in Dupaningan is by combining the theme prefix *i-* with the locative suffix *-an* (see section 4.2.5 below), in example 30 below, an *i-* verb is used and the nominative argument is the beneficiary.

30. i-apog=taka
TV-lime=1SG.GEN\2SG.NOM
'I will make you lime powder (for chewing betel nut).'

[6] In this instance, the speaker has added an Ilokano form *=en* 'already' onto the Dupaningan form *=on* 'already'.

4.2.5 Derived actor voice constructions

The various voice affixes may co-occur on a single root. Of the possible combinations of voice affixes (assuming that affixes may not combine with themselves and two actor voice affixes would not combine with each other), the combinations *mag-i-*, *mang-i-*, *mag- -an*, and *i- -an* are attested, whereas *i- <um>*, *<um> -an*, and *mang- -an* are unattested.

When the actor voice prefixes are combined with the theme voice prefix *i-*, the resultant verbs, which begin with *magi-* and *mangi-*, involve theme-like arguments (or at least arguments that would normally occur with theme voice verbs), but the actor is the nominative. These derived constructions are non-basic. They are used to change the mapping between voice affixes and thematic roles, and should be considered akin to passives or antipassives, which have the functions of changing the syntactic subject of the sentence by changing the mappings between case and thematic roles (see Katagiri 2005 on what ought to be considered antipassive in Philippine languages).

For instance, the root *peta* combined with the theme voice prefix means 'say', but when it is used in the actor voice, the meaning changes to yield *mag-peta* 'shout'. In order to retain the 'say' meaning but make the actor nominative, the verb can be put into actor voice with the combination prefix *mangi-*, yielding *mangi-peta* 'say'. Below are examples of *magi-* (31 through 33) and *mangi-* (34 and 35). The nominative NPs are actors, but the verbs still have the semantics of the theme voice. The former nominative is still possible with the new actor voice verb, but it will be realized in the oblique. Changing the voice of the verb is useful because the nominative is generally old information, and most often definite, so if the theme is indefinite, an actor voice verb is

more appropriate because the theme will be realized as an oblique argument, which is usually indefinite.

31. mag-i-datton=ak ha hida=mo
AV-TV-set=1SG.NOM OBL main-course=2SG.GEN
'I will set your meal out.'

32. mag-i-saron hidi ha paray
AV-TV-dry 3PL.NOM OBL rice
'They will dry rice.'

33. mag-i-tagu=ak ha bunga na apapet
AV-TV-hide=1SG.NOM OBL fruit GEN bitter.melon
'I will hide a bitter melon.' (cf. *mag-tagu* 'hide (oneself)')

34. nang-i-demat ni Ronald ha wakeg ha di Roxanne
CMPL.AV-TV-arrive PERS Ronald OBL corn OBL PERS.PL Roxanne
'Ronald brought corn to Roxanne and her companions.' (cf. *d<um>emat* 'arrive')

35. nang-i-toldu=kam ha ka-kkagi=moy
CMPL.AV-TV-teach=2PL.NOM OBL NMLZ-speak=2PL.GEN
'You (pl) taught your language.'

A few verbs in the data can take both *magi-* and *mangi-* with a difference in meaning, such as *magi-apoy* 'gather firewood' and *mangi-apoy* 'grill'.

The actor voice prefixes can also be combined with the locative voice suffix *-an* to yield a verb with actor voice syntax but locative voice semantics. In the example below, the verb *eryuk-an* 'look for' has been prefixed with *mag-* so that the nominative argument could be the actor (in this case it is done because the nominative *i kabanga=na* 'her husband' is previously mentioned in the discourse, so more likely to be chosen as a nominative NP).

36. awan=kalla mag-eryuk-an i kabanga=na=a
NEG=HSY\just AV-search-LV DEF spouse=3SG.GEN=SPC
'They say her husband just didn't look for her.'

4.2.6 Benefactive constructions

To express a benefactive, the theme prefix *i-* can be combined with the locative suffix *-an*. The nominative argument is the beneficiary of the action expressed by the verb.

37.	i-kaltud-an=mo=ak	ha	don	na	marunggay
	TV-gather-LV=2SG.GEN=1SG.NOM	OBL	leaf	GEN	horseradish
	'Pick the horseradish leaves for me.'				

38.	i-alap-an=moy=ak	ha	bigu	a	siyu
	TV-get-LV=2PL.GEN=1SG.NOM	OBL	new	LK	bolo
	'Get me a new bolo knife.'				

4.2.7 Causative *pa-*

The prefix *pa-* is used to indicate causative action. It is not marked inherently for voice, but instead combines with the voice affixes. The prefix *pa-* can co-occur with any of the voice affixes, but it is an interior prefix, meaning that when it occurs with prefixes, *pa-* is closer to the root than the other prefixes. The causative prefix has the function of changing the mapping between case and thematic roles. The nominative in the derived causative construction is the actor that causes the action to take place, not the actor that actually carries out the action denoted by the verb. Thus, in example 39 below, the nominative pronoun *=ak* 'I', does not actually perform the action of cutting hair, but causes some other (unnamed) actor to perform the action.

39.	nag-pa-garasib=ak	nakkapon
	CMPL.AV-CAUS-cut.hair=1SG.NOM	yesterday
	'I had my hair cut yesterday."	

40.	mag-pa-degus=manon	ha	galampes
	AV-CAUS-bathe=again	OBL	carabao
	'Bathe the water buffalo (carabao) again.'		

41.	hikaw=dalla=agat	i	mang-pa-diyag	ha	baboy hidi=a
	2SG.LFNOM=already\just=please	DEF	AV-CAUS-eat	OBL	pig PL=SPC
	'You please just be the one to feed the pigs now.'				

42. pa-gimak-am i kansiyon=aya ta atoy i anak a ma-kellap
CAUS-stop-PV\2SG.GEN DEF song= MED.SPC because EXT DEF child LK ADJ-sleep
'Stop that song because there is a sleeping child.'

43. pa-kilap-an-mo-n i 'anak[7]=a
CAUS-sleep-LV-2SG.GEN=already DEF children=SPC
'Put the children to sleep.'

44. i-pa-enta-mo i bilay na pitukan ha nidi
TV-CAUS-see-2SG.GEN DEF house GEN bee OBL 3PL.OBL
'Show the beehive to them.'

4.3 Aspect

Dupaningan has a two-way distinction in aspect between completive aspect for actions that are already finished, and incompletive aspect for actions that have not yet finished (and may not have even begun). The completive aspect does not necessarily correspond to the past tense nor does the incompletive aspect necessarily correspond to the present and future tenses. In the example 45 below the verb *mag-baddas* 'clear land' is given in the incompletive aspect, even though the event takes place in the past, as indicated by past time marker *idi* and the completive verb *d<in><um>itang* 'arrived'. That is because the event was ongoing at the time that the husband arrived.

45. mag-baddas ni Ister idi d<in><um>itang ni kabanga=na
AV-clear PERS Ister PST<CMPL><AV>arrive PERS spouse=3SG.GEN
'Ister was clearing the land when her husband arrived.'

In example 46 below, we can see that the verb *nobus* is given in the completive even though the action takes place in the future. That is because the event will have been completed at the time when the bread is given.

46. nobos=ka=n a nag-sanget i-atad=ko a kankanen=a
CMPL\finish=2SG.NOM=already LK CMPL.AV-cry TV-give LK bread=SPC
'When you are done crying, I will give you that bread.'

[7] The words *anak* 'child' and *agom* 'companion' are singular with final stress and plural with initial stress (see section 3.5).

Completive aspect is marked by several different affixes in Dupaningan, explained below, whereas incompletive aspect is generally unmarked. Further distinctions in time are made with adverbs, discussed in section 4.7 below.

4.3.1 Incompletive

Incompletive aspect in Dupaningan is unmarked. Only the completive aspect must be marked morphologically in Dupaningan. The difference between future, present, and past progressive must be made either with adverbs or be recoverable from the context. Examples 47 through 52 below encode events that take place in the future. They are all unmarked for aspect.

47. mag-soli=ak=bi=la ihe
AV-return=1SG.NOM=also=just PROX.LOC
'I will come back here.'

48. mang-anop i lallaki hidi=a nougma
AV-hunt DEF man PL=SPC tomorrow
'The men will hunt tomorrow.'

49. l<um>apos hidi nougma
<AV>outside 3PL.NOM tomorrow
'They will go to town tomorrow.'

50. alap-an=ko nougma i laya
get-PV=1SG.GEN tomorrow DEF ginger
'I will get the ginger tomorrow'

51. ayag-an=di i ilay=di nokkan nougma
call-LV=3PL.GEN DEF friend=3PL.GEN FUT tomorrow
'They will call their friend tomorrow.'

52. i-labbang=di ni kakay ha ugma
TV-bury=3PL.GEN PERS grandfather OBL (to)morrow
'They will bury Grandfather tomorrow.'

Example 53 below encodes an action that takes place in the present. It is unmarked for aspect, although continuative actions can be optionally marked as such (see section 4.3.3 below)

53. sar-sarili=mi=bi=dan i mag-i-lapos=dan ayenan ha lati
REDUP-own=1PL.EXC=also=already DEF AV-TV-out=already now OBL rattan
'We bring out the rattan by ourselves now.'

Past progressive action is also encoded in the incompletive, as seen at the beginning of this section on aspect.

4.3.2 Completive

The completive aspect is the only aspect that is obligatorily marked in Dupaningan. It is marked either by inserting the infix <*in*> before the first vowel of the root, or by replacing the *m*-initial prefixes with *n*-initial prefixes, which all derive historically from the same <*in*> infix.

4.3.2.1 Actor voice *nag-*

Actor voice verbs which take the prefix *mag-* in the incompletive form their completives with the prefix *nag-*.

54. nag-kan ni Lubak
CMPL.AV-eat PERS Lubak
'Lubak ate.'

55. nag-langoy=kami=man
CMPL.AV-swim=1SG.NOM=CONTRASTIVE
'We swam.'

56. nag-hida=ak=man ha padut
CMPL.AV-main.course=1SG.NOM=CONTRASTIVE OBL fish
'I ate fish.'

4.3.2.2 Actor voice *<inum>*

Actor voice verbs which take the infix <*um*> form their completives by simply infixing <*in*> before <*um*>, yielding the completive <*inum*>.

57. <in><um>angay=ak ha dipon
<CMPL><AV>go=1SG.NOM OBL market
'I went to the market.'

58. <in><um>etnod=kam ha parag-kan-an
<CMPL><AV>sit=2PL.NOM OBL HBT-eat-LV
'You all sat on the table.'

59. b<in><um>uyot=kam
<CMPL><AV>run=2PL.NOM
'You all ran.'

60. k<in><um>ilap=kam ihe ha kallap=heya
<CMPL><AV>sleep=2PL.NOM PROX.LOC OBL night=SPC
'You all slept here last night.'

The Ilokano completive actor voice infix *<imm>* seems to be replacing the traditional Dupaningan *<in><um>*, even with Dupaningan verbs. An example is given in 61 below.

61. d<imm>emat hikuna ha isan=na
<CMPL.AV>arrive 3SG.LFNOM OBL camp=3SG.GEN
'He arrived at his camp.'

4.3.2.3 Actor voice *nang-*

Actor voice verbs which take the prefix *mang-* in the incompletive form their completives with the prefix *nang-*.

62. nang-alap ha budak i ulitaw=a
CMPL.AV-get OBL flower DEF young.man=SPC
'The young man got a flower.'

63. nangwa=ak ha essa a iget
CMPL.AV\catch=1SG.NOM OBL one LK eel
'I caught one eel'

4.3.2.4 Patient voice

Although there is no surface contrast between patient voice and locative voice in the incompletive, the two are contrasted in the completive. Patient voice verbs lose the final *-an* suffix when the completive infix *<in>* is added, which is prototypical among Philippine languages for completive patient voice forms (see, e.g., Reid 1992: 68), whereas the locative voice verbs retain the *-an* suffix even after the *<in>* infix is added.

There are two ways of analyzing these patient voice completive verbs: 1) the <*in*> marks both voice and aspect in these instances or 2) the patient voice affix is null in the completive. Although I generally dislike positing null elements, I also want to avoid multiple different meanings for a single morpheme (i.e., only aspect in most instances, but aspect *and* voice in the patient voice). Therefore, I reluctantly posit a null element here (symbolized as ø). The following are completive patient voice verbs.

64. b<in>akal-ø=na lallaki ni Pedro
<CMPL>stab-PV=3SG.GEN man PERS Pedro
'A man stabbed Pedro.'

65. l<in>ukot-ø=na=n i bakas=a i abak
<CMPL>gather-PV=3SG.GEN=already DEF old.woman=SPC DEF sleeping.mat
'The old woman gathered up the sleeping mats.'

66. g<in>imet-ø=ko
<CMPL>do-PV=1SG.GEN
'I did it'

4.3.2.5 Locative voice

The completive form of the locative voice is formed by infixing <*in*> before the first vowel of the root and leaving the locative voice suffix *-an*.

67. t<in>appan-an=di=n i tienda=ayo
<CMPL>shut-LV=3PL.GEN=already DEF store= DIST.SPC
'They already closed that store'

68. b<in>alli-an=ko hidi
<CMPL>pay-LV=1SG.GEN 3PL.NOM
'I paid them.'

4.3.2.6 Theme voice *ni-*

Theme voice verbs, which take the prefix *i-* in the incompletive, form their completives with the prefix *ni-*.

69. ni-tobbak=di i padut ha dinum=ayo
CMPL.TV-throw.away=3PL.GEN DEF fish OBL water=DIST.SPC
'They threw the fish into that river.'

70. ni-dagadag=na=kan ngamin i tingi=na
CMPL.TV-drop=3SG.GEN=HSY all DEF branch=3SG.GEN
'They say she dropped all its branches.'

71. ni-soli ni Balsig i sulu=heya
CMPL.TV-return PERS Balsig DEF bolo=SPC
'Balsig returned the bolo knife.'

Occasionally, *in-* is given for the completive theme voice, following the Ilokano form.

72. in-kotkot=mo ha abbut=a
CMPL.TV-dig=2SG.GEN OBL hole=SPC
'You dug that hole.'

73. in-demat ni Lubak i kape
CMPL.TV-arrive PERS Lubak DEF coffee
'Lubak brought the coffee.'

When Dupaningan speakers are using the Ilokano prefix, they also use its Ilokano allomorph *iny-* before vowels.

74. iny-ussak=na
CMPL.TV-descend=3SG.GEN
'He brought (her) down (from a tree).'

4.3.3 Continuative

Continuative or ongoing actions are optionally marked in Dupaningan. The most common way of marking the continuative is with the continuative prefix *maka-* (homophonous with the abilitative prefix; see section 4.4.1) and reduplicating the first two syllables of the root minus the coda of the second syllable ((C)V(C)CV-)[8]. There may be concomitant changes in the vowels (see section 2.2.2.4 for more information on mid\high vowel alternations).

[8] Although none of the examples given here involve roots with medial consonant clusters, there are examples in the data, such as mag-rangsi-rangsit 'shouting'. These examples are not included here because they were not in full sentences and so could not be used as examples in the data. It should be noted, however, that roots of the form CVCCVC reduplicate as CVCCV-CVCCVC.

75. maka-dagi-daget ha tennon
CONT-REDUP-sew OBL clothes
'She is sewing the clothes.'

76. maka-ngidi-ngidit i wadi=ko
CONT-REDUP-laugh DEF younger.sibling=1SG.GEN
'My younger sibling is laughing.'

77. maka-sika-sikaw i pat[t]-ama hidi=a
CONT-REDUP-swidden DEF FAMILY.PAIR-father PL=SPC
'The father and son are farming.'

78. maka-ura-uray di Garwet hidi ni Greg ihay
CONT-REDUP-wait PERS.PL Garwet PL PERS Greg MED.LOC
'Garwet and Greg are waiting there.'

The completive counterpart of the continuative is used for actions that were repetitive or ongoing but are now completed. The completive has the same reduplication, but the prefix is *naka-* instead of *maka-*.

79. naka-taba-tabas ni Garwet
CMPL.CONT-REDUP-clear PERS Garwet
'Garwet kept on clearing the land.'

When the root is a reduplicated monosyllable, only the first CV- is reduplicated.

80. essa=aya a lupog naka-nga-ngatngat ha pilas
one= MED.SPC LK old.man CONT-REDUP-chew OBL meat
'An old man there kept chewing on meat.'

81. naka-ba-balbal i madiket=a
CMPL.CONT-REDUP-knock DEF young.woman=SPC
'The young woman kept on washing clothes.'

Although the above mentioned strategies are the most common ways to form continuatives in Dupaningan, there are a number of other methods as well. There is not enough data to conclude whether there are any semantic differences among the various strategies for forming continuatives in Dupaningan. One alternative strategy for forming continuatives involves using CVC- reduplication instead of (C)V(C)CV- reduplication.

This is probably due to the influence of Ilokano, where CVC- is by far the most common form of reduplication.

82. wadi=ko i maka-sang-sanget
younger.sibling=1SG.GEN DEF CONT-REDUP-cry
'My younger sibling is the one who is crying.'

Another strategy is to prefix *maka-* without reduplicating at all.

83. maka-akbo i asu
CONT-bark DEF dog
'The dog is barking.'

Yet another strategy is to use (C)V(C)CV- reduplication, but prefix *mag-* instead of *maka-*.

84. ogsa=ayo mag-gasa-gasak
deer= DIST.SPC AV-REDUP-die
'That deer is dying.'

85. mag-tagu-tagu=kan dena=na ha sapa-sapa=aya
AV-hide-hide-HSY PL\mother=3SG.GEN OBL stream-stream=MED.SPC
'They say that his mother and her companions are hiding at the stream.'

A further strategy is to use ((C)V(C)CV-) reduplication and the prefix *ma-*. These forms may have the accidental meaning associated with the *ma-* prefix, but there are too few examples in the corpus to be sure.

86. ma-ari-aridid hanggan ha ka-[s]sinag
ACD-REDUP-winter until OBL NMLZ-summer
'She stayed all through the winter until the summer.'

The prefix *maka-* is often used with time nouns to indicate the passing of a certain amount of time, as in 86 above and 87 below.

87. naka-lima a ka-[s]sinag=ko ha Peñablanca
CMPL.CONT-five LK NMLZ-summer=1SG.GEN OBL Peñablanca
'I spent five summers in Peñablanca.'

4.3.4 Recent completive *ka-*

A recently completed action is indicated by prefixing *ka-* to a verbal root. In the resultant construction, no argument is in nominative case. In example 88 below, for example, we would expect the first person pronoun to be nominative based on the semantics of the verb, but this argument is genitive.

88. ka-demat=ko=dalla nakkoya
RECCMPL-arrive=1SG.GEN=already\just earlier
'I only just arrived now.'

89. ka-lukag=na=dalla ni Pungal
RECCMPL-wake=3SG.GEN=already\just PERS Pungal
'Pungal just woke up.'

Sometimes this construction includes CVC- reduplication, paralleling the Ilokano recent completive.

90. ka-kab-kabanga=di=kan i ulitaw=a ken madiket=a
RECCMPL-REDUP-spouse=3PL.GEN=HSY DEF young.man=SPC and young.woman=SPC
'The young man and young woman had just gotten married.'

4.3.5 Sequential narrative forms

In the context of a story, many verbs are uninflected for voice and aspect. These forms indicate the sequentiality of the actions in the narrative. They are formed by replacing *m*-initial prefixes with their *p*-initial counterparts. Examples 91 through 98 below are an excerpt from a single story. In the first sentence given here (not the first sentence of the story), the verb has a completive actor voice prefix *nag-*. In the subsequent examples 93, 96, and 98, the main verb in the sentence has the prefix *pag-* (*pang-*, *paka-*, and other *p-* versions of *m-* prefixes are also possible, but not represented by this particular example). These sequential verbs (with *p-* initial prefixes) take genitive, rather than nominative pronouns, indicating that they are no longer actor voice verbs. This is in line with the assumption that the *m*-initial forms derive from *p*-initial

forms plus the infix <*um*> (see section 4.2.1.2 above). If the *p*-initial prefixes lack the infix <*um*>, they cannot, therefore, be actor voice verbs, and so the actor of the clause is in genitive, rather than nominative, case. As with recent completives, then, there is no nominative argument in these clauses.

91. nag-usog=dan hikuna Tinutod=ay
CMPL.AV-go.downstream 3SG.LFNOM Tinutod=SPC[9]
'He went downstream to Tinutod.'

92. kuwan oyun anya=pala
whatchamacallit STORY.PARTICLE what=still
'Then...what else...'

93. **pag-gimet=na**=la ha toklong=na, pag-isan-an na ulitaw=a
SEQ-make=3SG.GEN=just OBL hut=3SG.GEN NMLZ-camp-LV GEN young.man=SPC
'He made his hut, the place where the young man would camp.'

94. kuwa=kan oyun
whatchamacallit=HSY STORY.PARTICLE
'Then they say...'

95. apon=dalla
afternoon=already\just
'It was afternoon already....'

96. **pag-dukarong=na** ha toklong=na na ulitaw=a
SEQ-build.fire=3SG.GEN OBL hut=3SG.GEN GEN young.man=SPC
'He built a fire at the young man's hut (i.e., his own hut).'

97. malledum=kan=pala
morning=HSY=still\just
'In the morning they say....'

98. **pag-pasihap=na**=dan=bi ha pa-pangal=na hidi=a i ulitaw=a
SEQ-sharpen=3SG.GEN=already=also OBL REDUP-arrow PL=SPC DEF young.man=SPC
'..the young man sharpened his arrows.'

4.3.6 Habitual *marag-*

The prefix *marag-* indicates a habitual action (see section 3.7.7 on the corresponding nominalizing habitual prefix *parag-*). It functions as a type of actor voice construction,

[9] There are not enough examples of *=ay* in the data to be sure, but it assumed that this enclitic indicates specificity.

so the semantic actors of habitual verbs are in the nominative case. That is, it does not take any other voice affixes, and it is likely that the *m-* derives historically, or at least by analogy, from the actor voice infix <*um*> (see section 4.2.1.2 above).

99. marag-esbu i wadi=mi=aye
HBT-urinate DEF younger.sibling=1PL.EXC.GEN= PROX.SPC
'This younger sibling of ours urinates frequently.'

100. marag-hen=kami=bi=la a he a talon
HBT-stay=1PL.EXC.NOM=also=just LK here LK place
'We live here in this place.'

When the prefix *marag-* is used with a negative, it has the meaning of never having done the action specified by the verb.

101. awan=bi a marag-degus ha baybay
NEG=also LK HBT-bathe OBL ocean
'He has never bathed in the ocean.'

The prefix *marag-* can also be used with a nominalized verb.

102. "ma-nakam=ak=noman" kona i marag-takaw=a
ADJ-thought=1SG.NOM=ASRT say DEF HBT-steal=SPC
'"I am thoughtful," said the thief.'

The prefix *marag-* optionally co-occurs with CVC- reduplication, probably under the influence of Ilokano, which uses CVC- reduplication with the comparable prefix *manag-* (Rubino 2000: 353).

103. marag-an-anteng ha dilan=aya
HBT-REDUP-fear OBL path= MED.SPC
'He is afraid of walking on that path.'

There is no completive form of *marag-*.

4.4 Mood

4.4.1 Infinitive

Infintives in Dupaningan are verbs which do not imply a nominative argument. There is no special form for infinitives in Dupaningan. They are unmarked for aspect, but they do, however, retain their voice affixes. Examples 104 through 108 below have infinitival verbs.

104. kayat=mo=dud a mag-kan
want=2SG.GEN=Q LK AV-eat
'Do you want to eat?'

105. kayat=mo=dud a <um>inum
want=2SG.GEN=Q LK <AV>drink
'Do you want to drink?'

106. kayat=mo=dud a alap-an
want=2SG.GEN=Q LK get-PV
'Do you want to get it?'

107. kayat=ko hikuna a bayad-an
want=1SG.GEN 3SG.LFNOM LK pay-LV
'I want to pay him.'

108. kayat=mo=dud a i-tobbak ihe
want=2SG.GEN=Q LK TV-throw.away PROX.LOC
'Do you want to throw it away here?'

4.4.2 Imperative and hortative

Much like infinitives, imperatives and hortatives are not distinguished morphologically from simple declaratives in Dupaningan. Examples 109 through 114 below are imperatives.

109. mag-kan=ka=dan
AV-eat=2SG.NOM=already
'Have some food (lit., 'Eat now!').'

110. mang-i-amog=ka=s ha amman=mo
AV-TV-offering.for.dead=2SG.NOM=SOFTENER OBL betel.chew=2SG.GEN
'Please leave an offering of betel nut chew for the dead.'

111. <um>etnod=ka=agat
<AV>sit=2SG.NOM=please
'Please sit down.'

112. alap-an=mo=dan
get-PV=2SG.GEN=already
'Get it!'

113. ayag-an=mo i ilay=mo nokkan nougma
call-LV=2SG.GEN DEF friend=2SG.GEN FUT tomorrow
'Call your friend tomorrow.'

114. i-peta=mo pat
TV-say=2SG.GEN still
'Say it again.'

Examples 115 through 118 below are hortatives (imperatives including the speaker, usually translated with *let's* in English). They are also unmarked, and much like imperatives, are not distinguished from comparative incompletive clauses morphosyntactically.

115. mag-kan=kitam=on
AV-eat=1PL.INC.NOM=already
'Let's eat.'

116. <um>angay=kita ha dipon ha liggu
<AV>go=1DU.NOM OBL market OBL Sunday
'Let's go to the market on Sunday.'

117. nasnas-an=tam i daklat=aye
wipe-LV=1PL.INC.GEN DEF floor= PROX.SPC
'Let's wipe this floor.'

118. i-tobbak=ta ihe
TV-throw.away=1DU.INC.GEN PROX.LOC
'Let's throw it away here.'

4.4.3 Abilitative *maka-*

The prefix *maka-* indicates the actor's ability to carry out the action denoted by the verb (this prefix is homophonous with the continuative; see section 4.3.3 above). It functions as a type of actor voice construction, so the semantic actors of abilitative verbs

are in the nominative case (which is morphologically unmarked; see section 3.2.1.1). This is another instance of *m*-initial verbal prefixes that function as actor voice, further supporting the hypothesis that these forms have an underlying <*um*> infix (see section 4.2.1.2 above).

119. maka-eryok=dan iday a ulitaw
ABIL-work=already MED.DEM LK young.man
'That young man can work already.'

120. awan=bi maka-timan i bangngag=a
NEG=also ABIL-hear DEF deaf=SPC
'That deaf person can't hear.'

121. awan=ak a maka-kelap
NEG=1SG.NOM LK ABIL-sleep
'I can't sleep.'

122. awan=man hikuna maka-lakad
NEG=CONTRASTIVE 3SG.LFNOM ABIL-walk
'She couldn't walk.'

The completive form of *maka-* is *naka-*. Much as in Ilokano, it "no longer indicates the possibility but rather completion of an action or an attained state" (Rubino 2000: 348).

123. naka-kengwa hikuna ha pilas
NAKA-catch 3SG.LFNOM OBL meat
'He caught an animal (lit., 'some meat')'

124. naka-des=dan hidi ha isan=di
NAKA-arrive=already 3PL.NOM OBL camp=3PL.GEN
'They had reached their camp.'

125. awan=ak=bi a naka-angay ha Bolos
NEG=1SG.NOM=also LK NAKA-go OBL Bolos
'I've never been to Bolos.'

4.4.4 Social *maki-*

The prefix *maki-* is used to indicate a verb that is carried out socially, with other individuals. It functions as a type of actor voice construction, so the semantic actors of social verbs are in the nominative case.

126. maki-etnod=ak=bi
SOC-sit=1SG.NOM=also
'May I sit (with you)?'

127. ka=mo=n maki-sagudsud
go-2SG.GEN=already SOC-dance
'Go dance!'

128. <um>angay=kam maki-gatab
<AV>go=2PL.NOM SOC-harvest
'Go participate in the harvest.'

129. kad=mi=n maki-boda
go=1PL.EXCL.GEN=already SOC-marry
'We are going to a wedding.'

130. <um>angay=kitam=on maki-buybuy ha ni kapitan
<AV>go=1PL.INC.NOM=already SOC-speak OBL PERS captain
'Let's go speak with the barangay captain (local official).'

The completive counterpart of *maki-* is *naki-*

131. mappya a babbey=heya a naki-buybuy
pretty LK woman=SPC LK CMPL.SOC-story
'pretty woman who chatted'

4.4.5 Accidental *ma-*

The prefix *ma-* marks accidental or non-volitional verbs in Dupaningan, as in 132 below.

132. essa a anak ma-limas ha karayan=ayo
one LK child ACD-drown OBL river= DIST.SPC
'A child is drowning in that river.'

In general, accidental *ma-* functions as a type of actor voice construction, so the semantic actors are in the nominative case. In example 133, we see the accidental form

of the verb *lukag* 'wake'. Example 134 shows the volitional counterpart with the prefix *mag-*. In both cases, it is the individual causing the waking that is nominative, so with the volitional *mag-* verb, the individuals who are sleeping wake themselves up, and are thus the nominative actors of the sentence. With the accidental verb, *Roxanne* will wake up, but she is not in the nominative because she is not causing the waking—she is an accidental victim of it. Instead, the second person pronoun *=ka* 'you' is in the nominative.

133. ni Roxanne, ma-lukag=ka no ma-nabab=ka
PERS Roxanne ACD-wake=2SG.NOM if ADJ-loud=2SG.NOM
'As for Roxanne, you will wake up (her) if you are loud.'

134. mag-lukag=kitam=on ta mang-i-tangkay=kitam=on ha inapoy
AV-wake-1PL.INC.NOM=already because AV-TV-cook=1PL.INC.NOM OBL rice
'Let's wake up because we will cook rice.'

Accidental *ma-* can be distinguished from the homophonous adjectival prefix in that the accidental verb inflects for aspect, surfacing as *na-* in the completive, whereas adjectival *ma-* does not change in form in the completive (see section 3.10).

135. na-takneg=noman i anak=aye ha kayu
CMPL.ACD-fall=ASRT DEF child= PROX.SPC OBL tree
'This child fell from a tree.'

The prefix *ma-* can also serve as as the abilitative form of certain verbs that are not volitional.

136. awan=na=man hidi ma-tawed
NEG=3SG.GEN=CONTRASTIVE 3PL.NOM ACD-carry
'She could not carry them.'

Accidental *ma-* can combine with other voice affixes to create non-actor voice constructions. In the examples below, *ma-* combines with the locative voice suffix *-an*. In the resulting sentences, the actors are genitives.

137. no ma-leptan-an=mo i nagen=ko, i-peta=mo=la
if ACD-forget-LV=2SG.GEN DEF name=1SG.GEN TV-say=2SG.GEN=just
'If you forget my name, just ask.'

138. awan=di a ma-katandi-an hikuna no naka-islip
NEG=3PL.GEN LK ACD-know-LV 3SG.LFNOM if WEAR-goggles
'They didn't recognize him if he wore goggles.'

Example 139 below is the accidental counterpart of a locative.

139. ma-kallap-an=kita=dan
ACD-night-LV-1DU.INC.NOM=already
'Night is falling on us already.'

4.5 Multiplicative *Ca- reduplication*

Reduplication of the first consonant of the root with the vowel /a/ (Ca- reduplication) is used to indicate plurality for numbers greater than two. Ca- reduplication can be used with various parts of speech. In example 140, we see that the verb has been reduplicated because the nominative argument is plural.

140. da-dappon-an=na i hapu=di=a 'agom=di hidi=a
MULT-guard-LV=3SG.GEN DEF boss=3PL.GEN=SPC companions=3PL.GEN PL=SPC
'Their boss will take care of their companions.'

In example 141, the adjectival root has been reduplicated because it is describing a plural number of objects (which are omitted in this particular sentence).

141. ma-sa-singgat=kan
ADJ-REDUP-sweet=HSY
'She said they were sweet (where feminine reference is assumed due to context).'

In example 142, the verb is acting as a nominal and it still has Ca- reduplication. In such cases, the nominal itself is the element. We can further see that in roots with no phonemic initial consonant, Ca- reduplication manifests itself simply as a single vowel /a/.

142. makpal=kan=on a talon i <in>a-angay-an=na babbey=a
many=HSY=already LK place DEF <CMPL>REDUP-go-LV=3SG.GEN woman=SPC
'There were many places where the woman went.'

In example 143, Ca- reduplication is used with reciprocals for a group of actors. Example 144 provides the contrasting sentence with only two actors.

143. nag-ga-g<inn>akos hidi ngamin
CMPL.AV-REDUP-<RECIP[10]>hug 3PL.NOM all
'They all hugged each other.'

144. nag-g<inn>akos hidi
CMPL.AV-<RECIP>hug 3PL.NOM
'They (two) hugged each other.'

4.6 Auxiliary verbs

There are two types of verbs that can serve as supporting or auxiliary verbs in Dupaningan: those that fully inflect like other verbs and those that do not. The negative *awan* can also function as an auxiliary, but it is discussed in section 5.5 on negation.

4.6.1 Fully inflecting

The first set of auxiliaries to be discussed here are those that take full verbal inflection. They are very much like serial verb constructions except that the construction is limited to a very few items, primarily just *umangay* 'to go'. In these auxiliary constructions with fully inflecting verbs, both verbs inflect for aspect.

4.6.1.1 'go' *umangay*

The verb *<um>angay* 'to go' is frequently used as an auxiliary to emphasize the directionality of the main verb. The auxiliary verb comes first, and the two verbs may be separated by various enclitics or even full noun phrases; they are not joined with the linker *a*.

[10] The infix <inn> is used for reciprocals. It is not treated separately in this work because it is an Ilokano loan and not considered to be 'true Dupaningan' by most speakers. There is no known reciprocal morpheme in Dupaningan, and if speakers avoid the Ilokano morpheme, the reciprocal nature of the verb must be inferred from the context, as in *nag-tagubet hidi* 'They chased (each other).'

145. <um>angay=kan mang-anop ha didiya
<AV>go=HSY AV-hunt.with.dog OBL upstream
'They say he will go hunting upstream.'

146. <um>angay=ak agay ha amogud mag-isan
<AV>go=1SG.NOM friend OBL forest AV-stay
'I go to the forest to stay, my friend.'

147. <um>angay=kami=dan ha lapos=ayo mang-alap ha subu
<AV>go=1PL.EXC.NOM=already OBL outside=DIST.SPC AV-get OBL tobacco
'We are going to town to get tobacco.'

When the event is completed, both the auxiliary and the main verb are in their completive forms.

148. <in><um>angay=dan hidi nag-taggad ha malinganay
<CMPL><AV>go=already 3PL.NOM CMPL.AV-prune OBL malinganay[11]
'They went and pruned the branches of the *malinganay* tree (to get the fruit).'

149. ni Garwet <in><um>angay d<in><um>idug
PERS Garwet <CMPL><AV>go <CMPL><AV>visit
'Garwet went visiting.'

150. malledum <in><um>angay=ak ha lapos nang-alap ha kape
morning <CMPL><AV>go=1SG.NOM OBL outside CMPL.AV-get OBL coffee
'In the morning, I went to town and got coffee.'

The auxiliary *umangay* can be shortened, usually to *ngay*, but *mangay* is also possible. Thus, it no longer carries any aspectual marking, and the aspect must come from the main verb.

151. ngay hikuna mag-angkat ha laman
go 3SG.LFNOM AV-hunt.without.dog OBL pig
'He will go hunting pigs.'

152. ngay hikuna nag-isan=dan ha amogud
go 3SG.LFNOM AV.CMPL-stay=already OBL forest
'He went and stayed in the forest.'

153. mangay=kami mang-alap ha padut
go=1PL.EXC.NOM AV-get OBL fish
'We will go get fish.'

[11] A kind of edible, dark-colored fruit that grows on trees; species unknown.

4.6.1.2 other verbs

Although *<um>angay* is by far the most common of the inflecting auxiliary verbs, other verbs (e.g., *i-peta* 'say, tell') can take a verbal complement without an intervening linker.

154.	ni-peta=tam=on	ha	ni	Lingay	mag-degus
	CMPL.TV-say=1PL.INC.GEN=already	OBL	PERS	Lingay	AV-bathe
	'We told Lingay to bathe.'				

4.6.2 Pseudo Verbs

There are a small number of verbs in Dupaningan that make very little use of verbal morphology. I include them here in the section on auxiliary verbs because they can take verbal complements, but they can also take nominal complements. These forms have been termed pseudo-verbs (Schachter and Otanes 1972) or simply irregular verbs (Rubino 1997). The actor of the pseudo-verb is always a genitive pronoun (see section 3.8 for more information on pronouns). When the pseudo verbs take a non-actor voice verbal complement, they are generally linked with the linker *a*. When the pseudo verbs take an actor-voice verbal complement, they are generally linked with the definite marker *i*.

155.	kasur=ko	a	[balli-an	i	niyog=a]
	like=1SG.GEN	LK	pay-PV	DEF	coconut=SPC
	'I want to pay for that coconut.'				

156.	kasur=ko	i	mag-sagudsud
	like=1SG.GEN	DEF	AV-dance
	'I want to dance'		

Preceding actor voice verbs with *i* and other verbs with *a* is only a generalization, however, and exceptions, such as 157 below, do occur. It is unclear what rules, if any, govern these exceptions to the generalization.

157. madi-an=na=pala=noman i ulitaw=heya a mangabanga
don't.like-PV=3SG.GEN=still=ASRT DEF young.man=SPC LK AV\spouse
'That young man still doesn't want to get married.'

It seems likely that this generalization, however, is an artifact of these sentences having been elicited in Ilokano, where the rule is more strict. That is, in Ilokano, the actor voice complement of a pseudo-verb is always preceded by the definite article, whereas the non-actor voice complement of the pseudo-verb is always preceded by the linker.

A single sentence can have multiple auxiliary verbs. In the following sentence, *awan* and *katandi* are both auxiliaries.

158. awan=mo katandi i dilan <um>angay ha bilay ni babong=mo
NEG=2SG.GEN know DEF path <AV>go OBL house PERS grandma=2SG.GEN
'You don't know the path going to your grandmother's house.'

159. awan=ko=pala katandi mag-tupu[12] ha galampes
NEG=1SG.GEN=still know <AV>ride OBL carabao
'I still don't know how to ride a carabao.'

4.6.2.1 *kasur* 'want, like'

Likes are expressed in Dupaningan with the pseudo-verb *kasur*, which is a non-actor voice verb in that the actors are expressed as genitives. The form can express general likes as well as immediate wants.

160. kasur=ko i lagad
like=1SG.GEN DEF lobster
'I want\like the lobster.'

161. kasur=mo=pala hikuna
like=2SG.GEN=still 3SG.LFNOM
'Do you still like him?'

The pseudo-verb *kasur* can also take verbal or sentential complements. The verbal complements are infinitives, uninflected for aspect. When the main verb is actor voice, it

[12] The form *mag-tupu* does not appear in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because the form and meaning were not confirmed by multiple independent speakers.

is preceded by the definite marker *i* (as in 156 and 162 below), although the meaning is not necessarily nominal. If the verb is non-actor voice, it is generally preceded by the linker *a* (162 below), although it may also directly follow the pseudo-verb with no intervening element (165 below).

162. kasur=na ni Manet i mag-lutu
like=3SG.GEN PERS Manet DEF AV-cook
'Manet wants to cook.'

163. kasur=ko i [mag-hida ha natang]
like=1SG.GEN DEF AV-main.course OBL vegetable
'I want to eat vegetables.'

164. kasur=ko a [lugulug-an i manok=a]
like=1SG.GEN LK die-PV DEF chicken=SPC
'I want to kill that chicken.'

165. kasur=ko [kan-an i niyog]
like=1SG.GEN eat-PV DEF coconut
'I want to eat the coconut.'

Occasionally, *kasur* takes the suffix *-an*, apparently in free variation with the non-suffixed form.

166. kasur-an=ko i [mag-hida (h)a lagad]
like-PV=1SG.GEN DEF AV-main.course OBL lobster
'I want to eat lobster.'

167. kasur-an=na ni Bebet i mag-logat
like-PV=3SG.GEN PERS Bebet DEF AV-stroll
'Bebet wants to go for a stroll.'

Althoug *kasur* is considered the true Dupaningan form by the primary informant for this dissertation (see section 1.12), the most commonly heard way of expressing wants in Dupaningan is through use of the Ilokano *kayat*, which has the same function and distribution as *kasur*.

168. kayat=ko=man i niyog=aya
like=1SG.GEN=CONTRASTIVE DEF coconut= MED.SPC
'I want that coconut.'

169. kayat=ko i <um>etnod
like=1SG.GEN DEF <AV>sit
'I want to sit.'

170. kayat=ko kan-an niyog
like=1SG.GEN eat-PV coconut
'I want to eat coconut.'

171. kayat=ko alap-an i niyog=aya
like=1SG.GEN get-PV DEF coconut=MED.SPC
'I want to get that coconut.'

It is also possible, although less common, to express dislikes using *kasur*.

172. awan=ko kasur i pusit
neg=1SG.GEN like DEF squid
'I don't want the squid.'

173. awan=mo=noman i kasur <um>angay ha didiya=ayo
neg=2SG.GEN=ASRT DEF like <AV>go OBL upstream=DIST.SPC
'You don't want to go upstream.'

Generally, however, dislikes are expressed with the pseudo-verb *madi-an*.

4.6.2.2 *madi* 'don't want'

The pseudo-verb *madi* is used to express dislikes. When this form occurs without an object, the simple root is used. Thus, *madi=ko* 'I don't want to,' would be used in response to a question or if a person is tired of doing something. Much like *kasur*, it is a non-actor voice verb and takes the genitive set of pronouns. When *madi* has an object, it occurs with the patient voice suffix *-an*, triggering the sequence [di] to become a voiced affricate [dʒ] (see section 2.2.1.9). Again, like *kasur*, it expresses both general dislikes and immediate wants.

174. madi-an=ko i laki
don't.like-PV=1SG.GEN DEF squid
'I don't like\want the squid.'

175. madi-an=ko iday a tennon
don't.like-PV=1SG.GEN MED.DEM LK clothes
'I don't like\want those clothes.'

176. madi-an ni Lingay i apapet
don't.like-PV PERS Lingay DEF bitter.melon
'Lingay doesn't want\like the bitter melon.'

The pseudo-verb *madi-an* can also take verbal complements. As with *kasur*, the verbal complements are infinitives, uninflected for aspect. As mentioned above, actor voice verbs are generally preceded by the definite marker *i*, and non-actor voice verbs are generally preceded by the linker *a*, although either may also directly follow the pseudo-verb with no intervening element.

177. madi-an=ko i mag-sulog ha dinum=aya
don't.like-PV=1SG.GEN DEF AV-swim OBL water= MED.SPC
'I don't want to swim in that water.'

178. madi-an=ko <um>etnod
don't.like-PV=1SG.GEN <AV>sit
'I don't want to sit.'

179. madi-an=ko a balli-an i gahut=ko=a
don't.like-PV=1SG.GEN LK pay-PV DEF debt=1SG.GEN=SPC
'I don't want to pay my debt.'

180. madi-an=mo a ammu-an i kakay=mo
don't.like-PV=2SG.GEN LK kiss-PV DEF grandfather=2SG.GEN
'You don't want to kiss your grandfather?'

181. madi-an=ko kan-an i niyog=aya
don't.like-PV=1SG.GEN eat-PV DEF coconut= MED.SPC
'I don't want to eat that coconut.'

4.6.2.3 Quoted speech *kon-*

The pseudo-verb *kon-* indicates quoted speech. As mentioned in section 2.2.5.2, nasals assimilate in place to following consonants, and *kon-* is no exception. Like the other pseudo-verbs, *kon-* does not take verbal morphology, and its actor is always a genitive.

182. "g<um>imak=ka," kon=ko
<AV>stop=2SG.NOM say=1SG.GEN
'"(you) stop!" I said.'

183. "awan=pala i kape," kon=na
NEG=still DEF coffee say=3SG.GEN
'"There is no more coffee," he said.'

184. "ka=mo=n mag-degus" kon=tam ha ni Lingay
go=2SG.GEN=already AV-bathe say=1PL.INC.GEN OBL PERS Lingay
'"Go bathe," we said to Lingay.'

185. "na-lukag=ak=dan" kon=na ni Bebet ha malledum=heya
ACD-wake=1SG.NOM=already say=3SG.GEN PERS Bebet OBL morning=SPC
'"I'm awake," Bebet said this morning.'

186. "na-bannag=ak" kon=na i ulitaw=a
ADJ-tired=1SG.NOM say=3SG.GEN DEF young.man=SPC
'"I'm tired," said the young man.'

It is also possible to report speech with the verb *kagi*, which is not a pseudo-verb and takes regular verbal morphology.

187. "dakal iday ogsa" i k<in>agi-ø=mo
large MED.DEM deer DEF <CMPL>speak-PV=2SG.GEN
'"That deer is large," is what you said.'

4.6.2.4 *katandi* 'understand'

The pseudo verb *katandi* means 'to understand' or 'to know', including knowing how to do something, knowing facts, or knowing a person. Like the other pseudo-verbs, it generally takes no verbal affixation, and it occurs with genitive pronouns as actors. Examples 188 and 189 below show *katandi* with nominal complements.

188. katandi=mo i bilay=di
know=2SG.GEN DEF house=3PL.GEN
'Do you know (where) their house (is)?'

189. katandi=taka=dan
know=1SG.GEN\2SG.NOM=already
'Do I know you?'

Examples 190 through 194 below show *katandi* with verbal complements. There is often an intervening element between *katandi* and the verb (i.e., *i* 'DEFINITE', *a* 'LINKER', or *ha* 'OBLIQUE'), but the distribution of these intervening elements warrants further investigation.

190. katandi=na=noman ni Garwet i mag-galgal ha ogsa
know=3SG.GEN=ASRT PERS Garwet DEF AV-slice OBL deer
'Does Garwet know how to butcher a deer?'

191. katandi=di=noman a mag-mula ha pinya
know=3PL.GEN=ASRT LK AV-plant OBL pineapple
'They know how to plant pineapples.'

192. katandi=na=noman=dan i anak=a a mag-lutu ha kan-an=na
know=3SG.GEN=ASRT=already DEF child=SPC LK AV-cook OBL eat-LV=3SG.GEN
'That child already knows how to cook his (own) rice.'

193. katandi=na=noman a lugulug-an i laman
know=3SG.GEN=ASRT LK die-PV DEF pig
'He knows how to kill the pig.'

194. katandi=mi=noman ha hida-an i silay
know=1PL.EXC.GEN=ASRT OBL main.course-PV DEF monitor.lizard
'We know how to eat the monitor lizard.'

There is no special form for the negation of *katandi*; it is combined with the negative *awan* (see section 5.5).

195. awan=ko katandi
NEG=1SG.GEN know
'I don't know\understand.'

196. awan=ko katandi mag-tupu[13] ha galampes
NEG=1SG.GEN know AV-ride OBL carabao
'I don't know how to ride a water buffalo (carabao).'

197. awan=na=noman katandi i madiket a mag-gimet ha bilay
NEG=3SG.GEN=ASRT know DEF young.woman LK AV-do OBL house
'The young woman doesn't know how to build a house.'

[13] This form does not appear in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because speakers disagree as to the form and meaning.

Like *kasur*, *katandi* occasionally takes the suffix *-an* in apparent free variation with the uninflected form. In 198 below, the suffix occurs, whereas in the similar 189 above, no suffix occurs.

198. katandi-an=ko=n hikuna
know-PV=1SG.GEN=already 3SG.LFNOM
'I already know him.'

4.6.2.5 *kad-* 'go'

The pseudo-verb *kad* means 'go' and is most often used for imperatives or hortatives, as opposed to the neutral *<um>angay* 'go', which is less commonly found in imperatives or hortatives. Like the other pseudo verbs, it takes genitive pronouns.

199. kad=tam=on
go=1PL.INC.GEN=already
'Let's go now.'

The pseudo verb *kad* can also take verbal complements, and there is no linker *a* or definite marker *i*.

200. kad=mi=n maki-boda
go=1PL.EXC.GEN=already SOC-marry
'We are going to a wedding.'

The final /d/ of *kad* optionally drops out with certain pronouns. In examples 201 and 203 below, the final /d/ drops out when *kad* is combined with the second person plural and singular genitive pronouns, respectively, whereas in examples 202 and 204, the form of the verb is unchanged even though it is combined with the same pronouns.

201. ka=moy=dan mag-gulam ha ihu
go=2PL.GEN=already AV-play OBL DIST.LOC
'Go play over there!'

202. kad=moy=dan mag-degus
go=2PL.GEN=already AV-bathe
'Go bathe now!'

203. ka=mo=n maki-sagudsud
go=2SG.GEN=already SOC-dance
'Go dance!'

204. kad=mo=n nasnas-an i lamisaan=aya
go=2SG.GEN=already wipe-LV DEF table= MED.SPC
'Go wipe that table!'

4.6.2.6 *kom-* 'come'

The pseudo-verb *kom-* means 'come' and is most often used for imperatives or hortatives. Like the other pseudo-verbs, it does not inflect for voice and aspect, and like the other pseudo verbs, it takes genitive pronouns.

205. kom=mo he
come=2SG.GEN PROX.LOC
'Come here!'

4.7 Adverbs

4.7.1 Adjectives and verbs as adverbs

Dupaningan has very few words that are prototypically adverbs. Besides adverbs of time and a limited set of enclitic particles that are primarily adverbial, adverbial meanings are expressed using verbs and adjectives as modifiers. The following show adverbial usages of adjectives. The forms serving as adverbials follow the head verb (or adjective) and the two are joined with a linker.

206. ka-sinti=ko hidi no mag-kagi hidi a ma-dukas
NMLZ-angry=1SG.GEN 3PL.NOM if AV-speak 3PL.NOM LK ADJ-bad
'I get mad at them if they speak badly (i.e., say bad things).'

207. <in><um>emmang=ak a na-biyag
<CMPL><AV>rest=1SG.NOM LK ADJ-full
'I rested while full.'

In examples 208 and 209 below, other verbs serve to modify the head verb. Often, such adverbial constructions can be used when two actions take place simultaneously.

208. nag-soli hidi a maka-ngidi-ngidit
CMPL.AV-return 3PL.NOM LK CONT-REDUP-laugh
'They went home laughing.'

209. abben-an=dan a ni-soli
carry.on.back-LV=already LK CMPL.TV-return
'(He) carried (her) while (he) took (her) home.'[14]

In example 210, an adjective serves as the head with a verb serving as the modifier. As in the examples above, the meaning is simultaneous. See section 5.3 on linkers for more examples of linkers joining simultaneous verbs or adverbs.

210. ma-hikeg=ak a k<um>ilap
ADJ-lie.on.side=1SG.NOM LK <AV>sleep
'I am lying down on my side while sleeping.'

4.7.2 Adverbs of time

There are various time adverbs in Dupaningan, all of which stand alone except *kada* 'each, every' and *idi*, which may either stand alone or introduce subordinate clauses of past time.

Table 4.3 Adverbs of time

past (general)	*idi*
yesterday	*nakkapon*
earlier today	*nakkoya*
today, now	*aye ʔin* (written *ayein*)
each, every	*kada*
later today	*ayenan*
tomorrow	*no ʔugma* (written *nougma*)
future (general)	*nokkan*

Events that occurred in the past are indicated with the past time marker *idi*, which can either stand alone, as in 211 below or be used to introduce a temporal adverbial clause, as in 212 through 214 below.

[14] While this sentence may strike some as strange because it has no overt noun phrases, the reader is referred to section 3.2.1.1 on the omission of nominative arguments.

211. mag-angkat=kami ta atoy to setgan[15]=dan idi
AV-hunt.without.dogs=1PL.EXC.NOM because EXT it shotgun=already PST
'We hunt without dogs because there were shotguns already then.'

212. idi d<in><um>itang=ak, g<in>imet-ø=moy i bilay=ko
PST <CMPL><AV>arrive=1SG.NOM <CMPL>make-PV=2PL.GEN DEF house=1SG.GEN
'When I arrived, you all made my house.'

213. idi ta-anak=ak, na-tegbak ni babong=ko
PST DIM-child=1SG.NOM ACD.CMPL-die PERS grandmother=1SG.GEN
'When I was a small child, my grandmother died.'

214. mag-baddas ni Ister idi d<in><um>itang ni kabanga=na
AV-clear PERS Ister PST<CMPL><AV>arrive PERS spouse=3SG.GEN
'Ister was clearing the land when her husband arrived.'

The word *nakkapon* 'yesterday' and *nougma* 'tomorrow' stand on their own to modify the verb.

215. nag-enak ni manay nakkapon
CMPL.AV-give.birth PERS aunt yesterday
'Auntie gave birth yesterday.'

216. mag-kagi=kitam nougma
AV-speak=1PL.INC.NOM tomorrow
'We will speak tomorrow.'

217. <um>angay=kitam nougma ha kalipat
<AV>go=1PL.INC.NOM tomorrow OBL other.side
'We will go to the other side tomorrow.'

Nakkapon 'yesterday' is optionally preceeded by the oblique marker *ha*.

218. <um>angay=ka ha nakkapon ha dipon=ayo
<AV>go=2SG.NOM OBL yesterday OBL market=DIST.SPC
'You were going to that market yesterday.'

Nougma 'tomorrow' could be analyzed as a combination of the word *no*, which is used for future 'when' and *ugma* 'morning', although *no* is not found in combination with any other forms. Further evidence for the hypothesis that this form is bi-morphemic

[15] From the English 'shotgun', presumably borrowed into Ilokano first.

is found in the fact that it has a medial glottal stop [no?ugma], whereas Dupaningan does not have morpheme-internal glottal stops in the native stratum (see section 2.2.1.4).

219. i-labbang=di ni kakay ha ugma
TV-bury=3PL.GEN PERS grandfather OBL (to)morrow
'They will bury Grandfather tomorrow.'

Moreover, *nougma* 'tomorrow' can be combined with a completive clause to yield the meaning 'the next day/morning'

220. nougma l<in><um>akset hidi mag-kabanga
tomorrow <CMPL><AV>commence.journey 3PL.LFNOM AV-spouse
'The next day, the married couple left early.'

In example 221 below, we see *ugma* has been reduplicated to give the meaning 'every day'.

221. alap-an hidi ha nougma-ugma ha apgas
get-PV 3PL.NOM OBL tomorrow-morrow OBL salt
'They buy salt every day.'

Events that occurred ealier on the same day are marked with *nakkoya*. *Nakkoya* does not usually introduce an adverbial clause, but simply stands on its own.

222. nakkoya, <in><um>angay hidi ha lapos, nag-buybuy hidi ha ni kapitan
earlier <CMPL><AV>go 3PL.NOM OBL outside CMPL.AV-story 3PL.NOM OBL PERS captain
'Earlier, they went to town; they spoke with the barangay captain (local official).'

223. nakkoya=pala=mina a ni-peta=ko
earlier=still=hopefully LK CMPL.TV-say=1SG.GEN
'I wish I had said it earlier.'

224. in-toldu=taka nakkoya
CMPL.TV-show=1SG.GEN\2SG.NOM earlier
'I showed you earlier.'

225. ma-kellap ni Lubak nakkoya
ACD-sleep PERS Lubak earlier
'Lubak was sleeping earlier.'

The word *ayein* [ayeʔin] means 'now' or 'today'. It does not introduce an adverbial phrase but can modify time nouns, such as *pamalak* 'day, noon', as in *ayein a pamalak* 'today', which emphasizes the meaning 'today' over the possible meaning 'now' or *ayein a kassinag* 'this year' (cf. *kassinag* 'year').

226. ma-asok nakkoya, ayein, ma-paras=dan
ADJ-smoke earlier now ADJ-wind=already
'It was smoky here earlier, but it's windy now.'

227. <um>angay=ka=dan ayein, l<um>akad=ak ha ugma
<AV>go=2SG.NOM=already today <AV>walk=1SG.NOM OBL (to)morrow
'Come today (already), I'm leaving tomorrow.'

There is quite a bit of variability with the word for 'today'; it can surface as *ayeʔin, yeʔin, neyeʔin, niyeʔin, iyeʔin, ayaʔin*, or even *ayenan*. Thus, schematically, [(n)V_1y V_2(ʔ/n)V_3n], where V_1 can be /a/ /i/ or /e/, and V_2 and V_3 can be /i/ or /e/.

The adverb *ayenan*, which is one of the variants for 'today', also refers to time later on the same day, at least in the dialect of the primary informant for this dissertation who does not use *ayenan* for 'today'.

228. inum-an=ta i kape ayenan
drink-PV=1DU.INC.GEN DEF coffee later
'You and I will drink the coffee later.'

229. ayenan hidi a l<um>akad
later 3PL.NOM LK <AV>leave
'They will leave later.'

The Spanish loan *kada* (via Ilokano) means 'each' or 'every' and introduces a phrase or clause.

230. l<um>apos=kitam ha dipon kada liggu
<AV>outside=1PL.INC.NOM OBL market every Sunday
'We go to the market every Sunday.'

231. mag-sanget kada <um>angay=ka
AV-cry every <AV>go=2SG.NOM
'(She) cries every time you come.'

232. kada malledum a mag-naka-nakam nena=na
every morning LK AV-REDUP-think mother=3SG.GEN
'Every morning her mother meditates.'

Events that will occur in the future are indicated with the future time marker *nokkan*, which stands on its own (as in example 233), but is frequently used in conjuction with other time markers (as in examples 234 through 236).

233. t<um>angkay=pala nokkan i apellak=aya a anak
<AV>tall=still FUT DEF short=MED.SPC LK child
'That short child will still get taller.'

234. i-demat=na ni Lubak i kape nokkan liggu
TV-arrive=3SG.GEN PERS Lubak DEF coffee FUT Sunday
'Lubak will bring the coffee on Sunday.'

235. hida-an=mo i padut=aya nokkan nougma
main.course-PV=2SG.GEN DEF fish=MED.SPC FUT tomorrow
'You will eat the fish tomorrow.'

236. k<um>ilap nokkan ni Lubak ha kallap
<AV>sleep FUT PERS Lubak OBL night
'Lubi will sleep tonight.'

In the following example, we can see that *nokkan* does not actually indicate future time, but indicates a relative future, as *nokkan* is used to refer to events that refer to the future within the frame of reference of the time indicated by the verb, which may be completive.

237. g<in>imet-ø=ko ha nokkan=nin ha p<in>ag-soli=di
<CMPL>do-PV=1SG.GEN OBL FUT=FUT OBL <CMPL>NMLZ-return=3PL.GEN
'I did it before they went home.'

Nokkan overlaps semantically with the adverbial enclitic *=nin*. See section 4.7.3.2.2 below on the use of *=nin*.

Other time phrases may be introduced with the oblique case marker *ha*. If it is not combined with another of the time markers mentioned above, the relative time must be inferred from the context. That is, the phrase *ha liggu* 'on Sunday' could refer to a past, future, or habitual Sunday. In example 238 below, we can derive the interpretation 'last Sunday' because the verb is completive. In example 239, in contrast, the same phrase *ha liggu* 'on Sunday' is interpreted as a future because of the context.

238. na-enta=taka ha dipon=ayo ha liggu
CMPL.ACD-see=1SG.GEN\2SG.NOM OBL market= DIST.SPC OBL Sunday
'I saw you at the market on Sunday.'

239. <um>angay=kitam ha dipon ha liggu
<AV>go=1PL.INC.NOM OBL market OBL Sunday
'Let's go to the market on Sunday.'

A time phrase can be marked as past by using the (non-deictic) specificity enclitic *=heya* or its variant *=he*.

240. hikuna i k<in><um>ilap ha kallap=heya
3SG.LFNOM DEF <CMPL><AV>sleep OBL night=SPC
'He is the one who slept last night.'

241. <in><um>angay agom=tam=heya ha Tuguegarao ha lunes=heya
<CMPL><AV>go companion=1PL.INC.GEN OBL Tuguegarao OBL Monday=SPC
'Our companion went to Tuguegarao last Monday.'

4.7.3 Adverbial particles

Dupaningan (like most Philippine languages) has a set of enclitic particles that express adverbial meanings. These are discussed in the sections below. A table of the adverbial particles, with their corresponding Ilokano and Tagalog forms, is given below.

Table 4.4 Dupaningan adverbial particles

Dupaningan	Ilokano	Tagalog	English
=la	*la, lang, laeng, latta*	*lang, lamang*	only, just, LIMITATION
=dan (=n, =on)	*=en*	*na*	already, now
=dalla	*lang metten*	*man*	SOFTENER
=pala	*pay (laeng)*	*pa, muna*	still, yet, first
=pat	*pay*	*pa*	still
=man	*man, ngarud, met*	*naman, nga*	COUNTER EXPECTATION EMPHASIS
=bi	*met, man (laeng)*	*din, naman*	COUNTER EXPECTATION also, ADDITIONAL INFORMATION SOFTENER
=noman	*gayam, ngarud, man, met, kadi*	*pala, nga, naman, ba*	DISCOVERY, SURPRISE, SUDDEN REALIZATION; EMPHASIS, ASSERTIVE, INTENSIFICATION; COUNTER EXPECTATION; QUESTION
=kan	*kan(o)*	*daw*	HEARSAY
=mina	*koma*	*sana*	hopefully, wish
=manon	*manen*	*muli, na naman*	again
=dud	*kadi, man*	*ba, naman*	QUESTION, SOFTENER
=agat	*paki-, man*	*paki-, naman*	REQUEST, SOFTENER
=bas, =s	*man, paki-*	*naman, paki-*	SOFTENER, REQUEST
=waden/=wan	*ngata*	*yata*	UNCERTAINTY
baka	*baka*	*baka*	PROBABILITY
=nin	*=(n)to*	-	FUTURE

The adverbial particles in Dupaningan (except *baka*) are second position enclitics. That is, they follow the first element in the clause, usually the verb. Adverbial particles always follow the enclitic pronouns and precede any enclitic noun markers (such as specificity markers; see section 3.4), and there is some ordering among the adverbial enclitics, although this is flexible. The enclitics (including the pronouns) follow the predicate in a particular clause, so they may not be in second position overall in the sentence, but in second position in the clause.

242. mensan no ma-dagmen, nag-senggit=**man**=**noman**
even if ADJ-cold CMPL.AV-sun=**CONTRASTIVE**=**ASRT**
'Even though it's cold, it's actually sunny.'

243. [essa a asu]$_{predicate}$=**dan** i natay
one LK dog=**already** DEF CMPL\die
'One dog died.'

4.7.3.1 Softeners/Emphatics

4.7.3.1.1 la *'just, only'*

The Dupaningan enclitic =*la* is a particle of limitation, corresponding to English 'just' or 'only'.

244. ma-kagi-kagi=la iday
ACD-speak-speak=just MED.DEM
'He (lit., that one') is just talking.'

245. paka-uray=la a[16] paka-uray ni kabanga=na
SEQ.CONT-wait=just LK SEQ.CONT-wait PERS spouse=3SG.GEN
'His wife just waited and waited.'

The enclitic =*la* causes the final consonant of some of the other pronouns and enclitics to be assimilated. The combination of the enclitic =*dan* 'already' and =*la* is =*dalla*, discussed in section 4.7.3.1.2 below. The combination of =*la* and the hearsay particle =*kan* is =*kalla*.

246. awan=kalla hikuna nag-uni
NEG=HSY\just 3SG.LFNOM CMPL.AV-sound
'They say he just didn't make any noise.'

The combination of the first person singular long form nominative pronoun *hikan* and *la* is *hikalla*.

247. hikalla=noman i laka-lakadin-an=mo
1SG.LFNOM\JUST=ASRT DEF REDUP-abandon-LV=2SG.GEN
'It's just me that you are running away from!'

4.7.3.1.2 Realization noman

The Dupaningan particle =*noman* is used 1) to indicate sudden realization, discovery, or surprise 2) to emphasize or intensify a statement 3) to indicate that a

[16] The linker *a* can be used to join two simultaneous activities; see chapter five.

statement is counter to expectation or 4) as a question marker. Examples 248 and 249 below exemplify the use of *noman* for a sudden realization.

248. makpal=noman i kurinnat na golang=ayo
many=ASRT DEF money GEN orphan= DIST.SPC
'That orphan has a lot of money!'

249. awan=moy=ak=noman a na-leptan-an
NEG=2PL.GEN=1SG.NOM=ASRT LK ACD.CMPL-forget-LV
'So you all didn't actually forget me!'

Examples 250 and 251 below exemplify use of *noman* for intensification.

250. makpal=noman i l<in><um>apos ha digi=na
many=ASRT DEF <CMPL><AV>outside OBL blood=3SG.GEN
'She lost too much blood.'

251. mappya=noman i mangabanga
pretty=ASRT DEF AV\spouse
'The married couple is so beautiful.'

Example 252 below shows use of *noman* to indicate contrast to expectation.

252. iday=noman i bilay=ko
MED.DEM=ASRT DEF house=1SG.GEN
'That is my house (contrary to expectation).'

The enclitic *noman* is also occasionally used for questions, as seen in example 253 below.

253. hikaw=noman i nangwa ha laman=aye
2SG.LFNOM=ASRT DEF CMPL.AV\catch OBL pig= PROX.SPC
'Are you the one who caught this pig?'

4.7.3.1.3 Softener dalla

The enclitic *=dalla* is a combination of *=dan* 'already' and *=la* 'just' but is discussed separately here because the combination enclitic can have somewhat unexpected semantics, as it can be used to soften requests. In example 254 below, *=dalla* is used as a softener, whereas in example 255, the meaning is simply a combination of the two clitics *=dan* and *=la*.

254. iday=dalla=agat i pag-tennon=mo
MED.DEM=already\just=please DEF NMLZ-clothes=2SG.GEN
'Please just have those be your clothes.'

255. <in><um>angay=ak=dalla=mina nakkapon
<CMPL><AV>go=1SG.NOM=already\just=hopefully yesterday
'I wish I had just gone yesterday (already).'

4.7.3.1.4 Softener agat

The particle *=agat* is used to soften requests.

256. <um>angay=kita=agat along <um>aged ha natang
<AV>go=1DU.INC.NOM=please son <AV>beg OBL vegetable
'Let's go, my son, and beg for vegetables.'

257. mag-abak=ka=agat
AV-mat=2SG.NOM=please
'Please unroll the sleeping mat.'

4.7.3.1.5 Softener bas

The enclitic *=bas* and its variant *=s* are used to soften an utterance, especially a request.

258. agay <um>angay=ka=bas ha lapos=ayo
friend <AV>go=2SG.NOM=BAS OBL outside= DIST.SPC

mag-pa-biyu ha ibay=tam=he
AV-CAUS-mill OBL friend[17]=1PL.INC.GEN=SPC
'Friend, go to town and have our (non-Agta) friend mill rice for us.'

259. uppun-an=moy=bas i hena=moy=ayo
help-LV=2PL.GEN=BAS DEF mother=2PL.GEN= DIST.SPC
'(I wish you all would) help your mother.'

The enclitic *=bas* has an optional variant *=s* after certain pronouns and enclitics.

260. ide=mina=s i sagab-an=mo
PROX.DEM=hopefully=BAS DEF draw.water-LV=2SG.GEN
'I hope this is the one you draw water from.'

[17] The word *ibay* is used for a non-Agta friend, especially a trading partner, whereas *agay* is a vocative term used most frequently between close friends of the same gender or between husband and wife. They are both glossed as friend to save space (*ilay*, the true equivalent of English 'friend' also receives the same gloss elsewhere in this work).

261. nasnas-an=mo=s i lamisaan=aya
wipe-LV=2SG.GEN=BAS DEF table= MED.SPC
'Wipe that table (please).

262. <um>unek=ka=s
<AV>climb=2SG.NOM=BAS
'Please climb up!'

263. "patay" kon=na=la=s
patay say=3SG.GEN=JUST=BAS
'He just means to say "patay"' (*patay* 'kill')

Sometimes =*bas* is used when the context does not obviously call for softening. Its function in these cases is not yet clear. It may express the notion that what happened was good.

264. malledum mang-lakad=ak=**bas** agay ha didiya=ayo
morning AV-walk=1SG.NOM=BAS friend OBL upstream= DIST.SPC
'In the morning, my friend, I walk upstream.'

265. imbag=dan ayenan ta atoy=dan=**bas** i kiskisan
good=already now because EXT=already=BAS DEF milling.machine
'It is good now that there is a rice milling machine'

266. mag-biyag=kami=bi=dan=**bas**
AV-full=1PL.EXC.NOM=also=already=BAS
'We got full then.' [in the context of explaining how good it was that they had a bit of rice]

267. imbag=dan ayenan
good=already now

ta makpal=dan=**bas** i katandi-an=dan ni agta a mag-talon
because much=already=BAS DEF know-LV=already GEN.DEF agta LK AV-farm
'It's good now because the Agta have a lot of knowledge about farming,'

4.7.3.2 Adverbial particles of time

4.7.3.2.1 dan *'already' and variants*

The Dupaningan adverbial enclitic =*dan* indicates various aspectual distinctions in the verb and is usually translated into English as 'already' or 'now'. With a completive verb, =*dan* emphasizes that an action has already taken place.

268. k<in><um>ilap=dan i 'anak=ayo
<CMPL><AV>sleep=already DEF children= DIST.SPC
'Those children went to sleep already.'

269. ne-kabus=dan i urah=tam
CMPL\ACD\TV-finish=already DEF rice=1PL.INC.GEN
'Our rice is gone already.'

With an incompletive verb, =*dan* emphasizes that an action is taking place in the present and can be translated into English as 'now'.

270. mag-enak=ak=dan
AV-birth=1SG.NOM=already
'I'm giving birth now.'

271. l<um>akad=ak=dan
<AV>walk=1SG.NOM=already
'I'm leaving now.'

The enclitic =*dan* can also indicate, depending on the context, that an event will take place in the near future.

272. no ma-pilas=ak, mangabanga=ak=dan=mina
if ADJ-rich=1SG.NOM AV\spouse=1SG.NOM=already=hopefully
'If I were rich, I would get married already.'

273. <um>angay=ka=dan ayein, l<um>akad=ak ha ugma
<AV>go=2SG.NOM=already today <AV>walk=1SG.NOM OBL tomorrow
'Come today (already), I'm leaving tomorrow.'

Although the prototypical use of =*dan* is modifying a verb, it can also modify non-verbal predicates.

274. ma-lupoy=dan nama=ko
ADJ-old.man=already father=1SG.GEN
'My father is an old man already.'

275. apon=dan d<um>emat=ak ha kampo=ko=a
afternoon=already <AV>arrive=1SG.NOM OBL camp=1SG.GEN=SPC
'It was afternoon already when I arrived at my camp.'

276. sa=la d<in><um>itang a atoy=dan anak=na
then=just <CMPL><AV>arrive LK EXT=already child=3SG.GEN
'Then he arrived when she already had children.'

The enclitic =*dan* has alternate forms when it immediately follows a pronoun. With vowel final clitic pronouns, the clitic =*dan* takes the form of a final alveolar nasal /n/.

277. mag-soli=ka=n
AV-return=2SG.NOM=already
'Are you going home already?'

278. mag-kan=kita=n
AV-eat=1DU.INC.NOM=already
'Let's eat now.'

279. <um>angay=kami=n ha Tuguegarao
<AV>go=1PL.EXC.NOM=already OBL Tuguegarao
'We are going to Tuguegarao now.'

280. ni-peta=ko=n i gimit-an=moy
CMPL.TV-say=1SG.GEN=already DEF do-PV=2PL.GEN
'I already asked you to do it.'

281. aklig-an=mo=n i wadi=mo=a
lift-PV=2SG.GEN=already DEF younger.sibling=2SG.GEN=SPC
'Pick up your younger sibling.'

282. t<in>appan-an=na=n sa-saddap-an=na ha bilay=na=ayo
<CMPL>close-PV=3SG.GEN=already REDUP-enter-LV=3SG.GEN OBL house=3SG.GEN= DIST.SPC
'He already closed the entrance of his house.'

283. i-angay=ta=n i pilas=aye ha dipon=ayo
TV-go=1DU.INC.GEN=already DEF meat= PROX.SPC OBL market= DIST.SPC
'Let's take this meat to the market now.'

284. awan=mi=n ma-uray ni Garwet
NEG=1PL.EXC.GEN=already ACD-wait PERS Garwet
'We will not wait for Garwet.'

285. galgal-an=di=n i laman=ayo
slice-PV=3PL.GEN=already DEF pig= DIST.SPC
'They will butcher that pig now.'

With clitic pronouns ending in a bilabial nasal, the clitic =*dan* takes the form =*on*[18]

[18] These irregular forms are partially explained with reference to historical facts. The Proto-Northern Cordilleran form of the 2nd person plural nominative pronoun =*kam* was **kamu* (Tharp 1974), and in many other Northern Cordilleran languages, the form of this particle is =*n* after vowels. The /o/ of =*on*, then, is probably derived from the final /u/ of the old pronoun followed by the =*n* variant of the particle. The other =*on* forms are likely due to analogy.

286. <um>angay=kam=on mag-tabas ha mula
<AV>go=2PL.NOM=already AV-clear OBL crop
'Go clear crops now.'

287. mag-ngatngat=kitam=on ha laki
AV-chew=1PL.INC.NOM=already OBL squid
'We are chewing on squid.'

288. gilut-an=tam=on i apoy=aya
tie-PV=1PL.INC.GEN=already DEF firewood= MED.SPC
'Let's tie up that firewood now.'

With clitic pronouns that do not end in a vowel or in /m/, namely =*ak* '1SG.NOM', there is no change in the adverbial particle =*dan*, and some of the shortened clitics discussed above alternate with the full form =*dan*.

289. nag-kan=ak=dan ha mangga
CMPL.AV-eat=1SG.NOM=already OBL mango
'I ate the mango already.'

290. mag-dukot=ka=dan ta kallap=dan=nin
AV-build.fire=2SG.GEN=already because night=already=FUT
'Build a fire now because night is falling.'

291. <um>angay=kami=dan ha lapos=ayo
<AV>go=1PL.EXC.NOM=already OBL outside= DIST.SPC
'We will go to town now.'

292. katol-an[19]=di=dan i asu=di hidi
call-LV=3PL.GEN=already DEF dog=3PL.GEN PL
'They are calling their dogs now.'

In one instance, the shortened -*n* form was given unexpectedly after the pronoun =*moy*, creating a CVCC syllable, which should be a prohibited in Dupaningan (see section 2.2.3).

293. i-sarungan=moy=n i siyu=moy=a
TV-sheath=2PL.GEN=already DEF bolo=2PL.GEN=SPC
'Sheathe your bolo knives now.'

[19] The form *katol-an* 'call' is not in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because not all speakers agree on the form and meaning of the item.

When another enclitic intervenes between the pronoun and *=dan*, the full form is used.

294. nag-kan=kam=dud=dan
CMPL.AV-eat=2PL.NOM=Q=already
'Have you all eaten already?'

The enclitic *=dan* also has variants when combined with certain other adverbial particles. The combination of *=dan* and *=la* yields *=dalla*, the combination of *=mina* 'hopefully' and *=dan* is *=minan*, and the combination of *=kan* 'HEARSAY' and *=dan* yields *kanon*, possibly under the influence of Ilokano[20]. The form *=dalla* is discussed in its own separate section below because it has unexpected semantics in addition to its (somewhat) unexpected form.

295. <um>uno-unod=kan=on i anitu=a
<AV>REDUP-follow=HSY=already DEF ghost=SPC
'They say the ghost was following him.'

296. atoy=mina=n i i-peta=ko
EXT=hopefully=already DEF TV-say=1SG.GEN
'I have something I would like to say now.'

4.7.3.2.2 Future particle nin

The Dupaningan particle *=nin* is used optionally to emphasize that an event will take place in the future.

297. ayag-an=mo=nin i ilay=mo
call-LV=2SG.GEN=FUT DEF friend=2SG.GEN
'You will call your friend.'

298. <um>angay=kita=nin ha malledum ha Dungeg=ayo
<AV>go=1DU.INC.NOM=FUT OBL morning OBL Dungeg=DIST.SPC
'We will go to Dungeg in the morning.'

[20] Or simply a remnant of earlier *kano 'HEARSAY', which is the form found in neighboring languages, and presumably the proto-form for Dupaningan. It is not the case that the form is simply *=on* following a nasal because there are many instances of nasals followed by *=dan*, as in 275 above with *apon=dan* 'afternoon already'.

The adverb *nokkan* also indicates future, and the two can even be combined. Although they differ syntactically, they do not seem to differ semantically. See section 4.7.2 above on the use of *nokkan*.

4.7.3.2.3 manon *'again'*

The Dupaningan adverbial particle =*manon* corresponds to English 'again'.

299. mag-mula=manon hidi ha paray
AV-plant=again 3PL.NOM OBL rice
'They are planting rice again.'

300. nag-gimet=ka=manon ha dinekat?
CMPL.AV-make=2SG.NOM=again OBL rice.cake
'Did you make rice cakes again?'

4.7.3.2.4 pala *'still, yet'*

The Dupaningan adverbial enclitic *pala* is used to convey addition, and corresponds to English 'still', 'yet', or 'else'.

301. ballek=pala ni Lingling=ay
small=still PERS Lingling=SPC
'Lingling is still young.'

302. awan=pala hidi a k<in><um>ilap
NEG=still 3PL.NOM LK <CMPL><AV>sleep
'They haven't gone to sleep yet.'

303. anya=pala iday a egkam-an=mo=a
what=still MED.DEM LK hold-PV=2SG.GEN=SPC
'What else are you holding there?'

It can also be used to mean 'first' in a sequence of actions.

304. hikuna=pala i <um>angay
3SG.LFNOM=still DEF <AV>go
'He will be the one to go first.'

The enclitic =*pala* likely derives from combining the clitic *la* 'just' with a form *pa*, which corresponds to Ilokano *pay* 'still' or Tagalog *pa* 'still' and carries the bulk of the

meaning found in *pala*. Although Dupaningan does have a form *pa* without *la*, it is much less common in my data than *pala*.

305. <um>emmang=kitam=pa
<AV>rest=1PL.INC.NOM=still
'Let's rest first.'

306. l<um>akad=ak=pa
<AV>walk=1SG.NOM=still
'I will leave first.'

4.7.3.2.5 Contrastive pat *'still, yet'*

The Dupaningan enclitic *=pat* means 'still' or 'yet', but carries an additional meaning of contrast to expectation that is not found with the adverbial *=pala*. The enclitic *=pat* is much less common than *=pala*

307. awan=pat ha agom=ko
NEG=still OBL companion=1SG.GEN
'My companion is still not here yet'

308. i-peta=mo=pat
TV-say=2SG.GEN=still
'Say it again.'

4.7.3.3 Adverbial particles of mood

4.7.3.3.1 Contrastive bi

The Dupaningan particle *=bi* is used 1) to indicate that a statement is counter to expectation 2) to offer additional information or 3) as a softener to lessen the impact of requests. Example 309 shows the use of *=bi* to indicate contrast to expectation.

309. awan=bi a ma-segkat ni Lubak
NEG=also LK ADJ-lazy PERS Lubak
'Lubak isn't lazy (counter to expectation).'

Example 310 illustrates the use of *=bi* to mean 'also' or 'too'.

310. pamangal=na=kan ni kaberwan[21]
AV\arrow=3SG.GEN=HSY PERS fiancé
'They say the fiancé shot an arrow.'

pamangal=na=kan=bi=la essa a ngayaw[22]
AV\arrow=3SG.GEN=HSY=also=just one LK raider
'They say one of the raiders also shot an arrow.'

Examples 311 and 312 illustrate use of *=bi* as a softener.

311. <um>aged=ak=bi ha gangat-an=mo
<AV>request=1SG.NOM=also OBL fire-PV=2SG.GEN
'May I borrow your fire?'

312. maki-etnod=ak=bi
SOC-sit=1SG.NOM=also
'May I sit with you?'

4.7.3.3.2 Contrastive man

The Dupaningan particle *=man* is used either to indicate that a statement is counter to expectation or to emphasize a statement.

313. hikuna[23]=man i i-pet-peta=ko nikaw
3SG.LFNOM=CONTRASTIVE DEF TV-REDUP-say=1SG.GEN 2SG.OBL
'That is what I'm saying to you!'

314. ide=man i bilay=mi
PROX.DEM=CONTRASTIVE DEF house=1PL.EXC.GEN
'This is our house (contrary to expectation).'

The enclitic *=man* surfaces as *=malla* when combined with *=la*. Although *=man* and *=noman* (see section 4.7.3.1.4 above) are similar in both form and meaning, and it might be tempting to say that *=man* is a shortened form of *=noman*, that analysis is unlikely because the two particles can co-occur.

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[21] The form *kaberwan* is not in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because speakers gave a range of definitions, from 'fiance' to 'married person with no children'.
[22] The form *ngayaw* is not the vocabulary (Appendix A) because it was never verified with a second speaker of Dupaningan.
[23] This is a rare instance of a pronoun other than *ito* being used to refer to a non-human entity. It serves to further emphasize the assertion being made.

315. mensan no ma-dagmen, nag-senggit=man=noman
even if ADJ-cold CMPL.AV-sun=CONTRASTIVE=ASRT
'Even though it's cold, it's actually sunny.'

4.7.3.3.3 Hearsay particle kan

The particle *=kan* is used to indicate that the speaker does not have direct knowledge of the information being conveyed; the speaker is reporting the information to be hearsay.

316. nag-lugulug=kan i katalakay[24]=ko
CMPL.AV-die=HSY DEF cousin=1SG.GEN
'They say my cousin died.'

317. madiket=kan=pala hidi i mag-taggad
young.woman=HSY=still PL DEF AV-prune
'They say the women who were doing the pruning were still unmarried.'

318. mag-hama-hamakel=kan=on babbey=a
av-redup-hoarse=HSY=already woman=SPC
'They say a woman was hoarse already.'

319. ni-lukag=na=kan i kabanga=na
CMPL.TV-wake=3SG.GEN=HSY DEF spouse=3SG.GEN
'They say he woke his wife up.'

The hearsay particle *=kan* is used very frequently in stories (see Appendix B).

4.7.3.3.4 *Hopefully* mina

The enclitic *=mina* expresses the speakers hope or wish that the action encoded in the sentence be carried out.

320. ma-dulaw=mina i aladum=ko
ADJ-red=hopefully DEF clothes=1SG.GEN
'I wish my clothes were red.'

321. atoy=mina tienda=na agom=tam=aye
EXT=hopefully store=3SG.GEN companion=1PL.INC.GEN= PROX.SPC
'I wish this companion of ours had a store.'

[24] The form *katalakay* is not in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because the definition was not confirmed by multiple speakers.

4.7.3.3.5 Question particle dud

The Dupaningan particle =*dud* is used both for questions and to soften requests. The examples below illustrate use of =*dud* to mark questions. It can mark yes/no questions as well as content question. It is optional in both cases.

322. <in><um>angay=ka=dud ha karayan
<CMPL><AV>go=2SG.NOM=Q OBL river
'Did you go to the river?'

323. mappya=dud
pretty=Q
'Is she pretty?'

324. anya=dud i nagen=mo
what=Q DEF name=2SG.GEN
'What is your name?'

The enclitic =*dud* can be used to soften a request.

325. ka=mo=dud=dan ha taltalon=ayo
go=2SG.GEN=DUD=already OBL field= DIST.SPC
'(Please) go to the field.'

326. <um>angay=ka=dud nougma
<AV>go=2SG.NOM=DUD tomorrow
'(Please) come tomorrow.'

The enclitic =*dud* can also be used to soften a statement that is not necessarily a direct request, but nevertheless needs softening.

327. atoy=dud=dan i kabanga=mo
EXT=DUD=already DEF spouse=2SG.GEN
'You already have a spouse'
(where the following sentence was 'So why are you looking for another?')

The enclitic =*dud* optionally shortens to =*d* following the second person singular genitive and nominative pronouns (yielding =*mod* and =*kad* respectively).

328. katandi=mo=d i bilay ni Raboy
know=2SG.GEN=Q DEF house PERS Raboy
'Do you know Raboy's house?'

4.7.3.3.6 Uncertainty waden

The Dupaningan particle *=waden* and its variant *=wan* are used to mark uncertainty.

329. atoy=waden i ka-kalan=ko ha Gattaran=ayo
EXT=perhaps DEF NMLZ-equal=1SG.GEN OBL Gattaran= DIST.SPC
'My relative might be in Gattaran.'

It can be used to emphasize a question.

330. panyan=na=waden i maka-ludlud i kapotgayong
how=3SG.GEN=perhaps DEF ABIL-scrub DEF person.missing.limb
'How can the man without hands scrub himself?'

331. anya=pala=wan i dakapp-an=ko
what=still=perhaps DEF catch-PV=1SG.GEN
'What else will I catch?'

It is also possible to use the Ilokano *ngata* to mark uncertainty.

332. atoy=ngata i katalakay=ko ha Gattaran=ayo
EXT=perhaps DEF cousin=1SG.GEN OBL Gattaran= DIST.SPC
'My cousin might be in Gattaran.'

4.7.3.3.7 Probability baka

Unlike the other particles discussed here, *baka* is not a clitic; it appears at the beginning of the utterance. It indicates probability, something like English 'maybe, perhaps', and is probably an Ilokano loan.

333. baka mag-kabanga di Lingling hidi ni Pedru
maybe AV-spouse PERS.PL Lingling PL PERS Pedro
'Maybe Lingling and Pedro will get married.'

5 The sentence

5.1 Word order

The general word order in Dupaningan is predicate-initial. The predicate is prototypically a verb.

1. na-lukag=dan ni botay=ko
   ACD.CMPL-wake=already PERS uncle=1SG.GEN
   'My uncle woke up.'

2. <in><um>angay=ak[1] ha dipon
   <CMPL><AV>go=1SG.NOM OBL market
   'I went to market.'

Sentences with adjectival predicates pattern much like the verbal sentences shown above.

3. ma-anteng=ak
   ADJ-afraid=1SG.NOM
   'I'm afraid.'

4. ma-binag ni Lubak
   ADJ-strong PERS Lubak
   'Lubak is strong.'

5. ma-singgat i pilas
   ADJ-tasty DEF meat
   'The meat is tasty.'

Perhaps the simplest kind of clause in Dupaningan is the equational one in which the predicate is a nominal, and the predicated element (the subject) follows in the nominative case (which is morphologically unmarked, see section 3.2.1.1). As can be seen in examples 8 and 9, the predicate need not be a simple noun, but can be a more complex noun phrase.

[1] The affixes <*in*> 'COMPLETIVE' and <*um*> 'ACTOR VOICE' infix before the first vowel of the root. As a result, they appear to be prefixes when combined with vowel-initial roots. They will be represented in this work as infixes whether the root is vowel-initial or consonant-initial for the sake of consistency.

6. golang i anak
orphan DEF child
'The child is an orphan.'

7. golang ni Lubak
orphan PERS Lubak
'Lubak is an orphan.'

8. i[lay=ko]$_{\text{PREDICATE}}$ ni Lubak
friend=1SG.GEN PERS Lubak
'Lubak is my friend.'

9. [ilay=ko]$_{\text{PREDICATE}}$ i lallaki
friend=1SG.GEN DEF man
'The man is my friend.'

10. [essa a asu=dan]$_{\text{PREDICATE}}$ i natay
one LK dog=already DEF CMPL\die
'What died is a dog.'

In sentences with more than one noun phrase (e.g., a subject and an object), the noun phrase containing the semantic actor of the sentence usually immediately follows the verb.

11. l<in>appag-ø[2]=na babbey i lallaki
<CMPL>slap-PV=3SG.GEN woman DEF man
'A woman slapped the man.'

12. l<in>appag-ø ni Maria ni Pedro
<CMPL>slap-PV PERS Maria PERS Pedro
'Maria slapped Pedro.'

Because noun phrases are often marked for case (see section 3.2), however, their meanings can be understood no matter what the order, and thus the various NPs can be rearranged, as seen in examples 13 and 14 below. Rearrangement, however, is not

[2] The infix <*in*> marks completive verbs in the patient, locative and actor (<*um*>) voices. With completive actor and locative verbs, <*in*> combines with voice affixes to give the completive verb. In the patient voice completive, however, there is no voice affix. There are two ways of analyzing such verbs: 1) the <*in*> marks both voice and aspect in these instances or 2) the patient voice affix is null in the completive. Although I dislike positing null elements, I also want to avoid multiple different meanings for a single morpheme (i.e., only aspect in most instances, but aspect *and* voice in the patient voice). Therefore, I reluctantly posit a null element here.

possible in sentences such as 12 above, where there are no case markers to indicate the roles of the NPs (personal names are marked with *ni* regardless of case; see section 3.2.2). In the examples below, the third person singular genitive pronoun *=na* remains encliticized to the verb, agreeing with the genitive NP, which now occurs at the end of the sentence (they are co-indexed in these examples).

13. ammus-an=[na]$_1$ i kammegus=na [ulitaw=a]$_1$
kiss-PV=3.SG.GEN DEF girlfriend=3SG.GEN young.man=SPC
'A young man will kiss his girlfriend.'

14. p<in>utad-ø=[na]$_1$ i pusad na anak=a [i bakas=aya a marag-aplos]$_1$
<CMPL>cut-PV=3.SG.GEN DEF navel GEN child=SPC DEF old.woman= MED.SPC LK HBT-massage
'That midwife cut the child's umbilical cord.'

Protoypically, the oblique phrase or phrases occur after the other arguments in the sentence, with the patient/theme obliques preceding source, goal, or other oblique arguments that are not required by the verbal semantics. So, in 15 below *ha wakeg* 'corn' precedes *ha di Roxanne* 'to Roxanne and her companions'.

15. nang-i-demat ni Ronald ha wakeg[3] ha di Roxanne
CMPL.AV-TV-arrive PERS Ronald OBL corn OBL PERS.PL Roxanne
'Ronald brought corn to Roxanne and her companions.'

The order of these non-theme oblique phrases can be switched without significantly changing the meaning of the sentence.

16. <in><um>angay agom=tam=heya ha Tuguegarao ha lunes=heya
<CMPL><AV>go companion=1PL.INC.GEN=SPC OBL Tuguegarao OBL Monday=SPC
'Our companion went to Tuguegarao last Monday.'

17. <in><um>angay agom=tam=heya ha lunes=heya ha Tuguegarao
<CMPL><AV>go companion=1PL.INC.GEN=SPC OBL Monday=SPC OBL Tuguegarao
'Our companion went last Monday to Tuguegarao.'

[3] The form *wakeg* 'corn' is not in the vocabulary because speakers did not agree on the form or meaning.

5.1.1 Resumptive pronouns/Displacement of NPs

A resumptive pronoun can be used to hold the place of a noun phrase that has been moved within the sentence.

18. mag-i-saron **hidi**$_1$ ha paray [ogden hidi=a]$_1$
AV-TV-dry 3SG.LFNOM OBL rice Ilokano PL=SPC
'The Ilokano people are drying rice.'

19. <in>engl-an **hidi**$_1$ [bakas=a hidi ha lakay]$_{GEN}$
<CMPL>shout-LV 3SG.LFNOM old.woman=SPC PL OBL old.man

[i 'anak hidi a ma-nabab]$_1$
DEF children PL LK ADJ-loud
'An old woman and old man shouted at the loud children.'

These resumptive pronouns are optional, and may be used for emphasis. They can even be found when the noun phrase has not moved.

20. nougma l<in><um>akset **hidi** mag-kabanga[4]
tomorrow <CMPL><AV>commence.journey 3PL.LFNOM AV-spouse
'The next day, the married couple left early.'

5.2 Topicalization and pseudo-cleft constructions

Although Dupaningan clauses are generally predicate-initial, subject-predicate order is possible in topicalization and pseudo-cleft constructions in which the nominative NP is moved to initial position in the sentence. Unlike in Tagalog and Ilokano, no special inversion particle is necessary when the subject is fronted.

5.2.1 Topicalization

In topicalization constructions, the nominative subject is fronted, and there is a gap in the predicate. The two elements are separated by a a pause (indicated here with a comma).

[4] The actor voice prefix can be used to indicate reciprocal familial relationships. The resultant construction functions as a noun phrase. See section 3.7.9.

21. ni Roxanne, ma-lukag=ka no ma-nabab=ka
PERS Roxanne, ACD-wake=2SG.NOM if ADJ-loud=2SG.NOM
'As for Roxanne, you will wake (her) up if you are loud.'

22. botay=ko=a, na-lukag=dan
uncle=1SG.GEN=SPC ACD.CMPL-wake=already
'As for my uncle, (he) woke up already.'

23. amogud=ayo, ma-diyu
mountain= DIST.SPC ADJ-far
'That mountain, it's far.'

Long-form nominative pronouns occur in topicalization constructions instead of the more common short-form nominatives (see section 3.8 on pronouns).

24. hidi, nang-alap ha apgas[5]
3PL.LFNOM AV.CMPL-get OBL salt
'As for them, (they) got salt.'

It is also possible to topicalize oblique noun phrases in Dupaningan.

25. ha lapos=ayo, makpal i madiket a minaddap
OBL outside=DIST.SPC many DEF young.woman LK very.pretty
'In town, there are many very pretty young women.'

When such oblique phrases are fronted, the anaphoric locative is often used as a resumptive pronoun.

26. [ha dipon=ayo]$_1$ l<in>atop-an i padut hito$_1$
OBL market=DIST.SPC <CMPL>expensive-LV DEF fish there
'At the market, the price of fish is expensive there.'

5.2.2 Pseudo-cleft constructions

Often when the nominative NP is fronted, the verb phrase will be nominalized by preposing the definite noun marker *i*, forming a pseudo-cleft construction. Such constructions are actually complex equational sentences with two NPs, and there is no pause between the fronted NP and the nominalized verb phrase.

[5] The word *apgas* 'salt' does not appear in the vocabulary (Appendix B) because it seems to be idiosyncratic of a single speaker of Dupaningan (Mr. Agcaoili, the primary consultant for this work).

27. [babbey]$_{NP}$ [i nang-i-tangkay ha inapoy]$_{NP}$
woman DEF CMPL.AV-TV-cook OBL rice
'A woman is the one who cooked rice.'

28. [nekka=ko]$_{NP}$ [i maka-ngidi-ngdit]$_{NP}$
old.sib=1SG.GEN DEF CONT-REDUP-laugh
'My older sibling is the one who is laughing.'

29. [anak=a]$_{NP}$ [i <um>angay ha lapos]$_{NP}$
child=SPC DEF <AV>go OBL outside
'The child is the one who will go to town.'

Long-form nominative pronouns occur in pseudo-cleft constructions instead of the more common short-form nominatives (see section 3.8 on pronouns).

30. hikan i g<in><um>atang i apgas
1SG.LFNOM DEF <CMPL><AV>buy DEF salt
'I'm the one who bought the salt.'

5.3 Linkers

Certain elements in the Dupaningan sentence are connected with a linker (also known as a ligature), which is the unstressed vowel *a*. One main function of the Dupaningan linker is to connect heads with modifiers. In examples 31 through 34 below, nouns are connected to adjectives with a linker, whether the head or the modfier comes first (see section 3.10.1 on the placement of adjectives within the NP).

31. bigu a siyu
new LK bolo
'new bolo knife'

32. essa a asu
one LK dog
'one dog'

33. ma-soprad=heya a adika
ADJ-unripe=SPC LK banana
'the unripe banana'

34. i bakas a mag-uyung
DEF old.woman LK AV-crazy
'the crazy old woman'

Demonstratives are also connected to their head nouns with a linker.

35. iday a tennon
MED.DEM LK clothes
'those clothes'

In fact, a linker is needed whenever a noun has a modifier (other than the enclitic deictics; see sections 3.4.1 and 3.8.8).

36. pang-apon=di a urah
NMLZ-afternoon=3PL.GEN LK rice
'their lunch of rice'

37. i balbag=a a <in>alap-ø=di
DEF frog=SPC LK <CMPL>get-PV=3PL.GEN
'the frog they got'

Linkers are also needed when a verb has a modifier (see section 4.7 on adverbs).

38. <in><um>emmang=ak a na-biyag
<CMPL><AV>rest=1SG.NOM LK ADJ-full
'I rested while full.'

Linkers are used to connect two verbs or two adjectives to indicate that they take place simultaneously (see section 4.7 on adverbs).

39. nag-soli hidi a maka-ngidi-ngidit
CMPL.AV-return 3PL.NOM LK CONT-REDUP-laugh
'They went home laughing.'

40. mag-kayag i 'anak[6] hidi a mag-eryok i hama=di
AV-play DEF children PL LK AV-work DEF father=3PL.GEN
'The children are playing while their fathers work.'

41. mappya a ma-layat i bilay=na
pretty LK ADJ-wide DEF house=3SG.GEN
'Her house is pretty and spacious.'

42. ma-tala-talak a maki-ilay ni Lingay
ADJ-REDUP-happy LK SOC-friend PERS Lingay
'Lingay is happy and friendly.'

[6] The word *anak* 'child' is singular with final stress and plural with initial stress (see section 3.5).

The linker is used to combine question words with the rest of the sentence.

43. anya=mo a l<in>akwab-ø i lata=a
what=2SG.GEN LK <CMPL>open-PV DEF can=SPC
'Why did you open the can?'

44. apay a apellak i buk ni Roxanne
why LK short DEF hair PERS Roxanne
'Why is Roxanne's hair short?'

45. hangan a oras
how.many LK hour
'What time?' (lit., 'How many hours?')

Linkers are also used for embedded clauses.

46. kasur=ko a balli-an
like=1SG.GEN LK pay-PV
'I want to pay.'

47. madi-an=ko a balli-an
don't.like-PV=1SG.GEN LK pay-PV
'I don't want to pay.'

48. awan=ak a maka-kellap
NEG=1SG.NOM LK ABIL-sleep
'I can't sleep.'

5.4 Existentials

Special forms are used in Dupaningan to indicate existence or non-existence. The two main forms are *atoy* and *awan*, the former indicating existence and the latter indicating non-existence. The adjectives *makpal* 'many' and *ballek* 'few, small' or *taballek* 'very few, very small' can also be used existentially.

49. makpal i kan-an=di
many DEF eat-LV=3PL.GEN
'They have a lot of food.'

50. ta-ballek i agta (h)a ihe
DIM-small DEF person OBL PROX.LOC
'There are few people here.'

5.4.1 Positive extistentials

The Dupaningan existential *atoy* marks the existence of an object, translating into English as 'there is' or 'there are'.

51. atoy=pala i dinum ha karayan=ayo
EXT=still DEF water OBL river=DIST.SPC
'There is still water in that river.'

52. atoy=pala i ruprup
EXT=still DEF coffee
'There is still coffee.'

53. atoy=manon i bagyo
EXT=again DEF storm
'The storm is back again.' (lit., 'There is the storm again.')

The existential can also be used to indicate possession.

54. atoy anak=mo
EXT child=2SG.GEN
'You have a child.' (lit., 'Your child exists.')

55. atoy agom=ko
EXT companion=1SG.GEN
'I have a companion.' (lit., 'My companion exists.')

56. atoy=mina i lugen=ko
EXT=hopefully DEF vehicle=1SG.GEN
'I wish I had a vehicle.' (lit., 'I wish my vehicle existed.')

To emphasize that possession is temporary, the possessor can be indicated with an oblique phrase.

57. atoy pag-isan-an=na ha ulitaw=a
EXT NMLZ-stay-LV=3SG.GEN OBL young.man=SPC
'The young man has a place to stay.'

58. atoy=bi=la=dud nikaw libro=a
EXT=also=just=Q 2SG.OBL book=SPC
'Do you also have a book?'

5.4.2 Negative existentials

The non-existence or non-presence of an entity is usually indicated with *awan* (see section 5.5 below for other uses of *awan*).

59. awan=man anak ihe
NEG=CONTRASTIVE child PROX.LOC
'There are no children here.' (lit., 'A child does not exist here.')

60. awan=kan dena=na
NEG=HSY PL\mother=3SG.GEN
'They say his mother and her companions weren't there.'

Similar to *atoy*, *awan* can be used to indicate (a lack of) possession.

61. awan=kami ha bilun-an
NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL provision=LV
'We don't have provisions.'

62. awan anak=mo
NEG child=2SG.GEN
'You do not have children.' (lit., 'Your child does not exist.')

Much like with *atoy*, the use of an oblique phrase indicates that the lack of the object is temporary.

63. awan=man ha kiskisan
NEG=contrastive OBL milling.machine
'There is no rice milling machine.'

64. awan=pala ha rabon ha poso=a
NEG=still OBL nest OBL cave=SPC
'There still are no bird nests in the cave.'

The primary consultant for this work insists that the true Dupaningan negative existential is *limus*, although this form was never heard in spontaneous speech.

65. limus i agom=ko
NEG DEF companion=1SG.GEN
'My companion is not here.'

66. limus i kurinnat=ko
NEG DEF money=1SG.GEN
'My money is gone.'

5.5 Negation

The negative element *awan* can be used to negate verbs, nouns, or adjectives, in addition to its function as the negative existential (see section 5.4.2 above). The negative is always the first element of the clause, and when a verb is negated, the negative element functions as an auxiliary verb with an optional linker (see section 5.2.2 above)[7]. Any enclitic pronouns or adverbial particles will follow the negative.

67. nag-langoy=ak
CMPL.AV-swim=1SG.NOM
'I swam.'

68. awan=ak nag-langoy
NEG=1SG.NOM CMPL.AV-swim
'I didn't swim.'

69. nag-diyag hidi
CMPL.AV-eat 3PL.NOM
'They ate.'

70. awan=pala hidi nag-diyag
NEG=still 3PL.NOM CMPL.AV-eat
'They haven't eaten yet.'

71. katandi=ko
know=1SG.GEN
'I know.'

72. awan=ko katandi
NEG=1SG.GEN know
'I don't know.'

The negator *awan* can be used to negate adjectives with an optional linker.

73. ma-segkat ni Lubak
ADJ-lazy PERS Lubak
'Lubak is lazy.'

[7] The positive sentences in this section have been created by the author for purposes of comparison, and although the author has every reason to believe them grammatical, that judgement can, of course, be overridden by a native speaker.

74. awan=bi a ma-segkat ni Lubak
NEG=also LK ADJ-lazy PERS Lubak
'Lubak isn't lazy.'

The negator *awan* is also used to negate nouns and pronouns.

75. awan=bi a hikuna i kapitan
NEG=also LK 3SG.LFNOM DEF captain
'He isn't the barangay captain (local official).'

The element that is negated directly follows the negator, and the order of the constituents can be manipulated to negate different elements. In example 76 below, the adjective *mappya* 'pretty' is being negated, whereas in example 77, the pronoun *hikuna* is being negated.

76. awan=bi mappya hikuna
NEG=also pretty 3SG.LFNOM
'She isn't *pretty*.' (i.e., she's ugly)

77. awan hikuna a mappya
NEG 3SG.LFNOM LK pretty
'*She* isn't pretty.' (i.e., someone else is pretty)

The negator *awan* is also used for negative imperatives.

78. awan=mo alap-an
NEG=2SG.GEN get-PV
'Don't get it.'

79. awan=mo=dan hikuna bayad-an
NEG=2SG.GEN=already 3SG.LFNOM pay-LV
'Don't pay him.'

80. awan=mo i-tobbak ihay
NEG=2SG.GEN TV-throw.away MED.LOC
'Don't throw it away there.'

81. awan=ka <um>inum
NEG=2SG.NOM <AV>drink
'Don't drink.'

While *awan* is by far the most common negative element in Dupaningan, other negators were occasionally given in elicitation (possibly to avoid using *awan* which may be perceived as Ilokano and therefore not Dupaningan).

82. limus=la a d<in><um>itang
NEG=just LK <CMPL><AV>arrive
'He didn't arrive.'

83. bakkan a hikuna i kapitan
NEG LK 3SG.LFNOM DEF captain
'He isn't the barangay captain (local official).'

The form *bakkan* means 'other, different' in the northern dialect of Dupaningan, upon which this grammar is primarily based, but is used as a negator of nominals in the southern dialects of Dupaningan. A cognate of *bakkan* is used as a negator of nominals in many other languages of northern Luzon, including Pahanan Agta (Palanan Dumagat), which borders the southern Dupaningan dialect. In Pahanan, *bakən* is the negator of nominals, and the Pahanan version of example 83 above is *bakən na siya kapitan ay* 'he isn't the barangay captain'.

5.6 Questions

All Dupaningan questions (including yes/no and content questions) may be optionally marked with the enclitic question marker *=dud* (see section 4.7.3.3.5 for more information on other uses and morphophonemic alternations of *=dud*).

84. <in><um>angay=ka=dud ha karayan
<CMPL><AV>go=2SG.NOM=Q OBL river
'Did you go to the river?'

85. mappya=dud
pretty=Q
'Is (she/he/it) pretty?'

86. anya=dud i nagen=mo
what=Q DEF name=2SG.GEN
'What is your name?'

5.6.1 Yes/no questions

Although yes/no questions are often marked with the enclitic question marker *=dud*, they can also occur without any special marker, marked only by intonation.

87. mag-soli=ka=n
AV-return=2SG.NOM=already
'Are you going home already?'

88. katandi=mo i bilay=di
know=2SG.GEN DEF house=3PL.GEN
'Do you know (where) their house (is)?'

5.6.2 Content questions

In Dupaningan, interrogatives or question words are in initial position. The interrogatives *heya* 'who', *anya* 'what', *henan* 'where', *hadia* 'where', *hahe* 'where', and *hangan* 'how many' form sentences with a structure similar to that of an equational sentence (see section 5.1 above), with the interrogative acting as the predicate. The interrogatives *apay* 'why' and *panyan* 'how' function as auxiliary verbs and are often connected to the main verb with a linker. Content questions can also be formed without the use of interrogative words, as seen in examples 92, 105, and 106 below, where the sentence has the structure of a declarative, and its status as a question derives from the intonation.

5.6.2.1 *heya* 'who'

The interrogative *heya* means 'who'.

89. heya i manugang[8]=mo
who DEF in-law=2SG.GEN
'Who is your in-law?'

90. heya i na-dilukod ha nikam
who DEF ADJ-last OBL 2PL.OBL
'Who is the youngest (child) among you all?'

[8] The Dupaningan *manugang* can be used for either a parent-in-law or a child-in-law.

Questions of possession can be made with the ownership prefix *makin-*, either in combination with the interrogative *heya* or on its own.

91. heya i makin-pisat[9] ha ide
who DEF OWNER-betel OBL PROX.DEM
'Who is the owner of this betel nut?'

92. makin-pangal iday
OWNER-arrow MED.DEM
'Whose arrow is that?'

The answer to a question with *heya* 'who' should involve a personal name. When the questioner is seeking an answer with a common noun, *anya* 'what' is used, even though that common noun may refer to a person. Of the two possibilities, *anya* is the more general one, used when the speaker is unsure if the answer will be a personal name or a common noun[10].

93. heya i agom=mo
who DEF companion=2SG.GEN
'Who is your companion?' (possible answer: *ni Ed* 'Ed')

94. anya i agom=mo
what DEF companion=2SG.GEN
'Who is your companion?' (possible answer: *i ogden* 'the Ilokano person')

The interrogative *heya* is occasionally used for 'what'.

95. heya i burek na tennon
what DEF color GEN clothes
'What color are the clothes?'

In its usage as 'what', *heya* is interchangeable with *anya* 'what'.

96. heya i nagen=na na anak=mo
what DEF name=3SG.GEN GEN child=2SG.GEN
'What is your child's name?'

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[9] The form *pisat* is not in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because it was never confirmed.
[10] Examples 93 and 94 were constructed for the purpose of this work by the author, and although the author has every reason to believe them to be correct, they can, of course, be overridden by the judgement of a native speaker.

97. anya i nagen=na na anak=mo
what DEF name=3SG.GEN GEN child=2SG.GEN
'What is your child's name?'

As mentioned in section 3.4, a homophonous form *heya* can also be used to mark specificity.

5.6.2.2 *anya* 'what'

The interrogative *anya* is the most common word for 'what'. As mentioned in 5.6.2.1 above, *anya* is used to ask questions about people when the expected answer is not a personal name.

98. anya i ennam na bunga na lati
what DEF taste GEN fruit GEN rattan
'What is the taste of rattan fruit?'

99. anya i i-peta=mo
what DEF TV-say=2SG.GEN
'What are you asking?'

100. anya=pala=wan i dakapp[11]-an=ko
what=still=perhaps DEF catch-PV=1SG.GEN
'What else will I catch?'

The interrogative *anya* can be used with a pronoun to enquire about why someone did something. When it is used in this way, it has a similar syntactic distribution as *apay* 'why' as it is connected to the main verb with a linker.

101. anya=kitam a nag-mula ha paray
what=2PL.NOM LK CMPL.AV-plant OBL rice
'Why did you plant rice?'

5.6.2.3 *henan* 'where'

The interrogative *henan* 'where' is a morphologically complex form with the root *hen* 'live, reside, stay' and a nominalizing locative suffix *-an* (see section 3.7.3 on uses of

[11] The vowel /a/ triggers gemination of the following consonant when that /a/ derives from historical *ə. See section 2.1.1.12.2.

-an as a nominalizer), so that the morphologically complex form *henan* is a nominal meaning 'residence'. It is used to ask where an object is located, as opposed to *hadia* 'where', which is used to ask where an action is taking place.

102. hen-an=na i siyu=ko
live-LV=3SG.GEN DEF bolo=1SG.GEN
'Where is my bolo knife?'

103. hen-an=di
live-LV=3PL.GEN
'Where are they?'

104. hen-an=na rabuaren
live-LV=3SG.GEN spring
'Where is the fresh water spring?'

In fact, although *henan* is a conventionalized way of asking about locations, 'where' questions can be created by forming nominalized locatives from any verb.

105. angay-an=mo
go-LV=2SG.GEN
'Where are you going?' (lit., 'place where you are going?')

106. nag-gipu-an=moy akka
CMPL.AV-originate-LV=2PL.GEN(2SG.POLITE) older.sibling
'Where did you come from, brother?' (lit., 'place where you came from')

5.6.2.4 *hadia* 'where'

The interrogative *hadia* ['hadʒa] 'where' is also used for location questions. In contrast to *henan*, which is most often used with simple nominal complements, *hadia* is used most frequently with verbal complements, asking about the location of an action.

107. hadia nokkan i pag-sagudsud-an=tam
where FUT DEF NMLZ-dance-LV=1PL.INC.GEN
'Where will we dance?'

108. hadia i pag-ka-tdug[12]-an=moy ha amogud
where DEF NMLZ-NMLZ-sleep-LV=2PL.GEN OBL forest
'Where do you all sleep in the forest?'

[12] From the root *tidug*.

109. hadia i pag-he-hen-an=di
where DEF NMLZ-REDUP[13]-live-LV=3PL.GEN
'In what places do they live?'

5.6.2.5 *hahe* 'where'

There is a further interrogative *hahe* 'where' that was only heard as a single word response in the discourse context of asking the location of an event.

5.6.2.6 *hangan* 'how much' 'how many'

The interrogative *hangan* asks about quantity and means 'how much' or 'how many'.

110. hangan i g<in>atang-ø=mo
how.much DEF <CMPL>buy-PV=2SG.GEN
'How much did you buy?'

111. hangan i <in>alap-ø=mo a pilas
how.much DEF <CMPL>get-PV=2SG.GEN LK meat
'How much meat did you get?'

112. hangan a bukal[14] a <in>alap-ø=mo a padut
how.much LK seed LK <CMPL>get-PV=2SG.GEN LK fish
'How many fish did you get?'

113. hangan=waden i balli=na pinya=na=a ni Priming
how.much=perhaps DEF price=3SG.GEN pineapple=3SG.GEN=SPC PERS Priming
'What is the price of Priming's pinapples?' [lit., 'How much is the payment for Priming's pinapples?'

Dupaningan does not have a separate interrogative for time (i.e. 'when'), and *hangan* can be used to ask time questions.

114. hangan i ka-angay=mo ha Baguio
how.much DEF NMLZ-go=2SG.GEN OBL Baguio
'When will you go to Baguio?'

115. hangan=ka=n nang-alap ha pilas
how.much=2SG.NOM=already CMPL.AV-get OBL meat
'When did you get the meat?'

[13] The reduplication here indicates that the speaker is looking for more than one location as an answer.
[14] *Bukal* 'seed' acts as a classifier for the mass noun *padut* 'fish' here.

116. hangan i pag-tangkay na senggit=a
how.much DEF NMLZ-rise GEN sun=SPC
'When is the sunrise?'

117. hangan pag-soli=mo
how.much NMLZ-return=2SG.GEN
'When will you go back?'

5.6.2.7 *apay* 'why'

Although, as mentioned in section 5.6.2.2 above, *anya* 'what' can be used to ask about reason, the most commonly used Dupaningan form for 'why' is *apay*.

118. apay=dud a ma-rigat pag-eryuk-an=tam
why=Q LK ADJ-difficult NMLZ-work-LV=1PL.INC.GEN
'Why is our work so hard?'

119. apay a na-besa i tennon=mo
why LK ADJ-wet DEF clothes=2SG.GEN
'Why are your clothes wet?'

120. apay ayein=ka=la a <in><um>angay
why today=2SG.NOM=just LK <CMPL><AV>come
'Why did you come today?'

5.6.2.8 *panyan* 'how'

The interrogative *panyan* means 'how'.

121. panyan=na ni Garwet a r<in><um>apog kalipat=ayo
how=3SG.GEN PERS Garwet LK <CMPL><AV>cross.river other.side= DIST.SPC
'How did Garwet cross to the other side of the river?'

122. panyan=na=dud mag-mula ha karabasa
how=3SG.GEN=Q AV-plant OBL squash
'How is squash planted?'

The interrogative *panyan* 'how' requires genitive pronouns even when the verb is actor voice, where a nominative pronoun would be expected.

123. panyan=di=waden a mag-takaw ha galampes
how=3PL.GEN=perhaps LK AV-steal OBL carabao
'How did they steal a water buffalo (carabao)?'

124. panyan=ko=waden a mag-pokpok no awan ha sabon
how=1SG.GEN=perhaps LK AV-wash if NEG OBL soap
'How can I wash clothes if there is no soap?'

5.7 Complex sentences

5.7.1 Double nominative constructions

Like English, Dupaningan has two means of forming ditransitive constructions. The first is by expressing the source or beneficiary as an oblique argument. In the second construction, the oblique argument is promoted to nominative, which is morphologically unmarked in Dupaningan (see section 3.2.1.1). In these constructions, then, there are two nominative arguments: the theme and the source or beneficiary. Examples 125 through 130 below illustrate the constructions in which the beneficiary is encoded in the oblique case.

125. ni-atad=[tam]$_{GEN}$ [i kape]$_{NOM}$ [ha ni Garwet]$_{OBL}$
CMPL.TV-give=1PL.INC.GEN DEF coffee OBL PERS Garwet
'We gave the coffee to Garwet.'

126. ni-atad [ni Ronald]$_{GEN}$ [i kape]$_{NOM}$ [ha ni Garwet]$_{OBL}$
CMPL.TV-give PERS Ronald DEF coffee OBL PERS Garwet
'Ronald gave the coffee to Garwet.'

127. i-atad=[na babbey]$_{GEN}$ [i apgas]$_{NOM}$ [nikita]$_{OBL}$
TV-give=3SG.GEN woman DEF salt 1DU.INC.OBL
'The woman gives the salt to you and me.'

128. ni-atad=[ko]$_{GEN}$ [i kankanen]$_{NOM}$ [ha golang hidi=aye]$_{OBL}$
CMPL.TV-give=1SG.GEN DEF bread OBL orphan PL=this
'I gave the bread to these orphans.'

129. ni-atad=[ko]$_{GEN}$ [i attam[15]]$_{NOM}$ [ha babbey=ayo]$_{OBL}$
CMPL.TV-give=1SG.GEN DEF sugar OBL woman= DIST.SPC
'I gave the sugar to that woman.'

130. ni-atad=[ko]$_{GEN}$ [i kape]$_{NOM}$ [ha ni Belong]$_{OBL}$
CMPL.TV-give=1SG.GEN DEF coffee OBL PERS Belong
'I gave the coffee to Belong.'

[15] The primary consultant for this dissertation routinely gave *attam* or *mattam* for 'sugar', but other speakers of Dupaningan did not agree with this form, and so it is not in the dictionary.

The examples below illustrate the construction in which the oblique has been promoted to nominative. Such constructions are the only verbal clauses in Dupaningan with more than one nominative argument. Note that the form of the verb does not change, and the themes (*i kape* 'the coffee', *i apgas* 'the salt', and *i mattam* 'the sugar') are still the syntactic subjects, even though there are now two nominative arguments. When the promoted beneficiary is a pronoun, it is the long-form nominative usually found in topicalization constructions, rather than the more common short-form nominatives (see section 3.8 on pronouns and section 5.1.1 above on topicalization constructions). While the genitive argument consistently follows the verb, the order of the two nominative arguments is free. The subject, theme nominative arguments are labeled NOM1 below, whereas the promoted beneficiary nominatives are labeled as NOM2.

131. ni-atad=[tam]$_{GEN}$ [ni Garwet]$_{NOM2}$ [i kape]$_{NOM1}$
CMPL.TV-give=1PL.INC.GEN PERS Garwet DEF coffee
'We gave Garwet the coffee.'

132. i-atad=[na]$_{GEN}$ [hikami]$_{NOM2}$ [i apgas]$_{NOM1}$
TV-give=3SG.GEN 1PL.EXC.LFNOM DEF salt
'She gives us the salt.'

133. i-atad [i babbey]$_{GEN}$ [i mattam]$_{NOM1}$ [hikitam]$_{NOM2}$
TV-give DEF woman DEF sugar 1PL.INC.LFNOM
'The woman gives us the sugar.'

134. ni-atad [ni Priming]$_{GEN}$ [i apgas]$_{NOM1}$ [hikan]$_{NOM2}$
CMPL.TV-give PERS Priming DEF salt 1SG.LFNOM
'Priming gave me the salt.'

The verb *i-atad* 'give' is not the only verb which allows such constructions; example 135 below illustrates a double nominative with the verb *alap-an* 'get' (a patient voice verb, expressed in the completive as *<in>alap*). Examples 136 and 137 below illustrate the alternative construction where the source is encoded as oblique.

135. <in>alap-ø=[mi]$_{GEN}$ [ni Pedru]$_{NOM2}$ [i galambud]$_{NOM1}$
<CMPL>get-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN PERS Pedro DEF carabao
'We got the water buffalo (carabao) from Pedro.'

136. <in>alap-ø=[mi]$_{GEN}$ [i galambud]$_{NOM}$ [ha ni Pedru]$_{OBL}$
<CMPL>get-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN DEF carabao OBL PERS Pedro
'We got the water buffalo (carabao) from Pedro.'

137. <in>alap-ø [ni Ronald]$_{GEN}$[i galampes]$_{NOM}$ [ha ni Pedro]$_{OBL}$
<CMPL>get-PV PERS Ronald DEF carabao OBL PERS Pedro
'Ronald got the water buffalo (carabao) from Pedro.'

Surprisingly, promotion of the oblique is also possible with actor voice constructions, where the two nominatives are agent and source (or beneficiary). Example 138 below illustrates a double nominative with the verb *s<um>alo* 'borrow', while examples 139 and 140 below illustrate the alternative construction where the source is encoded as oblique.

138. s<um>alo=[ak]$_{NOM1}$ [ni Balsig]$_{NOM2}$ [ha kape]$_{OBL}$
<AV>borrow=1SG.NOM PERS Balsig OBL coffee
'I will borrow coffee from Balsig.'

139. s<um>alo=[ak]$_{NOM}$ [ha kape]$_{OBL}$ [ha ni Balsig]$_{OBL}$
<AV>borrow=1SG.NOM OBL coffee OBL PERS Balsig
'I will borrow coffee from Balsig.'

140. s<um>alo [ni Ronald]$_{NOM}$ [ha pana]$_{OBL}$ [ha ni Garwet]$_{OBL}$
<AV>borrow PERS Ronald OBL arrow OBL PERS Garwet
'Ronald will borrow an arrow from Garwet.'

Gault (2002: 375) notes a similar construction occurs in Sama Bangingi', spoken in the southern Philippines.

5.7.2 Coordination

The coordinating conjunctions in Dupaningan are *im* 'but', *o no* 'or', and *sa* 'then'. For 'and' coordination of entire clauses, no conjuction is used. The 'and' coordination of noun phrases with the plural marker *hidi* or *ken* 'and' is discussed in section 3.5.2.

5.7.2.1 *im* 'but'

The form *im* can be used both as a coordinating conjuction with the meaning 'but' or in comparative constructions with the meaning 'than' (see 3.10.7 for its use in comparative constructions). *Im* 'but' can coordinate any two constituents.

141. kasur=ko i mag-sagudsud im ma-saniki=ak
like=1SG.GEN DEF AV-dance but ADJ-shy=1SG.NOM
'I want to dance, but I am shy.'

142. ma-singgat i d<in>ekat=aye im na-longsot=dan
ADJ-tasty DEF <CMPL>rice.cake=this but ADJ-spoil=already
'These rice cakes were tasty, but they are spoiled now.'

143. ni-bon=taka=man im ma-segkat=ka
CMPL.TV-order=1SG.GEN\2SG.NOM=CONTRASTIVE but ADJ-lazy=2SG.NOM
'I ordered you, but you were lazy.'

144. ni-peta=mo=n ha ni Lingay mag-degus im madi-an=na
CMPL.TV=2SG.GEN=already OBL PERS Lingay AV-bathe but don't.like-PV=3SG.GEN
'You told Lingay to bathe, but she doesn't want to.'

5.7.2.2 *o (no)* 'or'

The form *o* 'or' is used as a conjunction coordinating two alternatives. It occurs with *no* 'if', even if there is no conditional meaning. *O no* 'or' can coordinate any two constituents.

145. anya i kasur=mo? ha mangga o no bayyabas?
what DEF like=2SG.GEN OBL mango or if guava
'What do you want? Mango or guava?'

146. anya=waden idu a padut? ha kalbo o no tilapia
what=perhaps DIST.DEM LK fish OBL mullet or if tilapia
'What kind of fish is that? mullet or tilapia?'

147. ma-enta=di i burog=a hidi ha agta
ACD-see=3PL.GEN DEF monkey=SPC PL OBL person

no na-lutu=dan i adika=a o no ma-soprad
if ADJ-ripe=already DEF banana=SPC or if ADJ-unripe

'The monkey and the person can see if that banana is ripe or unripe.'

5.7.2.3 *sa* 'then'

The form *sa* 'then' is used when two actions take place in sequence. The enclitic pronouns tend to follow *sa*. *Sa* is used to coordinate entire clauses.

148. <in><um>emmang=ak a na-biyag sa nag-soli=ak
<CMPL><AV>rest=1SG.NOM LK ADJ-full then CMPL.AV-retun=1SG.NOM
'I rested while full, then I went home.'

149. nag-kape=kami, sa=kami k<in><um>ilap
CMPL.AV-coffee=1PL.EXC.NOM then=1PL.EXC.NOM <CMPL><AV>sleep
'We had coffee, then we slept.'

150. na-tegbak ni babong sa=mi ni-labbang
ACD.CMPL-die PERS grandmother then=1PL.EXC.GEN CMPL.TV-bury
'Grandmother died, then we buried her.'

5.7.2.4 'and' coordination

For 'and' coordination of two clauses in Dupaningan, no conjuction is used, but there is a pause between the two clauses.

151. mag-buybuy=ka, mag-teman=kami
AV-story=2SG.NOM AV-listen=1PL.EXC.NOM
'You tell stories, (and) we listen.'

152. babbey ni Lingling, lallaki ni John
femal PERS Lingling male PERS John
'Lingling is a girl, (and) John is a boy.'

5.7.3 Subordination

5.7.3.1 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Dupaningan can modify their head nouns in the same way as adjectives (see section 3.10). They follow the head noun, and the two are joined with a linker *a*. The head of the relative clause is always the nominative of the verb in the relative clause. Only nominative arguments can be relativized, and the relativized argument is deleted from the relative clause.

153. ma-nabab [[i balbag=a]$_{head}$ a <in>alap-ø=di]$_{relative\ clause}$
ADJ-noisy DEF frog=SPC LK <CMPL>get-PV=3PL.GEN
'The frog that they got is noisy.'

154. nag-hen ha dibilew=ayo [[i madiket=heya]$_{head}$ a na-enta=ko]$_{relative\ clause}$
CMPL.AV-stay OBL other.side= DIST.SPC DEF young.woman=SPC LK CMPL.ACD-see=1SG.GEN
'That girl that I saw lived on the other side'

155. mappya [i babbey=heya]$_{head}$ a naki-buybuy]$_{relative\ clause}$
pretty DEF woman=SPC LK CMPL.SOC-story
'The woman who chatted is pretty.'

156. <in><um>emmang=dan [[i anak]$_{head}$ a nag-sanget]$_{relative\ clause}$
<CMPL><AV>rest=already DEF child LK CMPL.AV-cry
'The child that cried is resting.'

5.7.3.2 Conditionals

Conditional clauses in Dupaningan are expressed with the conditional marker *no* 'if'.

It indicates conditionality and/or future (see section 4.7.2 on the future adverb *nokkan*).

157. nag-ulolaw=ak no b<um>uyot i lugen
CMPL.AV-nauseous=1SG.NOM if <AV>run DEF vehicle
'I felt nauseous if the vehicle was going fast.'

158. d<um>aggi i baboy no makpali kan-an=di
<AV>heavy DEF pig if many DEF eat-LV=3PL.GEN
'The pigs will get heavy if they have a lot of food.'

159. panyan=na=waden mag-sagab ha bubon=ayo no awan ha tako
how=3SG.GEN=perhaps AV-draw.water OBL well= DIST.SPC if NEG OBL bucket
'How can you draw water from that well if there is no bucket?'

160. mag-ngidit=ak no i-peta=di a ma-tabi=ak
AV-laugh=1SG.NOM if TV-say=3PL.GEN LK ADJ-fat=1SG.NOM
'I laugh if they say I'm fat.'

Conditional clauses may precede or follow the main clause.

161. no ma-sinag=dan, <um>angay=ak ha Bolos
if ADJ-sun.ray=already <AV>go=1SG.NOM OBL Bolos
'If it's sunny, I will go to Bolos.'

162. no <um>angay=ka ha lapos, g<um>atang=ka ha uru
if <AV>go=2SG.NOM OBL outside <AV>buy=2SG.NOM OBL medicine
'If you go to town, buy some medicine.'

5.7.3.3 Concessive

The form *mensan* 'even' is used to introduce a subordinate clause that concedes a point. *Mensan* clauses may follow or precede the main clause.

163. <um>angay=ak hu mensan mag-uden
<AV>go=1SG.NOM there even AV-rain
'I'm going there even though it's raining.'

Mensan 'even' often combines with *no* 'if'.

164. mensan no ma-dagmen, nag-senggit=man=noman
even if ADJ-cold CMPL.AV-sun=CONTRASTIVE=ASRT
'Even if was cold, it was actually sunny.'

165. mensan no mag-uden, mag-degus=ak=la
even if AV-rain AV-bathe=1SG.NOM=just
'Even if it is raining, I still bathe.'

The Ilokano form *uray* 'even' can also be used in these constructions, and is in fact more commonly heard than the Dupaningan *mensan* 'even'.

166. <um>angay=ak ihu uray mag-uden
<AV>go=1SG.NOM DIST.LOC even AV-rain
'I'm going there even if it rains.'

The form *maski*, ultimately from Spanish *mas que*, is also used in the same manner.

167. mag-inaw i esa[16] a madiket,
AV-pregnant.craving DEF one LK young.woman

maski awan hikuna pa-bikan-an ha lallaki
even NEG 3SG.LFNOM CAUS-near-LV OBL man
'One young woman is showing symptoms of pregnancy, even though she has not come near a man.' (Anonymous 2001)

5.7.3.4 Reason

Subordinate clauses giving reason, 'because' clauses, can be formed in several ways in Dupaningan. They can be formed with *na* 'because', with *ta* 'because', with the oblique

[16] This should be *essa*, with a geminate /s/; the biblical source probably mis-represents the phonetics of the geminate consonant.

marker *ha*, with *kapno* 'so that', or with no marker at all. Given the proliferation of possibilities, it seems likely that at least *ta* 'because' is a borrowing from Ilokano because it has the same form and function in that language (Rubino 1997: 477), and it seems unlikely that Dupaningan has so many reason complementizers in the native stratum. Whatever form is used, the reason clause follows the main clause.

168. madi-an=mi=n mang-i-toldu ha nikaw
don't.like-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN=already AV-TV-teach OBL 2SG.OBL

na ma-igat i buntok=mo
because ADJ-hard DEF head=2SG.GEN

'We don't want to teach you because you are hard-headed.'

169. na-bannag=dan hikuna na ma-adiyu i b<in>uyot-ø=na=a
ADJ-tired=already 3SG.LFNOM because ADJ-far DEF <CMPL>run-PV=3SG.GEN=SPC
'He was tired because his run was far.'

170. <um>etnod=ak ha pugedu=aye, agay, na mag-man=ak=pa
<AV>sit=1SG.NOM OBL rock=this friend because AV-betel=1SG.NOM=still
'I will sit on this rock, my friend, because I am going to chew betel nut first.'

The oblique marker *ha* can also be used to introduce an explanatory reason clause.

171. b<um>uyot=kita=n ha kallap=dan
<AV>run=1DU.INC.NOM=already OBL night=already
'Let's run because night is falling.'

172. mag-sulet=kita ha <um>angay=kita ha lapos
AV-change=1DU.INC.NOM OBL <AV>=1DU.INC.NOM OBL town
'Let's change because we are going to town.'

173. awan=bi hidi maka-eryok ha kan-an=tam ha ma-adlak i uden
NEG=also 3PL.NOM ABIL-search OBL eat-LV=1PL.INC.GEN OBL ADJ-downpour DEF rain
'They aren't able to look for our food because it's raining hard.'

The Ilokano loan *ta* 'because' is more frequently used than *na* or *ha*.

174. <in><um>angay=ak ha tabbog=ayo ta t<in><um>gaw=ak
<CMPL><AV>go=1SG.NOM OBL spring=DIST.SPC because <CMPL><AV>thirst=1SG.NOM
'I went to that spring because I was thirsty.'

175. mag-anaanad i ba-baggi=ko ta mag-gabbu=ak
AV-sluggish DEF REDUP-body=1SG.GEN because AV-head.cold=1SG.NOM
'My body is sluggish because I have a cold.'

176. awan=dan hikuna <in><um>ingal ta hikuna i nag-liwat
NEG=already 3SG.LFNOM <CMPL><AV>angry because 3SG.LFNOM DEF CMPL.AV-mistake
'He didn't get mad because he was the one who had made a mistake.'

177. kasur=ko i padut ta ma-singgat
like=1SG.GEN DEF fish because ADJ-tasty
'I want the fish because it is tasty.'

The form *kapno* 'so, so that' can also be used to introduce reason clauses.

178. g<in>imet-ø=na kapno maka-soli
<CMPL>do-PV=3SG.GEN so.that ABIL-return
'He did it so that he could go home.'

179. mag-eryok=ak kapno atoy kan-an=mi ha pattama
AV-work=1SG.NOM so.that EXT eat-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL family
'I work so that our family has food.'

In some cases, reason clauses were given without any introducing element.

180. i-apog=taka maka-kaba-kabanga i mangilen=a
TV-lime=1SG.GEN\2SG.NOM ABIL-REDUP-spouse DEF ghost=SPC
'I will make you lime so that the ghost can get married.[17]'

181. me-maton i lalakay hidi babakas=a,
ACD.TV-sad DEF old.man PL old.woman=SPC

awan=dan d<um>emat i apo=di=heya
NEG=already <AV>arrive DEF grandchild=3PL.GEN=SPC
'The old woman and the old man are sad because their grandchildren haven't arrived yet.'

182. l<in>ukot-ø=na=n i bakas=a i abak
<CMPL>gather-PV=3SG.GEN=already DEF old.woman=SPC DEF sleeping.mat

marag-esbu i wadi=mi=aye
HBT-urinate DEF younger.sibling=1PL.EXC.GEN=this
'The old woman gathered up the sleeping mats because this younger sibling of ours urinates frequently.'

[17] Creating the lime used in the betel nut chew for someone is a common way of expressing romantic interest.

5.7.3.5 *ta* complementizer

The complementizer *ta* in Dupaningan follows the distribution of the same form in Ilokano, and it is likely a borrowing from that language. Carl Rubino (1997: 460-61) notes that in Ilokano certain "lexicalized expressions...require the complementizer *ta*", and he cites forms such as 'it's good that...', 'it's a shame that....'. Similar forms also take the *ta* complementizer in Dupaningan.

183. mappya ay ta d<in><um>itang=ka
good ?[18] that <CMPL><AV>arrive=2SG.NOM
'It's good that you were able to come.'

184. mappya ay ta atoy=pala i dinom ha karayan=ayo
good ? that EXT=still DEF water OBL river=DIST.SPC
'It's good that the water is still in that river.'

185. bah ta awan=ka naka-angay
shame that NEG=2SG.NOM CMPL.ABIL-go
'It's a shame that you couldn't go.'

The function of Ilokano *ta* is that it is "often used to introduce complement clauses with certain imperative verbs," such as 'wait', and 'tell'(Rubino 1997: 461). The same function is found with Dupaningan *ta*.

186. i-peta=mo ta <um>angay ihe
TV-say=2SG.GEN that <AV>come PROX.LOC
'You say that he is coming here.'

187. mag-uray=ka ta mag-i-datton=ak ha hida=mo
AV-wait=2SG.NOM that AV-TV-set=1SG.NOM OBL main.course=2SG.GEN
'Wait, and I will set your meal out.'

5.7.3.6 Embedded clauses

Embedded clauses are joined to the main clause with the linker *a*. Clauses embedded with the linker *a* are generally full sentences.

[18] The form *ay* is rare in the data. It's function has not yet been fully determined, but most instances of *ay* appear to be specificity markers. It is unknown what the function of *ay* is in the construction *mappya ay ta* 'it's good that...'.

188. katandi=na i lalakay=a a [apellak=dan i angas=na]
know=3SG.GEN DEF old.man=SPC LK short=already DEF life=3SG.GEN
'The old man knows that his life is short now.'

189. katandi=di=noman i agta hidi=a a [ma-dukas i nakam=na]
know=3PL.GEN=ASRT DEF person PL=SPC LK ADJ-bad DEF mind=3SG.GEN
'The people know that his plan is evil.' (lit., his mind is bad)

190. katandi=di=noman a [mag-mula ha pinya]
know=3PL.GEN=ASRT LK AV-plant OBL pineapple
'They know how to plant pineapples.'

191. awan=ko=bi katandi a [<um>angay=ka ihe]
NEG=1SG.GEN=also know LK <AV>come=2SG.NOM PROX.LOC
'I didn't know you were coming here.'

The verbs of clauses embedded with the linker *a* may be inflected for aspect. We can also see in 190 above that the nominative argument of the embedded clause may be dropped if it is the same as that of the matrix clause.

192. g<in><um>imak hidi a nang-anop
<CMPL><AV>stop 3PL.NOM LK CMPL.AV-hunt
'They stopped hunting.'

Similar constructions may be created by using the definite marker *i* instead of *a*, but using *i* creates a nominalized verb phrase, whereas using *a* creates a subordinate verbal clause. The structures with *i*, then, are not embedded clauses but complex equational sentences.

193. tarod a ma-katandi-an=ko no i ma-riga ken ma-lagen
true LK ACD-know-LV=1SG.GEN if DEF ADJ-difficult and ADJ-light
'It's true that I understand the difficult and the easy.'

194. tarod i ma-katandi-an=ko no i ma-riga ken ma-lagen
true DEF ACD-know-LV=1SG.GEN if DEF ADJ-difficult and ADJ-light
'My understanding of the difficult and the easy is correct.'

Nominalization of verbal phrases is much more common in Dupaningan than in English, and many such nominalized verb phrases are not easily translated into English as nominals.

195. awan=ko=pala katandi i s<um>ulog
NEG=1SG.GEN=still know DEF <AV>swim
'I still don't know how to swim.' (lit., 'know the swimming')

196. katandi=mo=d[19] i mag-dakan ha ogsa
know=2SG.GEN=Q DEF AV-cook OBL deer
'Do you know how to cook a deer?' (lit., 'Do you know the cooking of deer?')

197. na-enta=di i kasur=na
CMPL.ACD-see=3PL.GEN DEF like=3SG.GEN
'They saw that she liked it.' (lit., 'They saw her liking.')

Similar constructions may also occur with no linker at all. When there is no linker, however, I consider the first verb to be an auxiliary (auxiliaries are discussed in section 4.6) because it is more closely tied to the second verb. In example 198 below, the linker *a* is used to embed an entire clause. Example 199 below, in contrast, is a simple auxiliary construction, with no linker.

198. ni-peta=ko ha ni Garwet a mang-alap hikuna ha halidong
CMPL.TV-say=1SG.GEN OBL PERS Garwet LK AV-get 3SG.LFNOM OBL umbrella
'I told Garwet that he should get an umbrella.'

199. ni-peta=tam=on ha ni Lingay mag-degus
CMPL.TV-say=1PL.INC.GEN=already OBL PERS Lingay AV-bathe
'We told Lingay to bathe.'

To further illustrate the difference between embedded clause constructions and auxiliary constructions, we can see that in example 200 below, *agoman* 'accompany' is the main verb and *<um>angay mag-i-labbang* 'go bury' is the embedded clause. The two are joined with a linker *a*. Within the embedded clause, *<um>angay* 'go' is the auxiliary and *mag-i-labbang* 'bury' is the main verb, and they are not separated by a linker.

200. agom-an=takam a <um>angay mag-i-labbang
companion-LV=1SG.GEN\2PL.NOM LK <AV>go AV-TV-bury
'I will accompany you all going to the funeral (lit., going to bury).'

[19] The question adverbial enclitic *=dud* shortens to *=d* after certain pronouns; see 4.7.3.3.5.

Appendix A: Vocabulary

In this section, you will find a vocabulary of Dupaningan made with Toolbox software. The vocabulary presented here contains some 1,500 entries from a database of over 2,200. These are words gathered through the course of my fieldwork. Some have come from the translations of elicited Ilokano sentences, some from texts, some from words collected in an unstructured format from community members and recorded in the tattered notebook kept in my pocket for that purpose, and some from the direct elicitation of vocabulary. For the latter, I used the unpublished Nickell and Nickell 1987 dictionary, reading the headwords aloud to my consultants and recording their definitions for the words if they had one. I found, however, that the vocabulary of my consultants differed significantly from the vocabulary presented in that work. In many cases, the definitions given did not correspond at all to what was in Nickell and Nickell 1987, but I was nonetheless able to get good Dupaningan vocabulary in this manner.

No words, however, made it in to the dictionary without first being independently verified by a second speaker of Dupaningan. The most common method for doing this was to read the headwords in the dictionary aloud to a Dupaningan consultant and ask that person to define the word or give an Ilokano translation if appropriate. When two or more consultants gave identical definitions, then it was tagged as ready to publish. Otherwise, the definition was refined until consensus could be reached.

Many words that are commonly used in Dupaningan and which appear in the example sentences in the grammar are nevertheless excluded from this vocabulary as loans. Words were excluded as loans when Dupaningan consultants judged them to be borrowed. Other likely loans are simply noted as such. That is, when the Dupaningan

consultants felt that a word was "not Dupaningan", it was not included in the dictionary. When I had independent evidence that a word was a loan, I included it in the dictionary, but tried to mark it as such, noting the source. In many cases, however, the source of a suspected loan could not be determined, and these are not marked as loans in this dictionary.

It should be noted that the 'phonetic' forms that appear after the headwords are actually closer to being phonemic transcriptions. Initial and final glottal stop, both predictable, are not represented. On the other hand, the difference between tense [e] and lax [ɛ], both allophones of /e/, are represented. The two major categories of new information provided by these transcriptions are a) stress and b) information about what is happening at morpheme boundaries (i.e., whether there is a glottal stop, a glide, or whether the two vowels coalesce). While there are some trends in the transitions at morpheme boundaries, such as the tendency for the final /a/ of the prefix *ma-* to coalesce with the initial /a/ of an a-initial root, this information is largely unpredictable, or, at least, bears further investigation.

What follows, then, is a vocabulary of the Dupaningan Agta language. Enjoy!

Dupaningan-English vocabulary

A - a

a ligature, links various constituents of a sentence. **madulaw a bilay** red house *Etym:* PAN *a.

-a [a:] nominal enclitic marking specificity.

aba ['aba] *n.* taro.

ababuyog [aba'buyog] *n.* kind of biting insect. *See:* **abuyog.**

abad

iabad [iyabad] *v.* tie something around waist. **Obus pagman ni-abad-na i arikawat-na.** After chewing betel, he tied his betel nut pack around his waist. *Morph:* **i-abad.**

abak [a'bak] *n.* sleeping mat. *Etym:* PWMP *a(m)bek (Blust 1980).

magabak *v.* unroll a sleeping mat. *Morph:* **mag-abak.**

abang [a'baŋ] *n.* boat. *Etym:* PAN *qabaŋ.

abbag

ombag ['ombag] *v.* lie down. *Syn:* **p<um>ayad.** *Morph:* **<um>abbag.**

magabbag [ma'gabbag] *v.* go somewhere to lie down. *Syn:* **pumayad.** *Morph:* **mag-abbag.**

abben

umabben [umab'bɛn] *v.* carry on back. *Morph:* **<um>abben.**

abbinan [abbi'nan] *v.* carry someone or something on back. *Morph:* **abbin-an.**

iabben [iyab'bɛn] *v.* put something into the folds of clothing. *Morph:* **i-abben.**

abbut [ab'but] *n.* hole, cave. *See:* **alingabngab** 'large hole'.

abbutan *v.* open something, as a can. *Morph:* **abbut-an.**

abeng [a'bɛŋ] *n.* address term for an older sibling or an older person of the same generation. *See:* **akka** 'older sibling'.

abew

maabew ['ma:bew] *adj.* cool, luke-warm. *Morph:* **ma-abew.**

abigi [abi'gi] *n.* shoulder. *Etym:* PAN *qabaRa (Blust 1999).

abit

abitan [abi'tan] *v.* track, follow the footprints of a person or animal. *Morph:* **abit-an.**

abong [a'boŋ] *n.* top of head.

abot

umabot *v.* reach. *Morph:* **<um>abot.**

iabot *v.* reach for. *Syn:* **i-giwat.** *Morph:* **i-abot.**

abung

mangabung [maŋa'buŋ] *v.* take a detour. *Morph:* **mang-abung.**

abuwan [abu'wan] *n.* small person who comes in large groups to kill people.

abuyog [a'buyog] *n.* bumble bee. *See:* **ababuyog.**

adaw [a'daw] *n.* baby monkey. *See:* **suriwat** 'adolescent monkey'; **burog** 'monkey'.

addag [ad'dag] *n.* back of body.

adia

adian [a'dʒan] *v.* remove, deduct, reduce, take off, get rid of. *Morph:* **adia-an.**

adigi [a'digi] *n.* house post. *See:* **tolnak** 'stake, pole, post'. *From:* Ilokano.

adika [adi'ka] *n.* kind of banana. *Musa sp.* *Syn:* **dupat.**

adiyu

madiyu ['ma:diw] *adj.* far. *Morph:* **ma-adiyu.**

adlak

maadlak ['madlak] *adj.* heavy, of rain; downpouring. *Morph:* **ma-adlak.**

adlay

adlayan ['adlayan] *v.* chase someone or something, especially a dog chasing game in a hunt. *Syn:* **tagubet-an.** *Morph:* **adlay-an.**

agagak

agagakan [a'gagakan] *v.* slow down for the benefit of someone who cannot walk fast. *Morph:* **agagak-an.**

agal [a'gal] *n.* fish-tail palm tree; the white heart of the palm is eaten. *Caryota cumingii.*

mangagal [maŋagal] eat the heart of the fish-tail palm. *Morph:* **mang-agal.**

agal

magagal [maga'gal] *v.* complain, moan. *Morph:* **mag-agal.**

agat

umagat [uma'gat] *v.* avoid, keep away from, get away from, go far away. *Morph:* **<um>agat.**

-agat [a'gat] *adv.* please; adverbial enclitic used to soften requests. **Umetnod-ka-agat.** Please sit down.

agatol [aga'tol] *n.* small freshwater crab. *See:* **karoykoy** 'large crab'.

agay [a'gay] *n.* friend, a term of address used between friends of the same sex or with one's spouse or close relative; an expression of surprise.

agden [ag'dɛn] *n.* stairs. *Etym:* *haRezan.

aged

umaged [uma'gɛd] *v.* ask for, request, beg. *Morph:* **<um>aged.**

agi [a'gi] *n.* bark cloth.

agkat

agkatan [agka'tan] *v.* lift something or someone up. *Syn:* **aklig-an.** *Morph:* **agkat-an.**

agmang ['agmaŋ] *n.* ocean eel. *Etym:* PMP *aRemaŋ (Blust 1986).

agom [a'gom] *n.* companion.

magagom [maga'gom] *v.* assemble, meet, gather together. *Morph:* **mag-agom.**

aguman [agu'man] *v.* increase, add to, mix. *Morph:* **agum-an.**

pagaguman *v.* mix things together. *Morph:* **pag-agum-an.**

agpon

umagpon [u'magpon] *v.* land, perch, as a bird on a branch. *Morph:* **<um>agpon.**

agradis [agra'dis] *n.* thumb.

agsak

magagsak *v.* eat. *Syn:* **mag-kan; mag-diyag.** *Morph:* **mag-agsak.**

agta ['agta] *n.* person, especially a Negrito person. *Etym:* *qaRta 'outsiders, alien people' (Blust 1972).

agtay ['agtay] *n.* liver, in the body. *Etym:* PAN *qaCay.

aguy [a'guy] expression of surprise or pain.

agwad

magagwad [ma'gagwad] *v.* climb a tree using a a piece of cloth attached to feet. *Morph:* **mag-agwad.**

agwasan [ag'wasan] *n.* kind of large snake.

-ak *pron.* I; first person singular nominative enclitic pronoun.

akan-akan

magakanakan [maga'kana,kan] *v.* gather small sticks to make a fire. *Morph:* **mag-akan-akan.**

akbo

magakbo [ma'gakbo] *v.* bark, as a dog. *Morph:* **mag-akbo.**

akden

akdinan [akdi'nan] *v.* give something to someone. *Morph:* **akden-an (atad + an > atden + -an > atdinan ~ akdinan).** *See:* **atad** 'give'.

akdet

magakdet [magak'dɛt] *v.* remove food from fire. *Morph:* **mag-akdet.** *See:* **akditan.**

akditan [akdi'tan] *v.* remove food from fire. *Morph:* **akdit-an.**

akdet

umakdet [u'makdɛt] *v.* land, come onto shore. *Morph:* **<um>akdet.**

akid

akidan [a'kidan] *v.* serve, scoop out non-rice course (**hida**). *Morph:* **akid-an.** *See:* **mag-liyod** 'serve, scoop out, especially rice'.

akka [ak'ka] *n.* older sibling of either sex; primarily an address term, although it can be used in reference. *Syn:* **hekka; nekka; abeng.** *See:* **dekka** 'older siblings (plural)'.

akkab

magakkab [magak'kab] *v.* a method of fishing in which one hides or waits in water for fish to swim by and then spears the fish. *Morph:* **mag-akkab.**

aklig

akligan [ak'ligan] *v.* lift something, pick something up. *Morph:* **aklig-an.**

akol [a'kol] *n.* son, term of address applied to a man at least a generation younger but who already has at least two children.

akot

magakot [maga'kot] *v.* pick up. *Morph:* **mag-akot.**

akutan ['akutan] *v.* pick something up. *Morph:* **akut-an.**

maakot [ma?akot] *v.* accidentally pick up, happen to pick up, coincidentally pick up. *Morph:* **ma-akot.**

akrup

akrupan [ak'rupan] *v.* scoop, hold in hands. *Morph:* **akrup-an.**

akuwang [a'kuwaŋ] *n.* eagle.

alab ['alab] *n.* knee. *Usage:* northern dialects. *See:* **walab** 'knee (central dialects)'; **guwalab** 'knee (southern dialects)'. *Etym:* PAN *qaleb.

alabiyab

malabiyab [mala'biyab] *adj.* nauseous, near vomiting. *Morph:* **ma-alabiyab.**

aladum [a'ladum] *n.* clothes. *Syn:* **tennon; ramet.**

alali [a'lali] *n.* kind of fish. *Syn:* **burasi.**

alam

magalam [maga'lam] *v.* be on guard; be aware, awake. *Morph:* **mag-alam.**

alangang [ala'ŋaŋ] *n.* crotch, groin.

alap *Etym:* PAN *alap 'fetch, get, take' (Blust 1995).

mangalap [maŋa'lap] *v.* get. *Morph:* **mang-alap.**

alapan [a'lapan] *v.* get something. *Morph:* **alap-an.**

alap

maalap ['ma:lap] *adj.* hungry. *Syn:* **me-songot.** *Morph:* **ma-alap.**

alasanay [alasa'nay] *n.* species of small wild banana.

alasey-as [ala'sey?as] *adj.* good, nice, fancy, new, clean, of objects and not people.

alatab-latab
magalatablatab [magala'tabla,tab] *v.* float. *Syn:* **tompaw**. *Morph:* **mag-alatab-latab**.
alay
malay ['ma:lay] *adj.* taking a long time, slow. *Morph:* **ma-alay**.
kaalay ['kalay] *n.* length of time. *Morph:* **ka-alay**.
albig [al'big] *n.* arrow with a long, narrow head made of bamboo.
aldew ['aldew] *n.* day, midday, noon. *Usage:* southern dialectcs. *See:* **pamalak** 'day, midday, noon (northern dialects)'. *Etym:* PAN *qalejaw 'day' (Blust 1999).
alebban [a'lɛbban] *n.* bladder.
alegid [a'lɛgid] *adj.* old.
alemtak [a'lɛmtak] *n.* leech (general term). *See:* **balleng** 'land leech'; **kattad** 'mountain leech' 'lipat' 'river leech'. *Etym:* PMP *qali-metak.
ales
umales [uma'lɛs] *v.* move to another house or location. *Morph:* **<um>ales**.
alibukawkaw [alibu'kawkaw] *n.* circular.
alibutag [alibu'tag] *n.* whirlpool.
alidis
magalidis [magali'dis] *v.* strip, slice raw materials for weaving. *Morph:* **mag-alidis**.
alikansad [ali'kansad] *n.* far away place. *Syn:* **liyad**.
alikaskas [ali'kaskas] *n.* cloth tied around a woman's stomach after she gives birth. *See:* **i-rekos** 'tie an alikaskas'.
alilam [a'lilam] *n.* wild herb used medicinally for upset stomachs and diarrhea.
alimogmog
magalimogmog [magali'mogmog] *v.* gargle, clean mouth out with water. *Syn:* **mag-malogmog**. *Morph:* **mag-alimogmog**. *Etym:* PMP *muRmuR (Blust 1983-4).
alimontak
magalimontak [magali'montak] *v.* feel dizzy, nauseous. *Syn:* **mag-ulolaw**. *Morph:* **mag-alimontak**.
alinunu [ali'nunu] *n.* shadow, reflection.
alingabngab [ali'ŋabŋab] *n.* large, deep hole in the ground; cave. *See:* **abut** 'small hole'.
alipep [ali'pɛp] *n.* armpit.
alipodpod
magalipodpod [magali'podpod] *v.* spin, revolve, rotate. *Morph:* **mag-alipodpod**.
malipodpod [mali'podpod] *adj.* spinning, turning, revolving, meandering; zigzagged, circuitous. *Morph:* **ma-alipodpod**.
aliwadat
umaliwadat *v.* turn one's back, turn around, return. *Morph:* **<um>aliwadat**.
allad [al'lad] *n.* feather (not including the small feathers on the belly of a bird). *See:* **polpol** 'small feathers on the underside of a bird'. *Etym:* PMP *qelad 'wing'.
iallad [iyal'lad] *v.* add a feather to an arrow. *Morph:* **i-allad**.
magiallad [magiyal'lad] add a feather to an arrow. *Morph:* **mag-i-allad**.
allad
omlad ['omlad] *v.* sink, flood, engulf. *Morph:* **<um>allad**.
allatang ['allataŋ] *n.* warb, a shrub that causes stinging or itching. *Dendrocnide meyeniana*.
alog [a'log] *n.* dip, ditch, depression in the gound.
alokinag [alo'kinag] *n.* earthworm.
alombinas
magalombinas [maga'lombinas] *v.* be restless, unable to sleep. *Morph:* **mag-alombinas**.
along [a'loŋ] *n.* son, address term for a male child. *See:* **asang** 'female child'.
alos-os
magalos-os [ma'galos?os] *v.* slide down. *Morph:* **mag-alosos**.
alsap ['alsap] *n.* fog, mist.
maalsap ['malsap] *adj.* foggy, misty. *Morph:* **ma-alsap**.
alsot
malsot ['malsot] *adj.* sour. *Syn:* **ma-apsot**. *Morph:* **ma-alsot**.
alukad [alu'kad] *n.* kind of riverine fish. *Syn:* **malisaw**.
alukop
alukopan [aluko'pan] *v.* cradle, cuddle. *Morph:* **alukop-an**.
aluyu [aluyu] *n.* wave, as on the ocean.
ama [a'ma] *n.* father, vocative. *Syn:* **amang**. *See:* **hama** 'father'; **nama** 'father'; **dema** 'father and others'; **pattama** 'family'; **ina** 'mother'. *Etym:* PAN *ama (Blust 1995).
amad [a'mad] *n.* disease of the mouth where saliva is milky; disease most often suffered by small children. *Syn:* **ngaras**.
amakay [ama'kay] *n.* kind of bitter yam.
amang ['amaŋ] *n.* father, used as an address term (somewhat childish). *Syn:* **ama**. *See:* **hama**; **nama**; **dema** 'father and others'; **inang** 'mother (address)'.
amat
amatan ['amatan] *v.* watch, stare at. *Morph:* **amata-an**. *See:* **mata** 'eye'.
amman [am'man] *n.* a mildly intoxicating reddish mixture for chewing that consists of **butag** 'betel nut', **giwad** 'betel pepper leaf', **apog** 'lime' and **subu** 'tobacco'.

magman *v.* chew betel nut. *Morph:* **mag-amman.**

ammegel

ammegelan [am'mɛgɛlan] *v.* suck on something inside one's mouth. *Morph:* **ammegel-an.**

ammong

maammong [ma?am'moŋ] *adj.* gathered, assembled, of people. *Morph:* **ma-ammong.**

magammong [magam'moŋ] *v.* go to speak with a group of people. *Morph:* **mag-ammong.**

ammus

ammusan [am'musan] *v.* kiss someone or something. *Morph:* **amus-an.**

amog

mangiamog [maŋia'mog] *v.* give an offering to the dead. *Morph:* **mang-i-amog.**

amogud [amo'gud] *n.* forest, woods, mountains, jungle, remote area. *Syn:* **parabin; talon.**

amoyu [a'moyu] *n.* pet, domestic animal.

ampoy

magampoy [ma'gampoy] *v.* smell. *Morph:* **mag-ampoy.**

amtek ['amtɛk] *n.* large red ant that bites.

amul [a'mul] *n.* co-parent; the mother- and father-in-law of one's child-in-law; the relationship between the two sets of parents of a married couple.

amur ['amur] *n.* dew.

amuwas

magamuwas [ma'gamwas] *v.* wash one's face. *Morph:* **mag-amuwas.**

amuwasan [am'wasan] *v.* wash the face of. *Morph:* **amuwas-an.**

-an suffix for both patient and locative focus verbs in the incompletive aspect; suffix for locative focus verbs in the completive aspect (combined with infix <in>).

anad-anad

maganad-anad [maga'nada'nad] *v.* feel sick, sluggish, or weak. *Morph:* **mag-anad-anad.**

anak [a'nak] *n.* child, both one's offspring and a young person in general. *See:* **enak** 'give birth'. *Etym:* PMP *anak (Blust 1999).

taanak [ta'?anak] small child. *Morph:* **ta-anak.**

panganakan [pa'ŋanakan] *n.* nephew, niece. *Morph:* **pang-anak-an.**

anaw [a'naw] *n.* fan palm tree whose leaves are used for making roofs. *Livistonia sp.* *Syn:* **gimat.** *Etym:* PWMP *anahaw.

anitu [a'nitu] *n.* ghost. *Syn:* **mangilen; malasag.** *Etym:* PAN *qaNiCu 'ghost, spirit of the dead, owl' (Blust 1995).

annam ['annam] *adj.* six. *Etym:* PAN *enem.

annipig [anni'pig] *n.* scorpion. *Syn:* **pawiran.**

anod [a'nod] *n.* cloud flying in the sky.

anop

manganop [maŋa'nop] *v.* hunt with dogs. *Morph:* **mang-anop.** *See:* **mag-angkat** 'hunt without dogs'. *Etym:* PAN *qaNup 'to hunt wild game' (Blust 1995).

anteng

maanteng ['mantɛŋ] *adj.* afraid. *Morph:* **ma-anteng.**

anya ['anya] *interrog.* what.

manganya *adj.* harmful. *Morph:* **mang-anya.**

angas [a'ŋas] *n.* breath, life.

umangas [uma'ŋas] *v.* breathe. *Syn:* **magingas; magangas.** *Morph:* **<um>angas.**

angay

umangay [uma'ŋay] *v.* go, come. *Morph:* **<um>angay.**

angbay *v.* put arm around someone. *Syn:* **sangbay.**

anggad

manggad ['maŋgad] *adj.* smelly, bad smelling. *Syn:* **ma-arob.** *Morph:* **ma-anggad.**

anggu ['aŋgu] *n.* plant with edible red berries.

angkat

magangkat [ma'gaŋkat] *v.* hunt without dogs. *Syn:* **mag-salanep.** *Morph:* **mag-angkat.** *See:* **mang-anop** 'hunt with dogs'.

angsu ['aŋsu] *n.* smell of urine. *Syn:* **aprad.**

apapet [a'papɛt] *n.* bitter melon.

apay ['apay] *interrog.* why.

apdu ['apdu] *n.* bile, gall. *Etym:* PAN *qapeju 'gall, gall bladder, bile' (Blust 1995).

apellak [a'pɛllak] *adj.* short, of both height and length, objects and people. *See:* **ma-tangkay** 'tall, high'.

apgad

naapgad [na:pgad] *adj.* salty. *Morph:* **na-apgad.** *See:* **apgas** 'salt'.

apgas [ap'gas] *n.* salt. *Etym:* PMP *qapejes 'ting, smart (as salt in a wound)'.

apin

apinan [api'nan] *v.* spread leaves out to sit on, sleep on, eat on, set a hot pot on, etc. *Morph:* **apin-an.**

aplos

aplusan [ap'lusan] *v.* massage, pet, touch tenderly. *Morph:* **aplos-an.**

maragaplos *n.* masseuse, one who massages; midwife. *Morph:* **marag-aplos.**

apog [a'pog] *n.* lime powder that is used as one of the ingredients in the intoxicating **amman** 'betel nut chew'. *Etym:* PAN *qapuR 'lime, calcium' (Blust 1995).

iapog [iya'pog] *v.* make lime for another person by burning certain shellfish until they become

powder; making lime for another person is a gesture of friendship or affection. *Morph:* **i-apog.**

apon ['a:pon] *n.* afternoon.
- **pangapon** [pa'ŋapon] *n.* afternoon meal. *Morph:* **pang-apon.**

apoy [a'poy] *n.* dead tree, firewood. *See:* **kayu** 'living tree'. *Etym:* PAN *Sapuy 'fire' (Blust 1999).
- **magiapoy** [magiya'poy] *v.* gather a tree. *Morph:* **mag-i-apoy.**
- **mangiapoy** [maŋiya'poy] *v.* roast, grill. *Syn:* **mag-gubok; mag-i-sokad.** *Morph:* **mang-i-apoy.**

appah
- **meappah** *v.* carried off by the wind. *Morph:* **ma-i-appah.**

appan [ap'pan] *n.* bait for fishing. *Etym:* PMP *paen.

appat [ap'pat] *adj.* four. *Etym:* PAN *Sepat (Blust 1999).

appes
- **umappes** [umap'pes] *v.* subside, decrease, of bodies of water, or swelling of the body. *Syn:* **<um>as-as.** *Morph:* **<um>appes.**

aprad [ap'rad] *n.* smell of urine. *Syn:* **angsu.**

apsot
- **maapsot** ['ma:psot] *adj.* sour. *Syn:* **ma-alsot.** *Morph:* **ma-apsot.**

apuku [apu'ku] *n.* grandchild. *Etym:* PPh *apu-? 'grandparent, ancestor, lord, master, owner (vocative)' (Blust 1995).

arabes
- **umarabes** [umara'bɛs] *v.* cross a river. *Syn:* **r<um>apog.** *Morph:* **um-arbes.**

arabuwaran [arabu'waran] *n.* spring of water. *Syn:* **rabwaren.** *Etym:* PWMP *bual 'spring, well' (Blust 1980).

arak-arak [a'raka'rak] *n.* small red ant.

arakas
- **magarakas** [magara'kas] *v.* crawl, creep. *Syn:* **magarapyas.** *Morph:* **mag-arakas.**

arang [a'raŋ] *n.* gill of a fish.

aridid [ari'did] *n.* winter, cold season, rainy season; north wind.

arikatkat
- **arikatkatan** [ari'katkatan] *v.* tickle someone. *Syn:* **arukatkat-an.** *Morph:* **arikatkat-an.**

arikawat [arika'wat] *n.* pack used for carrying betel nut chewing ingredients.

aritet
- **maaritet** [ma:ri'tɛt] *adj.* feel sick from eating too much meat or fatty foods. *Morph:* **ma-aritet.**

arnab
- **umarnab** [u'marnab] *v.* swell suddenly, of rivers. *Morph:* **<um>arnab.**

arnot
- **arnotan** ['arnotan] *v.* imitate. *Morph:* **arnot-an.**

arob [a'rob] *n.* smell, odor.
- **aruban** [a'ruban] *v.* sniff, smell. *Morph:* **arob-an.**
- **maarob** [ma:rob] *adj.* smelly, bad-smelling. *Syn:* **ma-anggad.** *Morph:* **ma-arob.**

arongan [a'roŋan] *adj.* wide open. *Morph:* **arong-an.**

arukatkat
- **arukatkatan** [aru'katkatan] *v.* tickle someone. *Syn:* **arikatkatan.** *Morph:* **arukatkat-an.**

asak *Etym:* PMP *hasek.
- **asakkan** [asak'kan] *v.* fill something. *Morph:* **asak-an.**
- **iasak** [iya'sak] *v.* fill, put contents into a container. *Morph:* **i-asak.**

asang ['asaŋ] *n.* daughter, address term for a female child. *See:* **along** 'male child'.

as-as
- **umas-as** [um?as?as] *v.* ebb; subside, as water in a river during summer. *Syn:* **<um>appes.** *Morph:* **<um>as-as.**

aset [a'sɛt] *adj.* different, other.

asnga
- **magasnga** [ma'gasŋa] *v.* blow nose. *Syn:* **magisnga.** *Morph:* **mag-asnga.**

asngaw [as'ŋaw] *n.* steam.
- **maasngaw** *adj.* steamy.

asok [a'sok] *n.* smoke. *See:* **mag-isok** 'smoke'. *Etym:* PMP *asuk 'smoke, soot' (Blust 1995).
- **maasok** ['ma:sok] *adj.* smoky. *Morph:* **ma-asok.**

assap [as'sap] *adj.* shallow, of water.
- **maassap** [ma:s'sap] *adj.* shallow, of water. *Morph:* **ma-assap.** *See:* **ma-dibbew** 'shallow, of a hole or a cave'; **ma-battong** 'deep, of water'.

asu [a'su] *n.* dog. *Etym:* PAN *asu (Blust 1999).

atad
- **iatad** [iya'tad] *v.* give something. *See:* **akdin-an** 'give something to someone'.

atakdug [a'takdug] *adj.* long, in length.

atang [a'taŋ] *n.* address term for one's child-in-law.

atap [a'tap] *n.* roof. *Etym:* PMP *qatep (Blust 1999).

atattungal [atat'tuŋal] *v.* large black ant.

atden
- **atdinan** [atdi'nan] *v.* give something to someone. *Morph:* **atden-an (atad + an > atden + -an > atdinan ~ akdinan).** *See:* **atad** 'give'.

atoy [a'toy] there is, there are; existential morpheme.

attam
- **magattam** [magat'tam] *v.* suffer, tolerate, endure. *Morph:* **mag-attam.**
- **attaman** [atta'man] *v.* endure hardship, pain, or difficulty. *Morph:* **attam-an.**

attas
attasan [atta'san] *v.* stay up late, stay up all night. *Morph:* **attas-an.**
attay [at'tay] *n.* feces. *Etym:* PAN *Caqi.
magattay [magat'tay] *v.* defecate. *Morph:* **mag-attay.**
attep [at'tɛp] *adj.* burnt, of rice.
attot [at'tot] *n.* fart. *Etym:* PAN *qetut 'fart, flatulence' (Blust 1995).
magattot [magat'tot] *v.* fart. *Morph:* **mag-attot.**
awag [a'wag] *adj.* not thinking straight, not all there, somewhat crazy. *Syn:* **utor-utor.**
magawag [maga'wag] *v.* be crazy. *Syn:* **maguyung.** *Morph:* **mag-awag.**
awan [a'wan] no, not; negative; negative existential.
awwat
umawwat [umaw'wat] *v.* surface, come out of the water. *Morph:* **<um>awwat.**
-aya [a'ya] enclitic marking specificity and medial distance on a noun. *See:* **aye** 'proximal specific deictic'; **ayu** 'distal specific deictic'.
ayag
magayag [maga'yag] *v.* shout, call out. *Syn:* **mag-peta.** *Morph:* **mag-ayag.**
ayagan [ayagan] *v.* call, call out to, invite. *Morph:* **ayag-an.**
ayayok
ayayokan [a'yayokan] *v.* flatter, try to please, soothe. *Morph:* **ayayok-an.**
-aye enclitic marking specificity and proximal location. *See:* **ayu** 'distal specific deictic'; **aya** 'medial specific deictic'.
ayein [a'yɛʔin] *adv.* now, today.
ayenan [a'yɛnan] *adv.* later on the same day. *See:* **nakkoya** 'earlier on the same day'.
-ayu [a'yu] enclitic marking specificity and distal deixis on a noun.
ayung [a'yuŋ] *n.* sibling-in-law of the same sex. *See:* **ipag** 'sibling-in-law of the opposite sex'.

B - b

babakat ['babakat] *n.* old woman, wife. *Syn:* **bakas.**
babbey [bab'bey] *n.* woman. *Etym:* PAN *ba-bahi.
babong ['baboŋ] *n.* grandmother.
babuy [ba'buy] *n.* domestic pig. *Etym:* PAN *babuy 'pig' (Blust 1995).
baddas
magbaddas [magbad'das] *v.* clear vegetation, whether in the jungle, for a swidden farm, or weeding an already planted field. *Syn:* **mag-tabas.** *Morph:* **mag-baddas.**
baddasan *v.* clear land for someone. *Morph:* **baddas-an.**
badit ['badit] *adj.* small, few.
bagah [ba'gah] *n.* husked rice, uncooked rice. *Syn:* **murah; baggat.** *See:* **paray** 'rice plant'; **inapoy** 'cooked rice'. *Etym:* PAN *beRas (Blust 1995).
baggat [bag'gat] *n.* husked rice, uncooked rice. *Syn:* **bagah; murah.** *From:* Labin (Central Cagayan) Agta.
baggaw [bag'gaw] *n.* yard, cleared area near one's house; cleared area in general.
baggi ['baggi] *n.* body; self, used as a reflexive pronoun. **Netan-mo ha baggi-mo ha espeho-a.** You saw yourself in the mirror.
bagi
bumagi [buma'gi] *v.* swell. *Syn:* **lomtag; bumigi.** *Morph:* **b<um>agi.** *See:* **baggi** 'body'. *Etym:* PAN *baReq (Blust 1999).
bagikat [bagi'kat] *n.* bamboo coffin.
bagsot
mabagsot [mabag'sot] *adj.* cut in two, snapped. *Morph:* **ma-bagsot.**
bagten
magbagten [magbag'tɛn] *v.* lift. *Morph:* **mag-bagten.**
bagtinan ['bagtinan] *v.* weigh something. *Morph:* **bagten-an.**
ibagten [ibag'tɛn] *v.* lift something. *Morph:* **i-bagten.**
bagyo ['bagyo] *n.* storm, typhoon. *Etym:* PAN *baRiuS.
magbagyo [mag'bagyo] *v.* storm. *Morph:* **mag-bagyo.**
bah *n.* waste, shame. **Bah ta awan-ka nakaangay.** It's a shame that you couldn't go.
baka ['baka] *adv.* maybe, perhaps.
bakal
bakalan [baka'lan] *v.* stab. *Morph:* **bakal-an.**
bakas [ba'kas] *n.* old woman, wife. *Syn:* **babakat.** *See:* **lupog** 'old man'.
kabaksan [ka'baksan] *n.* female monkey. *Morph:* **ka-bakas-an.**
bakkan ['bakkan] *adj.* different, other. *Etym:* PWMP *beken 'negator of nominals' (Blust 1980).
baknag
magbaknag [mag'baknəg] *v.* wrap, pack, bundle. *Syn:* **mag-pusot.** *Morph:* **mag-baknag.**
baksag
mabaksag [ma'baksag] *adj.* fast, quick, as when one is walking. *Morph:* **ma-baksad.**

balaneban [bala'nɛban] *n.* dove.
balangabang [balaŋa'baŋ] *n.* large fly. *See:* **baringaw** 'housefly'.
balangaw [bala'ŋaw] *n.* rainbow.
balasug
ibalasug [ibala'sug] *v.* spear something. *Syn:* **i-sullug.** *Morph:* **i-balasug.**
balatbat [ba'latbat] *n.* roof beam that runs parallel to the roof peak.
balawat [bala'wat] *n.* arrow with a triangular-shaped head that has spikes at base; the head detaches from arrow shaft. *Syn:* **g<in>ilat.**
balbag ['balbag] *n.* large frog. *See:* **tukak** 'small frog'.
balbal
balbalan ['balbalan] *v.* slap. *Morph:* **balbal-an.**
magbalbal [mag'balbal] *v.* pound, knock; wash clothes (typically by pounding them on a rock). *Syn:* **mag-pokpok.** *Morph:* **mag-balbal.**
baleksad
bumaleksad [buma'lɛksad] *v.* fall down, turn over. *Morph:* **b<um>aleksad.**
baleyan [ba'lɛyan] *n.* gold.
ballay
ballayan [balla'yan] *v.* long for, look forward to, anxiously await someone or something. *Morph:* **ballay-an.**
ballek [bal'lɛk] *adj.* small; few in number.
taballek very small; very few in number. *Morph:* **ta-ballek.**
balleng [bal'lɛŋ] *n.* land leech. *See:* **alemtak** 'leech (general)'; **kattad** 'mountain leech'; **lipat** 'river leech'.
balli [bal'li] *n.* payment, fare. *Syn:* **pag-balli.** *Etym:* PAN *beli.
magballi [magbal'li] *v.* pay. *Morph:* **mag-balli.**
balliyan [balliyan] *v.* pay someone or something. *Morph:* **balli-an.**
pagballi *n.* fare. *Syn:* **balli.** *Morph:* **pag-balli.**
ballusok [bal'lusok] *adj.* upside-down.
balongbong [ba'loŋboŋ] *n.* large guava. *See:* **bayonbang; biyabas** 'guava'.
balukok [ba'lukok] *n.* noise heard in the forest at night, often attributed to the **barikongkong** 'land snail'.
baniku [ba'niku] *n.* arrow with a pointed, parabola-shaped arrowhead.
bannag
mabannag [maban'nag] *adj.* tired, exhausted, over-worked. *Morph:* **na-bannag.**
banoy [ba'noy] *n.* something used to shelter one from the rain. *Syn:* **halidong.**
magbanoy shelter oneself from the rain. *Morph:* **mag-banoy.**
banta
mabanta [ma'banta] *v.* tire of keeping the body in one position. *Morph:* **ma-banta.**
banga [ba'ŋa] *n.* cooking pot. *Syn:* **kandeho.**
bangngag [baŋ'ŋag] *adj.* deaf; disobedient, said of children and animals who ignore the requests of their parents. *Etym:* PWMP *beŋeR 'deafened' (Blust 1983-4).
bangog
mabangog [ma'baŋog] *adj.* good smelling, fragrant. *Morph:* **ma-bangog.**
bangwes [baŋ'wɛs] *n.* fishing hook. *Syn:* **tadam.**
barak [ba'rak] *n.* piglet. *Etym:* PAN *beRek.
baret [ba'rɛt] *n.* crack.
barikongkong [bari'koŋkoŋ] *n.* land snail.
baringaw [ba'riŋaw] *n.* housefly. *Syn:* **langaw.**
bariyat
pagbariyatan [pagbari'yatan] *n.* shin, calf, lower leg. *Syn:* **bisat.** *Morph:* **pag-bariyat-an.**
barot ['barot] *n.* fishing arrow, usually a stainless steel rod about one meter long that has been filed to a point on one end; used with an elastic band to shoot fish while the fisherman wears goggles.
magbarot [mag'barot] *v.* fish with goggles, a barot and an elastic band used as a bow and arrow to spear fish underwater. *Syn:* **mag-laddap.** *Morph:* **mag-barot.**
-bas *adv.* please; adverbial enclitic used to soften a statement or request. **Uppunan-moy-bas i hena-moy-ayo.** Please help your mother.
basad [ba'sad] *n.* sand. *Syn:* **baybay.**
batad
ibatad [iba'tad] *v.* look out a window. *Morph:* **i-batad.** *See:* **magbatad.**
batak
ibatak [i'batak] *v.* make stairs or other device to climb a tree. *Morph:* **i-batak.**
bati
mabati [maba'ti] *v.* aware, awake. *Morph:* **ma-bati.**
battek [bat'tɛk] *n.* arrow with a head that is spiked at the base.
batten
ibatten [ibat'tɛn] *v.* hang, suspend. *Morph:* **i-batten.**
battong
mabattong [mabat'toŋ] *adj.* deep, of water. *See:* **ma-assap** 'shallow, of water'; **ma-disalad** 'deep, of a hole or a cave'.
baybay ['baybay] *n.* sand. *Syn:* **basad.**
bayobang [ba'yobaŋ] *n.* guava. *Syn:* **biyabas.**
bayug [ba'yug] *n.* thorny bamboo.
bayus-bayus ['bayus'bayus] *adj.* naked. *Syn:*

tallobag.

bebenad [bɛ'bɛnad] *n.* numbness. *Syn:* **papekal.**

bebis

bebisan ['bɛbisan] *v.* watch something. *Morph:* **bebis-an.**

beg [bɛ:g] *n.* loincloth, traditional g-string. *Etym:* PWMP *bahaR.

bellat [bɛl'lat] *n.* kind of small grass lizard (five to ten inches long).

besa

mabesa [ma'bɛsa] *adj.* wet. *Morph:* **ma-besa.** *Etym:* PMP *baseq (Blust 1999).

betbet

betbitan ['bɛtbitan] *v.* carry in hand. *Morph:* **betbit-an.** *Etym:* PMP *bitbit.

bey [bɛ:y] *n.* kind of yam.

-bi *adv.* also, too, on the other hand; really, truly; an adverbial enclitic used to emphasize the fact or feeling involved in an expression, to offer additional information, or to soften the impact of a statement. **Awan-bi a masegkat ni Lubi.** Lubi really isn't lazy (contrary to expectation).

bida

magbida [mag'bida] *v.* tell a story. *Syn:* **mag-buybuy.** *Morph:* **mag-bida.**

bigal

mabigal [mabi'gal] *adj.* thick. *Morph:* **ma-bigal.**

bigi

bumigi [bumi'gi] *v.* swell. *Syn:* **lomtag; bumagi.** *Morph:* **b<um>igi.** *See:* **baggi** 'body'. *Etym:* PAN *baReq (Blust 1999).

bigsak [big'sak] *n.* kind of arrow without a metal arrowhead, bamboo shaft is whittled down to a point.

bigu [bi'gu] *adj.* new. *Etym:* PAN *baqeRu (Blust 1999).

bikan ['bikan] *n.* adjacent area, space next to or nearby.

bumikan [bu'mikan] *v.* near, approach, get next to. *Morph:* **b<um>ikan.**

mabikan [ma'bikan] *adj.* near, nearby, next to. *Morph:* **ma-bikan.**

bikasat [bi'kasat] *n.* mountain pass. *Syn:* **talaktak-an.**

bikit

bumikit [bumi'kit] *v.* swell, of the eyes, as from crying. *Morph:* **b<um>ikit.**

bikkal

bikkalan [bikka'lan] *v.* hang by rope. *Morph:* **bikkal-an.**

bilakad [bila'kad] *n.* rat. *Syn:* **kuyang.**

bilang ['bilaŋ] *n.* date (of the month), number. *Etym:* PMP *bilaŋ.

magbilang [mag'bilaŋ] *v.* count. *Morph:* **mag-bilang.**

bilangan [bi'laŋan] *v.* count something.

bilas

bilassan [bilas'san] *v.* avenge, get revenge on. *Morph:* **bilas-an.** *Etym:* PAN *bales.

bilay [bi'lay] *n.* house. *Etym:* PMP *balay 'village meeting house' (Blust 1987).

bilon ['bilon] *n.* food or provisions for a journey. *Etym:* PMP *balun.

magbilon [mag'bilon] *v.* bring sack lunch, provisions for a journey. *Morph:* **mag-bilon.**

bilunan [bi'lunan] *v.* bring something as provisions for a journey. *Morph:* **bilon-an.**

bilu [bi'lu] *n.* widow, widower. *Etym:* PMP *balu (Blust 1995).

mabilu *adj.* widowed. *Morph:* **ma-bilu.**

binag

mabinag [mabi'nag] *adj.* strong. *Morph:* **ma-binag.**

binakekaw

mabinakekaw [mabina'kɛkaw] *adj.* noisy. *Morph:* **ma-binakekaw.**

binal [bi'nal] *n.* small shark.

biraw [bi'raw] *n.* bamboo grass, used to make the shafts of arrows.

bisag

ibisag [ibi'sag] *v.* throw something.

bisagan [bi'sagan] *v.* throw something to someone.

bisag

nabisag [nabi'sag] *adj.* shattered, broken.

bisat [bi'sat] *n.* calf of leg, shin, lower leg. *Syn:* **pag-bariyat-an.**

biskal [bis'kal] *n.* band worn on upper arm.

bislag [bis'lag] *n.* love handles, spot just above the hips on either side of the body.

bitikaw ['bitikaw] *n.* kind of monitor lizard. *See:* **silay.**

bitoloy [bi'toloy] *n.* large louse. *See:* **kutu** 'louse'.

biton [bi'ton] *n.* star. *Syn:* **pusiyan.** *Etym:* PAN *bituqen (Blust 1999).

bitu *n.* stone. *Syn:* **pugedo; rusu.**

biyabas [bi'yabas] *n.* guava. *Syn:* **bayobang.** *From:* Spanish guayabas 'guavas' via Ilokano bayyabas.

biyag

mabiyag [mabi'yag] *adj.* full, satiated, satisfied from eating. *Morph:* **na-biyag.**

magbiyag [magbi'yag] *v.* eat enough to get full. *Morph:* **mag-biyag.**

biyas ['biyas] *n.* bamboo jug. *Syn:* **biyas.**

biyu

magbiyu [mag'biyu] *v.* mill, pound rice by hand. *Morph:* **mang-biyu.** *Etym:* PMP *bayu 'pound' (Blust 1999).

bobog ['bobog] *n.* toy.

bon

bonan ['bonan] *v.* command, order someone to do something. *Morph:* **bon-an.**

bongkas ['boŋkas] *n.* sow, large female pig.

botay ['botay] *n.* uncle.

bubug [bu'bug] *n.* Indian coral tree, mottled-leaf dapdap, a tree with red flowers.

bubungan [bu'buŋan] *n.* beam in the ridge of a roof. *See:* **pasak.** *Etym:* PMP *buŋbuŋ-an.

budak [bu'dak] *n.* flower. *Etym:* *bujak (Blust 2006).

budbud

magbudbud *v.* gather, pluck, pick fruits or other crops that are plucked, such as peanuts or corn. *Morph:* **mag-budbud.**

buduwan [bu'duwan] *n.* fawn, young male deer with sprouting horns that are still fuzzy.

bugit [bu'gɨt] *n.* penis. *Syn:* **gaygay** (vulgar).

bugsok

bumugsok [bu'mugsok] *v.* descend, go down, come down a mountain. *Syn:* **<um>orsod; <um>ogsad; <um>usak.** *Morph:* **b<um>ugsok.**

bugtong [bug'toŋ] *n.* only child.

buk [bu:k] *n.* hair. *Etym:* PMP *buhek.

bukal [bu'kal] *n.* seed; also used as a classifier for mass nouns. **Hangan a bukal a inalapmo a padut?** How many (pieces of) fish did you get? *Etym:* PWMP *bukel.

bukal [bu'kal] *n.* kidney.

bukarot [buka'rot] *n.* crocodile.

bukbuk *n.* woodborer. *Etym:* PMP *bukbuk.

bukraw [buk'raw] *n.* throat, front of neck.

buktet

mabuktet [mabuk'tɛt] *adj.* pregnant. *Morph:* **ma-buktet.**

bulak

ibulak [i'bulak] *v.* dump out, pour out. *Morph:* **i-bulak.**

bulalising [bula'lisiŋ] *n.* Philippine hanging parakeet, a green bird with a red chest. *Loricuslus philippinensis.*

bulan [bu'lan] *n.* moon, month. *Syn:* **maningas.** *Etym:* PAN *bulaN (Blust 1995).

mamulan [mamu'lan] *v.* do something under the light of the moon, especially hunt. *Morph:* **mang-bulan.**

bulding [bul'diŋ] *n.* blind person.

buli [bu'li] *n.* buttocks, anus; bottom (of a person or an object). *Etym:* PWMP *buliq (Blust 1989).

bulkan [bul'kan] *n.* volcano; hot springs. *From:* Spanish via Ilokano.

bulod

magbulod [magbu'lod] *v.* drift, flow with the current. *Morph:* **mag-bulod.**

magibulod [magibu'lod] *v.* float something, set something adrift, send something by current, as floating rattan downstream. *Morph:* **mag-i-bulod.**

bulos [bu'los] *n.* large river.

bulu [bu'lu] *n.* bamboo. *Etym:* PMP *buluq.

bunag

bunagan [buna'gan] *v.* massacre, slaughter, kill everyone. *Morph:* **bunag-an.**

bunay [bu'nay] *n.* egg. *Syn:* **ukong.**

buned [bu'nɛd] *n.* tail of an animal.

bunong [bu'noŋ] *n.* share, portion.

magbunong [magbu'noŋ] *v.* divide, share. *Morph:* **mag-bunong.**

bunongan [bu'noŋan] *v.* share, divide. *Morph:* **bungon-an.**

bunot

mamunot [mamu'not] *v.* burn to drive bees from hive; make a torch for smoking bees out of hive. *Morph:* **mang-bunot.**

buntok [bun'tok] *n.* head.

bunutan [bunu'tan] *n.* wild mango.

bunga [bu'ŋa] *n.* fruit. *Etym:* PMP *buŋa 'flower' (Blust 1999).

bungel [bu'ŋɛl] *n.* hard betel nut that has fallen from the tree rather than been picked, a stage of betel that occurs in the summer months. *See:* **butag** 'betel nut (general term)'.

bungog

mabungog [ma'buŋog] *v.* cheat, lie. *Syn:* **mag-sileng; mag-toblol; mag-tobloy.** *Morph:* **ma-bungog.**

burak

burakan [bura'kan] *v.* drive away, as animals. *Morph:* **burak-an.**

burasi ['burasi] *n.* kind of fish. *Syn:* **alali.**

buray [bu'ray] *n.* leftover, remainder, residue.

burek [bu'rɛk] *n.* spotted, striped, speckled, multi-colored. *See:* **burekan.** *Etym:* PWMP *burik 'speckled' (Blust 1986).

bures

buresan [bu'rɛsan] *v.* apply ashes or **apog** 'lime' to someone's body for medicinal purposes. *Morph:* **bures-an.**

burog [bu'rog] *n.* monkey. *See:* **adaw** 'baby monkey'; **suriwat** 'adolescent monkey'; **kabaksan** 'female monkey'.

burong

maburong [mabu'roŋ] *adj.* worried. *Morph:* **ma-burong.**

busay

magbusay [magbu'say] *v.* paddle a boat. *Morph:* **mag-busay.**

busog [bu'sog] *n.* hunting bow; also used to refer to both bow and arrow collectively. *Etym:* PAN *busuR (Blust 1995).

butag [bu'tag] *n.* betel nut, the key ingredient in the slightly intoxicating amman mixture for chewing. *Areca catechu.*

butegal [bu'tɛgal] *n.* cyst, bump, lump, blister.

buybuy ['buybuy] *n.* story.

magbuybuy [mag'buybuy] *v.* tell a story. *Morph:* **mag-buybuy.**

makibuybuy [maki'buybuy] *v.* converse, chat. *Morph:* **maki-buybuy.**

buyok

mabuyok [mabu'yok] *adj.* bad smelling, rancid, reeking, rotten. *Morph:* **ma-buyok.**

buyot

bumuyot [bu'muyot] *v.* run.

mabuyot [ma'buyot] *adj.* fast, as when one is running. *Morph:* **ma-buyot.**

D - d

dada ['dada] *n.* aunt. *Syn:* **manay.**

daddadi [dad'dadi] *adj.* very large.

daddakal [dad'dakal] *n.* parents. *See:* **dakal** 'large'.

daga

dinaga [dina'ga] *n.* meat that is cooked directly on the fire and snacked on, not eaten as a meal with rice. *Morph:* **d<in>aga.**

dagadag

idagadag [idaga'dag] *v.* throw down, drop down, as someone who has climbed a tree and throws fruits down to one's companions on the ground. *Morph:* **i-dagadag.**

dagah

dagahan [daga'han] *v.* pick up, stop by for, fetch.

dagalan ['dagalan] *n.* zebra dove, a white bird with a small red patch on its chest. *Geopelia striata.*

dagel [da'gɛl] *adj.* stupid, dumb.

daget

magdaget [magda'gɛt] *v.* sew. *Morph:* **mag-daget.**

dagga [dag'ga] *n.* turtle.

daggas

madaggas [madag'gas] *adj.* spicy; strong (of liquor, tobacco, coffee). *Syn:* **maggas.** *Morph:* **ma-daggas.**

daggi

madaggi [madag'gi] *adj.* heavy. *Morph:* **ma-daggi.**

dumaggi *v.* become heavy, grow heavy. *Morph:* **d<um>aggi.**

daggung [dag'guŋ] *n.* mucus.

daginday [da'ginday] *pron.* those, plural demonstrative pronoun of medial distance. *See:* **iday** 'singular demonstrative pronoun of medial distance'.

daginde [da'gindɛ] *pron.* these, proximal plural demonstrative pronoun. *See:* **ide** 'proximal singular demonstrative pronoun'.

daginto *pron.* those, distal plural demonstrative pronoun. *See:* **idu** 'distal singular demonstrative pronoun'.

dagmen

madagmen [madag'mɛn] *adj.* cold, of temperature. *Syn:* **ma-lamton.** *Morph:* **ma-dagmen.**

dagpak

idagpak [i'dagpak] *v.* crash into something. *Morph:* **i-dagpak.**

medagpak [mɛ'dagpak] *v.* accidentally crash into something. *Morph:* **ma-i-dagpak.**

dagum ['dagum] *n.* sewing needle. *Etym:* PAN *zaRum (Blust 1999).

daguyos [dagu'yos] *n.* arrow with a long, skinny head.

dakal [da'kal] *adj.* big, large.

daddakal [da'dakal] *n.* parents.

dakan

magdakan [magda'kan] *v.* cook; boil food (not rice). *Morph:* **mag-dakan.** *Etym:* PMP *zakan 'cook' (Blust 1999).

nadakan *adj.* cooked. *Morph:* **na-dakan.**

dakap

dakappan [ˌdakap'pan] *v.* capture, catch, as a chicken, fish, or snake. *Morph:* **dakap-an.** *Etym:* PAN *dakep.

daklat [dak'lat] *n.* floor.

-dalla *adv.* adverbial particle combining the meanings of **la** 'just, only' and **dan** 'already, now'; often used to soften an utterance. **Alapan-mo-dalla-agat i balli-na laman-heya.** Please just get the payment for the pig already. *Morph:* **dan-la.**

damili [da'mili] *n.* clay pot. *Syn:* **karamba.**

-dan *adv.* already, now; an aspectual adverbial enclitic which has variants =n and =on following certain pronouns. **Nagkan-dan hidi.** They ate already.

dangan ['daŋan] *n.* measurement of the span of one hand. *Etym:* PMP *zaŋan (Blust 1980).

dangdang

dangdangan [daŋ'daŋan] *v.* put a pot next to the fire to keep food warm. *Etym:* PAN *daŋdaŋ 'warm by a fire'.

idangdang [i'daŋdaŋ] *v.* warm food by the fire. *Morph:* **i-dangdang.**

dangli ['daŋli] *n.* any rocky surface, man-made or natural. *Syn:* **dilenas.**

dangper

dangpiran ['daŋpiran] *v.* attack, charge someone or something. *Morph:* **dangpir-an.**

daporan [da'poran] *n.* hearth, cooking area. *See:* **dipog** 'ash, dust'.

dappon

magdappon [magdap'pon] *v.* take care of, watch, baby-sit, guard. *Morph:* **mag-dappon.**

dapponan [dap'ponan] *v.* take care of, babysit, guard someone. *Morph:* **dappon-an.**

dasak

dumasak [duma'sak] *v.* shine, as the moon or the sun. *Morph:* **d<um>asak.**

madasak [mada'sak] *adj.* bright. *Morph:* **ma-dasak.**

datton

idatton [idat'ton] *v.* put, place, set something. *Syn:* **i-tagmak.** *Morph:* **i-datton.**

magidatton [magidat'ton] *v.* put, place, set. *Morph:* **mag-i-daton.**

degus

magdegus [mag'dɛgus] *v.* take a bath, bathe; play in water, swim around. *Morph:* **mag-degus.** *Etym:* PMP *diRus 'bathe' (Blust 1995).

dekat ['dɛkat] *n.* rice cakes. *Syn:* **d<in>ekat.**

dekka *n.* older siblings (plural); older sibling and other individuals. *See:* **akka** 'older sibling (address)'; **hekka** 'older sibling (reference)'; **nekka** 'older sibling (reference)'.

deldel

deldilan ['dɛldilan] *v.* lick. *Syn:* **sapot-an.** *Morph:* **deldel-an.**

dema *n.* father and other individuals. *See:* **ama** 'father, vocative'; **amang** 'father, vocative'; **hama** 'father'; **nama** 'Father'; **dena** 'mother and others'.

demat *Syn:* **ditang.**

dumemat [du'mɛmat] *v.* arrive. *Morph:* **d<um>emat.**

idemat [i'dɛmat] *v.* bring something. *Morph:* **i-demat.**

dena *n.* mother and other individuals. *See:* **ina** 'mother, vocative'; **inang** 'mother, vocative'; **nena** 'mother'; **hena** 'mother'; **dema** 'father and other individuals'.

depun

depunan ['dɛpunan] *v.* meet, run into. *Syn:* **salpak-an.** *Morph:* **depun-an.**

derder

maderdiran [ma'dɛrdiran] *v.* be scraped, scratched on skin. *Morph:* **ma-derder-an.**

des

magdes *v.* reach, arrive. *Morph:* **mag-des.**

desan ['dɛsan] *v.* reach, come to, get to a particular place. *Morph:* **des-an.**

di 1) *pron.* they, their; third person plural enclitic genitive pronoun. 2) marker of plural proper names. **di Garwet** Garwet and his companions **di Maribel hidi ni Lubi** Maribel and Lubi *Etym:* PAN *-da.

dibbew [dib'bew] *n.* top, surface. *Syn:* **libbew.**

madibbew [madib'bew] *adj.* shallow, of a hole or cave (not appropriate for water). *Morph:* **ma-dibbew.** *See:* **ma-assap** 'shallow, of water'.

dibilew [dibi'lew] *n.* opposite side of, place across from. *Etym:* PMP *dibaliw.

dideg

madideg [madi'dɛg] *adj.* red. *Syn:* **ma-dulaw; ma-digkat; ma-sulu.** *Morph:* **ma-dideg.**

didiya [di'diya] *n.* upstream. *See:* **dilod** 'downstream'; **magudek** 'travel upstream'. *Etym:* PAN *daya 'upstream'.

didug

dumidug [dumi'dug] *v.* visit, call upon as a guest, visit relatives or other people not seen recently; sleep next to another person. *Morph:* **d<um>idug.**

magdidug *v.* lie down together. *Morph:* **mag-didug.**

digdig ['digdig] *n.* side, edge. *Syn:* **nibik.**

diget [di'gɛt] *n.* sea, ocean. *Etym:* *PMP daRat 'littoral sea'.

madiget [madi'gɛt] *adj.* rough, of the sea. *Morph:* **ma-diget.**

digi [di'gi] *n.* blood. *Etym:* PAN *daRaq (Blust 1999).

dumigi *v.* bleed. *Morph:* **d<um>igi.**

magdigi [magdi'gi] *v.* menstruate. *Morph:* **mag-digi.**

digkat

madigkat [ma'digkat] *adj.* red. *Syn:* **ma-dulaw; ma-dideg; ma-sulu.** *Morph:* **ma-digkat.**

digu [di'gu] *n.* broth, sauce. *Etym:* PMP *zuRuq.

diklam [dik'lam] *n.* raincloud.

madiklam [madik'lam] *adj.* dark, of the sky. *Morph:* **ma-diklam.**

dila [di'la] *n.* tongue. *Etym:* PMP *dilaq (Blust 1999).

dilan [di'lan] *n.* road, path, trail. *Etym:* PAN *zalan (Blust 1999).

dilenas [di'lɛnas] *n.* any rocky surface, man-made or

natural. *Syn:* **dangli**.

dilod [di'lod] *n.* area downstream, especially an urban area. *See:* **didiya** 'upstream'. *Etym:* PAN *di lahud.

dilukod [dilu'kod] *n.* youngest child, last person.

madilukod [madilu'kod] *adj.* late, last, final. *Morph:* **ma-dilukod.**

dinatal

duminatal [dumi'natal] *v.* blow up, explode. *Morph:* **d<um>inatal.**

dinatalan [di'natalan] *v.* punch, hit someone or something. *Morph:* **dinatal-an.**

dinnang

madinnang [madin'naŋ] *adj.* clear, as of water. *Ant:* **malotlot.** *Morph:* **ma-dinnang.**

duminnang *v.* clear up, become clear, as of water. *Morph:* **d<um>innang.**

dinom [di'nom] *n.* water. *Etym:* PMP *danum (Blust 1999).

dipog [di'pog] *n.* ashes, dust. *See:* **daporan** 'hearth'. *Etym:* PMP *dapuR 'hearth'.

dipon ['dipon] *n.* market.

diram

madiram [madi'ram] *adj.* dark. *Syn:* **ma-lidum.** *Morph:* **ma-diram.**

disalad [disa'lad] *n.* inside.

madisalad *adj.* deep, as a hole or a cave (not water). *Morph:* **ma-disalad.** *See:* **ma-battong** 'deep, of water'.

disat [di'sat] *n.* high ground. *Etym:* PMP *ditaqas.

ditag [di'tag] *n.* plain, small clearing. *Etym:* PMP *dataR.

ditang *Syn:* **demat.** *Etym:* PMP *dateŋ.

dumitang [du'mitaŋ] *v.* arrive. *Morph:* **d<um>itang.**

iditang [idi'taŋ] *v.* bring something. *Morph:* **i-ditang.**

ditang

magditang [magdi'taŋ] *v.* suffer from a fever. *Syn:* **mag-ladu.** *Morph:* **mag-ditang.**

diyag

magdiyag [mag'diyag] *v.* eat. *Syn:* **mag-kan; mag-agsak.** *Morph:* **mag-diyag.**

madiyag [ma'diyag] *n.* food. *Morph:* **ma-diyag.**

pagdiyagan [pagdi'yagan] *n.* table, eating place. *Morph:* **pag-diyag-an.**

diyaw

diyawan [diya'wan] *v.* honor, respect. *Morph:* **diyaw-an.**

diyog [di'yog] *n.* bowl.

don [do:n] *n.* leaf. *Etym:* PMP *dahun (Blust 1999).

donan ['donan] *n.* plate for eating.

doong [do:ŋ] *n.* nose. *Syn:* **dungas.**

doyan ['doyan] *n.* hammock. *Etym:* PWMP *duyan.

-dud *adv.* adverbial enclitic used to mark questions or to soften a request. **Anya-dud i nagen-mo?** What is your name?

dukas

madukas [madu'kas] *adj.* bad, wrong, dirty, ugly. *Ant:* **mappya.** *Morph:* **ma-dukas.**

dukot [du'kot] *n.* small pieces of firewood. *See:* **tagad** 'large pieces of firewood'.

magdukot [magdu'kot] *v.* build a fire. *Morph:* **mag-dukot.**

duksan

maduksan [ma'duksan] *adj.* dense, as vegetation. *Morph:* **ma-dukasan.**

dulaw

madulaw [madu'law] *adj.* red. *Syn:* **ma-dideg; ma-digkat; ma-sulu.** *Morph:* **ma-dulaw.**

dulaw

magdulaw [magdu'law] *v.* shout, call out. *Morph:* **mag-dulaw.**

dumakpan [du'makpan] *v.* group of pigs, herd of pigs.

dungas [du'ŋas] *n.* nose. *Syn:* **doong.**

dupaneng [dupa'nɛŋ] *n.* opposite side of mountain, adjacent river valley. *See:* **Dupaningan.**

Dupaningan ['dupani,ŋan] the name of the language group. *Morph:* **dupaneng-an.** *See:* **dupaneng** 'opposite side of the mountain'.

dupat [du'pat] *n.* banana. *Syn:* **adika.** *From:* Labin (Central Cagayan) Agta.

dure-dure [du'rɛdu'rɛ] *n.* cicada.

duro

iduro [i'duro] *v.* gather things. *Morph:* **i-duro.**

pagiduruan [pagi'duruwan] *n.* garbage. *Morph:* **pag-i-duru-an.**

durog

magdurog [magdu'rog] *v.* stay close together, be side by side; stick together; live together; sleep next to. *Morph:* **mag-durog.**

duwa ['duwa] *adj.* two. *Etym:* PAN *duSa (Blust 1999).

kaliduwa [kali'duwa] *n.* soul. *Morph:* **kali-duwa.**

duyog

maduyog [ma'duyog] *adj.* leaning, drooping, as a tree. *Morph:* **ma-duyog.**

E - e

ebbar
umebbar [u'mɛbbar] *v.* fly. *Morph:* **<um>ebbar.**
egkam
magegkam [ma'gɛgkam] *v.* hold, grasp, clench. *Morph:* **mag-egkam.**
egkaman ['ɛgkaman] *v.* hold, grasp, clench something. *Morph:* **egkam-an.**
eknod
umeknod [u'mɛknod] *v.* sit. *Morph:* **<um>eknod.**
pinaeknod [pina'ʔeknod] *n.* arrow with small flares at base of the arrowhead. *Morph:* **p<in>a-eknod.**
ellad
iellad [iyɛl'lad] *v.* submerge something in water. *Morph:* **i-ellad.**
ellaw
naellaw [na'ʔɛllaw] *adj.* drunk; dizzy from spinning around. *Morph:* **na-ellaw.**
ellayu [ɛl'layu] *n.* pestle, long, skinny device for pounding rice in **lasong** 'mortar'.
ellod
iellod [i'yɛllod] *v.* float something, set something adrift, send something by current, as floating rattan downstream to sell. *Morph:* **i-ellod.**
emad
umemad [u'mɛmad] *v.* smile. *Syn:* **m<um>anghe; m<um>admad.** *Morph:* **<um>emad.**
emmang
umemmang [u'mɛmmaŋ] *v.* rest. *Morph:* **<um>emang.**
enabuyu [ɛna'buyu] *n.* alcohol.
enak
magenak [ma'gɛnak] *v.* give birth. *Morph:* **mag-enak.** *See:* **anak** 'child'.
ennam ['ɛnnam] *n.* taste.
ennaman ['ɛnnaman] *v.* taste, try (food or experience). *Morph:* **ennam-an.**
enta
maenta [ma'ʔɛnta] *v.* see, notice. *Morph:* **ma-enta.**
umenta [u'mɛnta] *v.* look. *Morph:* **<um>enta.**
tamus ['tamus] *v.* please look at this. *Morph:* **enta-an=mo=bas.**
enyanan ['ɛnyanan] *n.* placenta.
englan [ɛŋlan] *v.* scold. *Morph:* **ingal-an.** *See:* **ingal.**
erak
maerak [ma'ʔɛrak] *adj.* still, calm, peaceful. *Morph:* **ma-erak.**
eryok
mageryok [ma'gɛryok] *v.* search, work. *Morph:* **mag-eryok.**
eryukan [ɛr'yukan] *v.* search for something, look for something. *Morph:* **eryok-an.**
maeryukan [ma'ʔɛryukan] *v.* find something. *Morph:* **ma-eryok-an.**
esbu
umesbu [u'mɛsbu] *v.* urinate. *Morph:* **um-esbu.** *Etym:* PAN *sibu 'urine, urinate' (Blust 1995).
espeho [ɛs'pɛho] *n.* mirror. *From:* Spanish via Ilokano.
essa ['ɛssa] *adj.* one. *Etym:* PAN *esa (Blust 1999).
is-essa *adj.* alone. *Morph:* **is-essa.**
etnod
umetnod [u'mɛtnod] *v.* sit. *Morph:* **<um>etnod.**
pinaetnod [pina'ʔetnod] *n.* arrow with small flares at base of the arrowhead. *Morph:* **p<in>a-etnod.**

G - g

gabben
maggabben [maggab'bɛn] *v.* sneeze. *Morph:* **mag-gabben.**
gabbu [gab'bu] *n.* head cold; mucus. *Syn:* **hipon.**
maggabbu [maggab'bu] *v.* suffer from a head cold, especially nasal congestion. *Morph:* **mag-gabbu.**
gabutung [ga'butuŋ] *n.* mucus.
gaddang [gad'daŋ] *n.* skin.
gadduwa [gad'duwa] *n.* half. *See:* **duwa** 'two'.
gahut [ga'hut] *n.* debt.
gumahut [guma'hut] *v.* borrow money. *Morph:* **g<um>ahot.**
gakad [ga'kad] *n.* rope.
maggakad [magga'kad] *v.* tie. *Morph:* **mag-gakad.**
gakadden [gakad'dɛn] *v.* tie something up. *Syn:* **gilut-an.** *Morph:* **gakad-an.**
gakgak ['gakgak] *n.* crow. *Syn:* **wakwak.** *Etym:* PWMP *gakgak.
gakos
gumakos [guma'kos] *v.* hug. *Morph:* **g<um>akos.**
gakusan [gaku'san] *v.* hug someone. *Morph:*

gakus-an.

galambud [ga'lambud] *n.* carabao, water buffalo. *Syn:* **makadaklan; galampes.**

galampes [ga'lampɛs] *n.* carabao, water buffalo. *Syn:* **galambud; makadaklan.**

galgal *Etym:* PWMP *gelgel.

maggalgal [mag'galgal] *v.* saw, butcher. *Morph:* **mag-galgal.**

galgalan *v.* saw, butcher something. *Morph:* **galgal-an.**

paggalgal *n.* saw, an instrument used for sawing or butchering. *Morph:* **pag-galgal.**

galis [ga'lis] *n.* skin disease where the skin is flaky or has light blotches, such as ringworm or eczema.

gamman ['gamman] *v.* stop someone, quiet someone, prevent fights, moderate, mitigate, impede, hinder. *Syn:* **tappag-an.**

gammol ['gammol] *n.* person missing all teeth. *See:* **kangirab** 'person missing some teeth'. *From:* Labin (Central Cagayan) Agta.

gangat

gangatan [gaŋa'tan] *n.* fire, flame. *Morph:* **gangat-an.**

gumangat [gu'maŋat] *v.* flame, flare up, burn; glow. *Morph:* **g<um>angat.**

magpagangat [magpaga'ŋat] *v.* ignite a flame, start a fire. *Morph:* **mag-pa-gangat.**

gangngak

maggangngak [maggaŋ'ŋak] *v.* open mouth. *Morph:* **mag-gangngak.**

garasib [ga'rasib] *n.* scissors. *Syn:* **gitting.**

magpagarasib [magpagara'sib] *v.* get a haircut. *Morph:* **mag-pa-garasib.**

garoggong [ga'roggoŋ] *n.* species of tree similar to guava.

garsat

garsatan [gar'satan] *v.* cut shorter, cut in two. *Morph:* **garsat-an.**

gartod

maggartod [mag'gartod] *v.* pluck, rip off, rip out, cut off, cut in two. *Morph:* **mag-gartod.**

gasa [ga'sa] *n.* lungs.

gasak

maggasak [mag'gasak] *v.* die. *Syn:* **ma-lugulug; ma-tegbak.** *Morph:* **mag-gasak.**

gatab

maggatab [magga'tab] *v.* harvest grain. *Morph:* **mag-gatab.**

gatam

maggatam [magga'tam] *v.* graze, as an animal. *Morph:* **mag-gatam.**

pagataman [paga'taman] *v.* have an animal graze, cause an animal to graze, take an animal out for grazing. *Morph:* **pa-gatam-an.**

gatang

gumatang [gu'mataŋ] *v.* buy. *Morph:* **g<um>atang.** *From:* Ilokano.

gattak [gat'tak] *n.* tree sap; coconut milk; milk. *Etym:* PPh */gateq/ 'coconut milk'; PPh */getaq/ 'sap' (Blust 1995).

gatu

magatu [ma'gatu] *adj.* one hundred. *Morph:* **ma-gatu.** *Etym:* PMP *Ratus.

gayak

gayakan [gaya'kan] *v.* ridicule, make fun of. **Paka-gaya-gayak-an=na i anak-a i lalakay he a kapolpog.** The child is making fun of the bald old man.

gaygay ['gaygay] *n.* penis. *Usage:* **Vulgar.**

gedtan

gedtanan ['gɛdtanan] *v.* step on. *Morph:* **gedtan-an.**

gesngaw

kagesngaw [ka'gɛsŋaw] *n.* harelipped person. *Morph:* **ka-gesngaw.**

gidit

gumidit [gu'midit] *v.* laugh. *Syn:* **ngidit; idit.** *Morph:* **g<um>idit.**

gidsal ['gidsal] *n.* spear. *Syn:* **pisga.**

gidsalan ['gidsalan] *v.* spear someone or something. *Morph:* **gidsal-an.**

gilat

ginilat [gini'lat] *n.* arrow that has many sharp, flaring spikes at the base of the arrowhead; the head detaches from arrow shaft. *Morph:* **g<in>ilat.**

giled [gilɛd] *n.* mountain ridge.

gilot [gi'lot] *n.* rope. *Syn:* **galot.**

gilutan [gi'lutan] *v.* tie something up. *Syn:* **gakaden.** *Morph:* **gilot-an.**

gimak

gumimak [gu'mimak] *v.* stop doing something. *Morph:* **g<um>imak.**

gimat [gi'mat] *n.* fan palm tree whose leaves are used for making roofs. *Livistonia sp.* *Syn:* **anaw.**

gimay [gi'may] *n.* nit, baby louse. *See:* **kutu** 'louse (general term)'.

gimet

maggimet [maggi'mɛt] *v.* make, do. *Morph:* **mag-gimet.**

gimitan [gimi'tan] *v.* do something, make something. *Morph:* **gimet-an.**

ginak

ginakkan [ginak'kan] *v.* stab something. *Morph:* **ginak-an.**

gino

magino [magi'no] *adj.* pretty, good. *Morph:* **ma-gino.**

ginga
magginga [mag'giŋa] *v.* type of traditional Agta singing.
gipu
maggipu *v.* come from, start, begin. *Syn:* **g<um>ipu**. *Morph:* **mag-gipu**.
mangigipu [maŋi'gipu] *v.* start, originate. *Morph:* **mang-i-gipu**.
girak [gi'rak] *n.* possessions, things, bundle of clothes.
giray [gi'ray] *n.* finger, toe.
gisaden [gi'sadɛn] *n.* genre of singing in which singer uses words not normally spoken in everyday speech.
maggisaden [maggi'sadɛn] *v.* sing a **gisaden** song. *Morph:* **mag-gisaden**.
gisan
gumisan [gumi'san] *v.* scoot over, back up. *Morph:* **g<um>isan**.
gisat [gi'sat] *n.* woman's breast. *See:* **mag-susu** 'breastfeed'. *Etym:* PMP *Ratas 'milk'.
gisgis
maggisgis [mag'gisgis] *v.* brush, as teeth. *Morph:* **mag-gisgis**. *Etym:* PWMP *gisgis.
gitting [git'tiŋ] *n.* scissors. *Syn:* **garasib**.
giwad ['giwad] *n.* betel pepper, used in conjunction with **apog** 'lime', **butag** 'betel nut', and **subu** 'tobacco' to make **amman** 'betel nut chew'. *Piper betle*. *Etym:* *Rawed (Blust 1983-4).
manggiwad [maŋ'giwad] *v.* search for **giwad**.
giwat
gumiwat [gu'miwat] *v.* reach, reach out; extend the hand. *Morph:* **g<um>iwat**.
igiwat [i'giwat] *v.* give, deliver, hand over. *Morph:* **i-giwat**.
giwatan ['giwatan] *v.* accept, get. *Morph:* **giwat-an**.
giwed
maggiwed [mag'giwɛd] *v.* draw a bow and arrow. *Morph:* **mag-giwed**.
giwidan [gi'widan] *v.* stretch something out. *Syn:* **i-uyad**.
giyak [gi'yak] *n.* bark, of a dog on a hunt.
giyakan *v.* bark at an animal, of a dog on a hunt. *Morph:* **giyak-an**.
golang ['golaŋ] *n.* orphan.
gotam [go'tam] *n.* generic name for ocean fish. *Usage:* word is unknown to speakers of inland dialects.
gubok
maggubok [maggu'bok] *v.* roast, grill. *Syn:* **mag-i-sokad**; **mang-i-apoy**. *Morph:* **mag-gubok**.
guenaba ['gwɛnaba] *n.* soursop fruit. *Syn:* **guyabana**. *From:* Labin (Central Cagayan) Agta.
guhu [gu'hu] *n.* dull knife used for digging.
gulam
maggulam [mag'gulam] *v.* play. *Syn:* **magkayag**. *Morph:* **mag-gulam**.
gunak
maggunak [maggu'nak] *v.* have sexual intercourse. *Syn:* **mangyot**. *Morph:* **mag-gunak**.
gusgus
maggusgus [mag'gusgus] *v.* scratch an itch. *Morph:* **mag-gusgus**.
gusgusan *v.* scratch something, rub something. *See:* **maggusgus**. *Etym:* PWMP *gusgus (Blust 1983-4).
gusok [gu'sok] *n.* sternum, center of chest below breasts. *Etym:* PMP *Rusuk.
gutap
gumutap [gumu'tap] *v.* dive into water. *Morph:* **g<um>utap**.
gutgut
maggutgut [mag'gutgut] *v.* gnaw, bite into something, tear at something with teeth. *Morph:* **mag-gutgut**. *Etym:* PWMP *gutgut.
gutob [gu'tob] *n.* arrow with a diamond-shaped head.
guwalab [gu'walab] *n.* knee. *Usage:* southern dialects. *See:* **alab** 'knee (northern dialects)'; **walab** 'knee (central dialects)'.
guyabana [guya'bana] *n.* soursop fruit. *Syn:* **guenaba**.
guyod
guyodan [gu'yodan] *v.* pull. *Syn:* **i-lagedan**. *Morph:* **guyod-an**. *From:* Ilokano.

H - h

ha [ha] marks an oblique noun phrase. **Niatad-ko i attam ha babbey-ayu.** I gave the sugar to that woman. *Etym:* PWMP *sa.
habu [ha'bu] *n.* honey.
hadia [hadʒa] *interrog.* where (used for the location of an event), what.
hagud
hagudan [hagu'dan] *v.* hurry up. *Morph:* **hagud-an**.
hahe ['hahɛ] *interrog.* where.
hakab *Etym:* PMP root *-keb.
maghakab [magha'kab] *v.* lie on stomach, fall on

stomach. *Syn:* **h<um>akab.** *Morph:* **mag-hakab.**

hakhak ['hakhak] *n.* ember, live coal. *Syn:* **rangrang.**

haldu

maghaldu [mag'haldu] *v.* hiccup. *Syn:* **mag-hildu.** *Morph:* **mag-haldu.**

halidong [hali'doŋ] *n.* umbrella, something used to protect oneself from the sun or rain. *Syn:* **banoy.**

haligid

haligidan [hali'gidan] *v.* carry something by hanging with a string around forehead while the bundle rests on one's back. *Syn:* **salduy-an.** *Morph:* **haligid-an.**

halin

halinan ['halinan] *v.* alternate, take turns, trade off. *Morph:* **halin-an.**

hama ['hama] *n.* father. *Syn:* **nama.** *See:* **ama** 'father, vocative'; **amang** 'father, vocative'; **dema** 'father and others'; **hena** 'mother'.

hama

humama [hu'mama] *v.* fall asleep very suddenly, quickly, or easily. *Morph:* **h<um>ama.**

hamakel

maghamakel [maghama'kɛl] *v.* be hoarse, lose one's voice. *Syn:* **mag-parak.** *Morph:* **mag-hamakel.**

hangan ['ha:ŋan] *interrog.* how many, how much. **Hangan tawen-mo?** How old are you?

hanggan ['haŋgan] until, to, as far as. **Matagubet-kita hanggan ha karayan-ayo.** Let's race to the river. *Etym:* PWMP *haŋga 'until, far as' (Blust 1983-4).

hapu [ha'pu] *n.* god, boss, master, respected older person. *Etym:* PPh *apu-? 'grandparent, ancestor, lord, master, owner (vocative)' (Blust 1995).

hekka ['hɛkka] *n.* older sibling of either sex (used in reference, not in address). *Syn:* **akka; nekka.** *See:* **akka** 'older sibling (address)'; **dekka** 'older siblings (plural)'.

hen

maghen [mag'hɛn] *v.* reside, live, stay, dwell, occupy a place, be located. *Morph:* **mag-hen.**

henan ['hɛnan] where; used to ask about the location of an object. *See:* **hadia** 'where; used to ask about the location of an event'.

hena ['hɛna] *n.* mother. *Syn:* **nena.** *See:* **ina** 'mother (vocative)'; **inang** 'mother (vocative)'; **dena** 'mother and other individuals'; **hama** 'father'.

henan ['hɛnan] *interrog.* where; used to ask about the location of an object. *Morph:* **hen-an.** *See:* **hadia** 'where; used to ask about the location of an event'; **hen.**

heya ['hɛya] *interrog.* who, what.

hida ['hida] *n.* course eaten with rice, part of the meal that is not rice. *Etym:* PPh *sidaq 'protein side-dish eaten with rice (typically fish)' (Blust 1995).

maghida [mag'hida] *v.* eat a course with rice. *Morph:* **mag-hida.**

hidaan [hida:n] *v.* eat something with rice. *Morph:* **hida-an.**

hidi 1) *pron.* they, third person plural nominative pronoun, both long- and short-form. 2) plural marker.

hikam [hi'kam] *pron.* you, second person plural long-form nominative (topic) pronoun.

hikami *pron.* we, first person plural exclusive long-form nominative (topic) pronoun.

hikan [hi'kan] *pron.* I, first person singular long-form nominative (topic) pronoun.

hikaw [hi'kaw] *pron.* you, second person singular long-form nominative (topic) pronoun.

hikeg [hi'kɛg] *n.* side, space nearby or next to someone. *Syn:* **bikan.**

humikeg [humi'kɛg] *v.* lie on side, fall on side. *Morph:* **h<um>ikeg.**

mahikeg *adj.* lying on one's side. *Morph:* **ma-hikeg.**

hikita *pron.* we, you & I, first person dual long-form nominative (topic) pronoun.

hikitam *pron.* we, first person plural inclusive long-form nominative (topic) pronoun.

hikuna [hi'kuna] *pron.* he, she; third person singular long-form nominative (topic) pronoun.

hildu

maghildu [mag'hildu] *v.* hiccup. *Syn:* **mag-haldu.** *Morph:* **mag-hildu.**

hipon [hi'pon] *n.* mucus, head cold. *Syn:* **gabbu.**

hito *pron.* there; anaphoric locative pronoun. *See:* **ito** 'anaphoric pronoun'. *Etym:* PAN *iCu.

hoyut

hoyutan ['hoyutan] *v.* pick up, stop by, fetch. *Syn:* **dagah-an.** *Morph:* **hoyut-an.**

hulat

mahulat [mahu'lat] *v.* tire of something; be sick of something. *Morph:* **ma-hulat.**

I - i

i [i] marker for definite common nouns.

i- prefix for instrumental focus in the incompletive aspect. *See:* **ni-** 'completive instrumental focus prefix'. *Etym:* PAN *Si.

ibar [i'bar] *n.* saliva, spit. *Etym:* PMP *qibeR.

ibay [i'bay] *n.* trading partner; an Ilokano friend of an Agta person; an Ilokano person who spends much time with Agta, especially someone who works with Agta. *See:* **ogden** 'non-Agta person (general term)'.

iday [i'day] *pron.* that; singular demonstrative pronoun of medial deixis. *See:* **daginday** 'plural medial demonstrative'.

ide [i'dɛ] *pron.* this; proximal demonstrative pronoun. *See:* **daginde** 'plural proximal demonstrative'.

idi marker of past time phrases. **Idi ta-anak-ak, nategbak ni babong-ko.** When I was a small child, my grandmother died.

idit

umidit [u'midit] *v.* laugh. *Syn:* **ng<um>idit; g<um>idit.** *Morph:* **<um>idit.**

idu [i'du] *pron.* that; singular distal demonstrative pronoun. *See:* **daginto** 'plural distal demonstrative'. *Etym:* PWMP *idu.

igat

maigat [ma'ʔigat] *adj.* hard, not soft. *Idiom:* **maigat i buntok** 'hard-headed, stubborn'. *Morph:* **ma-igat.**

iget [i'gɛt] *n.* eel. *Etym:* PPh *igat.

igup *Syn:* **ruprup.** *Etym:* PAN *SiRup.

magigup [magi'gup] *v.* sip. *Morph:* **mag-igup.**

igupan [igu'pan] *v.* sip liquids. *Morph:* **igup-an.**

ihay [i'hay] *pron.* there; locative of medial deixis. *See:* **ihe** 'proximal locative'; **iho** 'distal locative'.

ihe [i'hɛ] *pron.* here; proximal locative. *See:* **ihay** 'medial locative'; **iho** 'distal locative'.

iho *pron.* there; distal locative. *See:* **ihe** 'proximal locative'; **ihay** 'medial locative'.

ikar *n.* phlegm. *Etym:* PMP *qikej 'cough'.

magikar [magi'kar] *v.* cough. *Morph:* **mag-ikar.**

ikat

umikat [umi'kat] *v.* rise, get up. *Morph:* **<um>ikat.**

ilat

mailat [ma?i'lat] *adj.* tight, narrow, constricted. *Morph:* **ma-ilat.**

ilay [i'lay] *n.* friend.

makiilay [maki'ʔilay] *adj.* friendly. *Morph:* **maki-ilay.**

ilos [i'los] *n.* kind of yam. *Dioscorea filiformis.*

im *conj.* but; than (comparative marker). **Mas map-mappya i babbey im lallaki.** The woman is better than the man.

imbal

naimbal [na'ʔimbal] *adj.* brackish water, water that is partially fresh and partially salty, as where a river meets the ocean. *Morph:* **na-imbal.**

imon

mangimon [maŋi'mon] *v.* be jealous. *Morph:* **mang-imon.**

-in- completive aspect infix; combines with actor focus infix <um>, and locative focus suffix -an; occurs as the sole focus/aspect marker in completive patient focus verbs. *Etym:* PAN *-in-.

ina [i'na] *n.* mother, a term of reference (vocative). *See:* **hena** 'mother'; **nena** 'Mother'; **inang** 'mother, address (childish)'; **ama** 'father'. *Etym:* PAN *ina 'mother, mother's sister' (Blust 1995).

inamakan [inama'kan] *n.* vagina, vulva. *Syn:* **ubat.**

inang ['inaŋ] *n.* mother, used as an address/vocative term (somewhat childish). *See:* **ina** 'mother (vocative)'; **hena** 'mother'; **nena** 'mother'; **dena** 'mother and other individuals'; **amang** 'father (address)'.

inapoy [ina'poy] *n.* cooked rice. *See:* **paray** 'rice plant'; **bagah** 'uncooked rice'. *From:* Ilokano.

inibi [ini'bi] *n.* kind of yam.

inom *Etym:* PMP *inum (Blust 1999).

uminom [umi'nom] *v.* drink. *Morph:* **<um>inom.**

inuman [inu'man] *v.* drink something. *Morph:* **inum-an.**

ingal

englan ['ɛŋlan] *v.* scold. *Morph:* **ingal-an.**

maingal [ma'ʔiŋal] *adj.* angry, proud. *Morph:* **ma-ingal.**

magingal [mag'ʔiŋal] *v.* fight. *Morph:* **mag-ingal.**

ingas

magingas [ma'giŋas] *v.* breathe. *Syn:* **<um>angas; mag-angas.** *Morph:* **mag-ingas.** *See:* **angas** 'breath'.

ipag [i'pag] *n.* sibling-in-law of the opposite sex. *See:* **ayung** 'sibling-in-law of same sex'. *Etym:* PMP *hipaR 'sibling-in-law, probably of the same sex' (Blust 1995).

ipas [i'pas] *n.* cockroach, bedbug. *Etym:* PAN *Sipes.

iraw [i'raw] *n.* python.

isan

magisan [magi'san] *v.* stay over, sleep over, stay somewhere; make a camp in the forest. *Morph:* **mag-isan.**

pagisanan *n.* camp; place to stay or sleep temporarily. *Morph:* **pag-isan-an.**

islip [is'lip] *n.* goggles.

ismagel [is'magɛl] *n.* slippers, sandals, flip-flops.

isnga

magisnga [ma'gisŋa] *v.* blow nose. *Morph:* **mag-isnga.** *See:* **mag-asnga.**

isok

magisok [magi'sok] *v.* smoke, as a fire. *Morph:* **mag-isok.** *See:* **asok** 'smoke'.

ito [i'to] *pron.* it; third person singular anaphoric pronoun. *See:* **hito** 'anaphoric locative'. *Etym:* PAN *iCu.

iwad

magiwad [magi'wad] *v.* prevent, hold back, detain, restrain, hinder, impede, stop. *Syn:* **tappag-an.** *Morph:* **mag-iwad.**

iwaden [i'wadɛn] *v.* prevent , hold back, detain, restrain, hinder, impede, stop someone or something something. *Morph:* **iwad-an.**

iyu [i'yu] *n.* shark. *Etym:* PAN *qiSu.

iyup

mangiyup [maŋi'yup] *v.* blow with the mouth. *Morph:* **mang-iyup.**

iyupan [i'yupan] *v.* blow on something. *Morph:* **iyup-an.** *Etym:* PAN *Siup (Blust 1999).

K - k

ka- [ka] aspectual prefix for recently completed verbs. **Kademat-ko-dalla nakkoya.** I only just arrived earlier. *Etym:* PAN *ka- 'marker of past time in temporal expressions' (Blust 1983-4).

ka- nominalizing prefix. *Etym:* PWMP *ka-.

-ka *pron.* you, second person singular nominative enclitic pronoun.

ka- -an superlative circumfix. **ka-binag-an** strongest

kabaksan [ka'baksan] *n.* female monkey. *Morph:* **ka-bakas-an.** *See:* **bakas** 'old woman, wife'; **burog** 'monkey'.

kabanga [ka'baŋa] *n.* spouse, husband, wife.

magkabanga [mag'kabaŋa] *v.* get married. *Morph:* **mag-kabanga.**

magkabanga [mag'kabaŋa] *n.* married couple. *Morph:* **mag-kabanga.**

kabeng

kabengan [ka'bɛŋan] *v.* abandon, ignore, get rid of. *Morph:* **kabeng-an.**

kabus

mekabus [mɛka'bus] *v.* gone, finished, used up. *Morph:* **ma-i-kabus.**

kad- *v.* go; pseudo-verb used for imperative and hortative 'go' constructions; occasionally used for declaratives. **Kad-tam-on.** Let's go.

kada ['kada] *adv.* each, every time. **Lumapos-kitam ha dipon kada liggu.** We go to the market every Sunday. *From:* Spanish via Ilokano.

kaddur [kad'dur] *n.* thunder.

kaddut

magkaddut [magkad'dut] *v.* pinch. *Morph:* **mag-kaddut.** *Etym:* PWMP *kezut (Blust 1983-4).

kadital [ka'dital] *n.* small biting ant.

kagbi ['kagbi] *adj.* worthy of pity, poor, pitiful, pathetic.

makagbi [ma'kagbi] *adj.* merciful, compassionate, kind, having pity. *Morph:* **ma-kagbi.**

kaget *Etym:* PAN *kaRat (Blust 1999).

kumaget [kuma'gɛt] *v.* bite. *Morph:* **k<um>aget.**

kagitan [ka'gitan] *v.* bite someone or something. *Morph:* **kaget-an.**

kagi [ka'gi] *n.* sound. *Etym:* PMP *kaRi 'say' (Blust 1999).

magkagi [magka'gi] *v.* speak, talk. *Morph:* **mag-kagi.**

kumagi [ku'magi] *v.* make noise. *Morph:* **k<um>agi.**

makagi [maka'gi] *adj.* talkative. *Syn:* **salawekwek.** *Morph:* **ma-kagi.**

kakkagi [kakka'gi] *n.* language. *Morph:* **ka-kagi.**

kahoy ['kahoy] *n.* cassava. *Etym:* PAN *kaSiw 'wood'.

kakay ['kakay] *n.* grandfather.

kakkagi [kakka'gi] *n.* language. *Syn:* **pag-kakkagi.** *Morph:* **ka-kagi.** *See:* **kagi** 'speak'.

kakpal ['kakpal] *n.* some, a group, a bunch; the rest. *Morph:* **ka-kappal.** *See:* **kappal.**

kalad

ikalad [ika'lad] *v.* wear something on forehead or face. *Morph:* **i-kalad.**

kalallipang [kalal'lipaŋ] *n.* small bat. *Syn:* **kalumbetag.** *See:* **payak** 'large bat'.

kalan

magkalan [magka'lan] *v.* be the same, match, be equal, be even; be related by blood. *Morph:* **mag-kalan.**

kalanan [ka'lanan] *v.* imitate, copy someone or something. *Morph:* **kalan-an.**

ikalan [ika'lan] *v.* compare things. *Morph:* **i-kalan.**
kakalan [kaka'lan] *n.* relative; something or someone similar. *Morph:* **ka-kalan.**
kalapati [kala'pati] *n.* dove, pigeon. *From:* Ilokano.
kalaw [ka'law] *n.* hornbill bird. *Etym:* PAN *kalaw 'a bird: the hornbill' (Blust 1980).
kalbo ['kalbo] *n.* mullet fish. *See:* **malagi** 'large mullet fish'.
kalding ['kaldiŋ] *n.* goat. *From:* Ilokano.
kaldiwan ['kaldiwan] *n.* morning star, evening star, venus; any large star. *See:* **pusiyan** 'star'.
kalebkeb [ka'lɛbkɛb] *n.* cliff, hillside, slope.
kali ['kali] *n.* kind of large bird.
kali *Etym:* PAN *kalih (Blust 1999).
magkali [magkali] *v.* dig. *Morph:* **mag-kali.**
kaliduwa [kali'duwa] *n.* soul. *Morph:* **kali-duwa.** *See:* **duwa** 'two'.
kalipat [kali'pat] *n.* opposite side.
kalkal
magkalkal [mag'kalkal] *v.* cuddle, hold in lap. *Morph:* **mag-kalkal.**
kallab [kal'lab] *n.* lid, cover.
kallakyan [kal'lakyan] *n.* sibling or cousin of the same sex. *Morph:* **ka-lakay-an.**
kallap [kal'lap] *n.* night, nighttime. *See:* **k<um>llap** 'sleep'; **ma-kellap** 'asleep'. *Etym:* PMP *kelap.
kallopas [kal'lopas] *n.* a woman who is married but does not yet have children.
kalobung [ka'lobuŋ] *n.* handkerchief worn on head.
kaltob
kumaltob [ku'maltob] *v.* set, as the sun or moon. *Syn:* **lomdap; lomnak.** *Morph:* **k<um>altob.**
kalumbetag [kalum'bɛtag] *n.* small bat. *Syn:* **kalallipang.**
kalupi [ka'lupi] *n.* traditional basket with shoulder straps worn on back.
-kam *pron.* you, second person plural enclitic nominative pronoun.
kamal-kamal
kamalkamalan [ka'malka,malan] *v.* knead something with hands. *Morph:* **kamal-kamal-an.**
kamat [ka'mat] *n.* hand, arm. *Etym:* PMP *kamet.
kambus
magkambus [mag'kambus] *v.* startle, shudder from fright, have heart beat quickly. *Morph:* **mag-kambus.**
-kami *pron.* we, first person plural exclusive enclitic nominative pronoun. *Etym:* PAN *kami.
kammegus [kam'mɛgus] *n.* boyfriend, girlfriend.
kamosi [ka'mosi] *n.* sweet potato. *Ipomoea batatas.* *From:* Labin (Central Cagayan) Agta.
kampit [] *n.* small knife.
kan *Etym:* PAN *kaen (Blust 1999).
magkan [mag'kan] *v.* eat, especially rice or a meal containing rice. *Syn:* **mag-diyag; mag-agsak.** *Morph:* **mag-kan.**
kanan ['kanan] *v.* eat rice or eat a meal containing rice. *Morph:* **kan-an.**
kanan ['kanan] *n.* food, especially rice. *Morph:* **kan-an.**
kankanen ['kan,kanɛn] *n.* sweet bread. *Morph:* **kan-kan-en.**
pakanan [pa'kanan] *v.* feed a person or animal. *Morph:* **pa-kan-an.**
paragkanan *n.* table. *Morph:* **parag-kan-an.**
-kan *adv.* hearsay particle; they say, it is said. **Maguden-kan ha lapos-ayo.** They say it's raining in town.
kandeho [kan'deho] *n.* cooking pot. *Syn:* **banga.**
kannet [kan'nɛt] *n.* small ant.
kanot
makanot [maka'not] *adj.* slippery. *Morph:* **ma-kanot.**
kaparanga [kapa'raŋa] *n.* small chameleon that is said to bite.
kapas ['kapas] *n.* cotton. *From:* Ilokano.
kapaya [ka'paya] *n.* papaya.
kapeya [ka'pɛya] *adj.* well-behaved, good. *Morph:* **ka-peya.** *See:* **peya.**
kapigad [kapi'gad] *n.* kind of flat saucerlike freshwater fish.
kapno *conj.* so, so that, in order to. **Ginimet-na kapno makasoli.** He did it so that he could go home.
kapot
ikapot [i'kapot] *v.* ignore, avoid, turn back on. *Morph:* **i-kapot.**
kapotgayong [ka'potgayoŋ] *n.* person or animal missing a limb.
kapoy
makapoy [maka'poy] *adj.* weak. *Morph:* **ma-kapoy.**
kappal *Etym:* PAN *kaS(e)pal 'thick, solid of objects'.
makpal ['makpal] *adj.* many, much. *Morph:* **ma-kappal.**
kakpal ['kakpal] *n.* some, a group, a bunch; the rest. *Morph:* **ka-kappal.**
kappeg [kap'pɛg] *n.* wing.
karad [ka'rad] *n.* end.
karamay [ka'ramay] *n.* centipede.
karamba [ka'ramba] *n.* clay pot. *Syn:* **damili.**
karap
karapan [ka'rapan] *v.* touch, fondle, grope, feel with hand. *Morph:* **karap-an.**
karaw

magkaraw [magka'raw] *v.* shout, yell. *Morph:* **mag-karaw.**

kared

magkared [magka'rɛd] *n.* sweep. *Syn:* **mag-kaykay.** *Morph:* **mag-kared.**

kareng [ka'rɛŋ] *n.* design on an arrow; line drawn around an arrow.

karep

kumarep [kuma'rɛp] *v.* grab, cling. *Morph:* **k<um>arep.**

karos-karos [ka'roska'ros] *adj.* rustling sound. *See:* **mag-kinarob** 'make a rustling sound'.

karoykoy [ka'roykoy] *n.* large crab. *See:* **agatol** 'small crab'.

karsad

ikarsad *v.* kick someone or something. *Syn:* **i-kuyat.** *Morph:* **i-karsad.**

karwad

kumarwad [ku'marwad] *v.* flee, run away. *Morph:* **k<um>arwad.**

kasi [ka'si] *n.* wild chicken.

kasinsin [ka'sinsin] *n.* cousin.

kassag

komsag ['komsag] *v.* shivering, feel chilled, wet, cold. *Morph:* **k<um>assag.**

kassinag [kassi'nag] *n.* summer, dry season; year. *Morph:* **ka-sinag.** *See:* **sinag.**

kasur [ka'sur] *v.* want, like, love.

kasuran *v.* need something. *Morph:* **kasur-an.**

kata

makata [ma'kata] *adj.* unripe, raw, undercooked. *Morph:* **ma-kata.**

katal

makatal [maka'tal] *adj.* itchy. *Morph:* **ma-katal.** *Etym:* PMP *gatel.

katandi [ka'tandi] *v.* know, understand.

katang

makatang [maka'taŋ] *adj.* wilted, withered, as a plant; weak. *Morph:* **ma-katang.**

katbigew ['katbigew] *n.* season between August and October when the **tikal** and **biraw** flower.

katlad

mangkatlad [maŋ'katlad] *v.* slash, cut, hack. *Syn:* **mag-katlad.** *Morph:* **mang-katlad.**

katladan [kat'ladan] *v.* slash, cut. *Morph:* **katlad-an.**

kattad ['kattad] *n.* mountain leech. *See:* **alemtak** 'leech (general)'; **balleng** 'land leech'; **lipat** 'river leech'.

katter

magkatter [magkat'tɛr] *v.* pinch. *Syn:* **mag-kaddut.** *Morph:* **mag-katter.**

kattol

magkattol [magkat'tol] *v.* cut down tree in the forest. *Morph:* **mag-kattol.**

katupu [katu'pu] *n.* riverine mollusk.

kawal

kumawal [kuma'wal] *v.* cross legs; put leg over something, such as a pillow or another person. *Syn:* **mag-kawal.** *Morph:* **k<um>awal.**

kawitan [ka'witan] *n.* rooster, male chicken.

kawiyan [ka'wiyan] *n.* bamboo. *Etym:* PAN *kawayan 'spiny bamboo' (Blust 1980).

kayag

magkayag [magka'yag] *v.* play. *Syn:* **mag-gulam.** *Morph:* **mag-kayag.**

kaykay ['kaykay] *n.* broom.

magkaykay [mag'kaykay] *v.* sweep. *Syn:* **mag-kared.** *Morph:* **mag-kaykay.**

kayu [ka'yu] *n.* living tree. *See:* **apoy** 'dead tree'. *Etym:* PAN *kaSiw.

magikayu *v.* go to get a tree in the forest, whether by cutting down or simply picking up a fallen tree. *Morph:* **mag-i-kayu.**

kegus ['kɛgus] *n.* far-away place, especially Manila.

kellap *See:* **k<um>ilap** 'sleep'; **kallap** 'night'.

makellap *adj.* asleep. *Morph:* **ma-kellap.**

makakellap able to sleep. *Morph:* **maka-kellap.**

kemokasan ['kɛmokasan] *n.* new year, change of years.

kemot

ikemot [i'kɛmot] *v.* prohibit, forbid. *Morph:* **i-kemot.**

makemot [ma'kɛmot] *adj.* greedy. *Morph:* **ma-kemot.**

ken [kɛ:n] *n.* skirt.

kengwa

makengwa [ma'kɛŋwa] *v.* catch animals for food (by luck or chance). *Morph:* **ma-kengwa.**

mangwa *v.* go out and catch animals for food.

kerug

kerugan [kɛ'rugan] *v.* fry something. *Morph:* **kerug-an.**

keskes ['kɛskɛs] *n.* fish scale. *Syn:* **seksek.**

magkeskes [mag'kɛskɛs] *v.* scale a fish. *Morph:* **mag-keskes.** *Etym:* PAN *keskes 'scratch, scrape' (Blust 1980).

kidap [ki'dap] *n.* forehead, face, head. *Syn:* **langas.** *Etym:* *ki(n)Zep 'blink, wink' (Blust 1983-4).

kidat

magkidat [mag'kidat] *v.* wink the eye. *Morph:* **mag-kidat.**

kilap *See:* **ma-kellap** 'asleep'; **kallap** 'night'.

kumilap [kumi'lap] *v.* sleep, close the eyes. *Morph:* **k<um>ilap.**

ikilap *v.* put someone to sleep. *Morph:* **i-kilap.**

makakilap [makaki'lap] *adj.* tired, sleepy. *Morph:* **maka-kilap.** *See:* **malupoy** 'tired,

overworked'.

kilat [ki'lat] *n.* lightning. *Etym:* PMP *kilat (Blust 1999).

kilaw-kilaw [ki'lawki'law] *adj.* crooked.

kilu-kiluy

magkilu-kiluy [mag'kilukiluy] *v.* write, read, study. *Morph:* **mag-kilu-kiluy.**

kinarob

magkinarob [magkina'rob] *v.* make a rustling sound. *Morph:* **mag-kinarob.** *See:* **karos-karos** 'rustling sound'.

kiray [ki'ray] *n.* eyebrow. *Etym:* PWMP *kiday.

kiroy

kiroyan [ki'royan] *v.* fry rice. *Morph:* **kiroy-an.**

kisap *Etym:* PWMP *ki(n)sap 'blink, wink; flicker, flash' (Blust 1980).

magkisap [magki'sap] *v.* wink, blink. *Syn:* **mag-kiram-kiram.** *Morph:* **mag-kisap.**

-kita *pron.* we, you & I; first person dual inclusive enclitic pronoun. *Etym:* PAN *kita.

-kitam *pron.* we, first person plural inclusive nominative enclitic pronoun.

kitang [ki'taŋ] *n.* large louse. *See:* **kutu** 'louse (general term)'.

kitatung [kita'tuŋ] *n.* mange; skin disease in which the skin is bumpy.

-ko *pron.* I, my; first person singular genitive pronoun. *Etym:* PAN *-ku.

kobil

ikobil [i'kobil] *v.* wrap something in the waistline of one's clothing. *Morph:* **i-kobil.**

kokombat [ko'kombat] *adj.* wrinkled, shriveled.

kolang

kolangan ['kolaŋan] *v.* bother, pester. *Morph:* **kolang-an.**

kolkog ['kɔlkog] *adj.* bald. *Syn:* **polpog.**

kom- *v.* pseudo-verb used for imperative 'come' constructions. **Kom-mo he.** Come here.

komsag ['komsag] *v.* shivering, feel chilled, wet, cold. *Morph:* **k<um>assag.**

kon- *v.* pseudo-verb used to indicate quoted speech. **"Gumimak-ka," kon-ko.** "Stop," I say.

konna like; used in constructions of similarity. **konna ha Rudin** like Rudin

kotkot *Etym:* PWMP *kutkut (Blust 1983-4).

ikotkot [i'kotkot] *v.* dig, bury something.

koyoyad [ko'yoyad] *adj.* stretched out; straight, as hair. *See:* **i-uyad** 'stretch out'.

kubag-kubag

magkubag-kubag *v.* throw a fit, roll around on the ground like a crying child. *Morph:* **mag-kubag-kubag.**

kublang [kub'laŋ] *n.* scar.

kuditdit [ku'ditdit] *n.* small mushroom that sprouts on dead trees.

kudut

mangudut [maŋu'dut] *v.* sneak up. *Morph:* **mang-kudut.**

kugita [kugi'ta] *n.* octopus. *Etym:* PAN *kuRita.

kulapes [ku'lapɛs] *n.* shell, peel of a fruit,, tree bark. *Syn:* **kulet.**

kulapisan *v.* peel something, as fruit. *Morph:* **kulapes-an.**

kulat [ku'lat] *n.* mushroom that grows from a dead tree. *Syn:* **kuditdit; u-ung.** *Etym:* PWMP *kulat.

kulaw [ku'law] *n.* owl.

kulet [ku'lɛt] *n.* tree bark, peel of a fruit, shell. *Syn:* **kulapes.** *Etym:* PMP *kulit 'skin' (Blust 1999).

magkulet [magku'lɛt] *v.* peel, skin. *Morph:* **mag-kulet.**

kulukol [kulu'kol] *n.* shout.

kulukolan [kulu'kolan] *v.* shout at, call out to. *Morph:* **kulukol-an.**

kumal-kumal

nakumal-kumal [naku'malku'mal] *adj.* tangled, twisted, crumpled, wrinkled. *Syn:* **na-kupal-kupal.** *Morph:* **na-kumal-kumal.**

kupal-kupal

kupal-kupalan [ku'pal,kupalan] *v.* roll up. *Morph:* **kupal-kupal-an.**

nakupal-kupal [naku'palku'pal] *adj.* tangled, twisted, crumpled, wrinkled. *Syn:* **na-kumal-kumal.** *Morph:* **na-kupal-kupal.**

kupit

makupit [maku'pit] *adj.* narrow, tight. *Morph:* **ma-kupit.** *Etym:* PWMP *kupit.

kureg

magkureg [magku'rɛg] *v.* sweep, rake. *Morph:* **mag-kureg.**

kureng [ku'rɛŋ] *n.* bamboo musical instrument played with mouth.

kuret-kuret [ku'rɛtku,rɛt] *n.* cricket.

kurinnat [ku'rinnat] *n.* money. *Syn:* **kwartu.**

kurot [ku'rot] *n.* mountain, hill, peak, summit. *Syn:* **tagiletel.**

kutu [ku'tu] *n.* louse. *Etym:* PAN *kuCu (Blust 1999).

kuwan [ku'wan] whatchamacallit; term used to replace the root that the speaker cannot recall; may replace any part of speech and may be affixed or reduplicated as necessary.

kuyang [ku'yaŋ] *n.* rat, mouse. *Syn:* **bilakad.**

kuyat

magkuyat [magku'yat] *v.* kick. *Morph:* **mag-kuyat.**

ikuyat [iku'yat] *v.* kick someone or something. *Syn:* **ikarsag.** *Morph:* **i-kuyat.**

kuyog

ikuyog [iku'yog] *v.* accompany, go with. *Morph:* **i-kuyog.**

kwartu ['kwartu] *n.* money. *Syn:* **kurinnat.**

L - l

-la *adv.* only, just; an adverbial enclitic of limitation.

labbang

ilabbang [ilab'baŋ] *v.* bury. *Morph:* **i-labbang.** *Etym:* PWMP *lebeŋ.

labbut

maglabbut [maglab'but] *v.* boil water. *Morph:* **mag-labbut.**

labi [la'bi] *n.* mouth, lips.

labunugen [labu'nugɛn] *n.* upper arm.

labwaren ['labwarɛn] *n.* spring of water. *Syn:* **arabuwaran; rabwaren.**

laddap *Etym:* PAN *lezep 'submerge, disappear under water' (Blust 1980).

magladdap [maglad'dap] *v.* fish with goggles, a stainless steel rod and elastic band used as a bow and arrow to spear fish underwater. *Syn:* **mag-barot.** *Morph:* **mag-laddap.**

lomdap ['lomdap] *v.* dive into water; sink. *Syn:* **k<um>altob; lomnak.** *Morph:* **l<um>addap.**

iladdap [ilad'dap] *v.* submerge something in water, drown someone. *Syn:* **i-ramram; i-ladlad.** *Morph:* **i-laddap.**

laddis

magladdis [maglad'dis] *v.* crush lice, generally between the fingernails. *Syn:* **mag-saddit.** *Morph:* **mag-laddis.**

ladi *Etym:* *laja 'weave mats' (Blust 2000b).

magladi [magla'di] *v.* weave, make baskets or mats. *Morph:* **mag-ladi.**

ladlad

iladlad [ilad'lad] *v.* submerge something, immerse something in water. *Syn:* **i-ramram; i-laddap.** *Morph:* **i-ladlad.**

ladu

magladu [magla'du] *v.* fever. *Syn:* **mag-ditang.** *Morph:* **mag-ladu.**

lagad [la'gad] *n.* small shrimp, small crayfish, small lobster.

lagedan

ilagedan [ila'gɛdan] *v.* pull something. *Syn:* **guyod-an.** *Morph:* **i-lagedan.**

lagen

malagen [ma'lagɛn] *adj.* lightweight. *Morph:* **ma-lagen.**

lagum

manglagum [maŋ'lagum] *v.* hunt in a large group, where a group of women and dogs drives the game at a group of men waiting to ambush the game. *Morph:* **mang-lagum.**

lahag [la'hag] *n.* testicles. *Syn:* **bungaw.** *Etym:* PMP *laseR.

lait

maglait [mag'la?it] *v.* use flashlight for catching fish at night. *Morph:* **mag-lait.** *From:* English 'light'.

lakad *Etym:* PMP *lakad.

maglakad [mag'lakad] *v.* walk. *Morph:* **mag-lakad.**

lumakad [luma'kad] *v.* leave, exit. *Morph:* **l<um>akad.**

ilakad [ila'kad] *v.* run away with, kidnap. *Morph:* **i-lakad.**

lakadinan [lakadi'nan] *v.* leave someone, walk out on. *Morph:* **lakad-an-an.**

lakaden

lakadinan [lakadi'nan] *v.* leave, walk out on. *See:* **lakad** 'walk'.

lakbung

maglakbung [mag'lakbuŋ] *v.* jump. *Syn:* **l<um>akbung.** *Morph:* **mag-lakbung.**

laki [la'ki] *n.* squid.

laknes

maglaknes [mag'laknɛs] *v.* lift or roll up clothes when crossing a body of river so that they do not get wet. *Syn:* **mag-lesles.**

lakop [la'kop] *n.* sky. *Syn:* **langet.**

laksang ['laksaŋ] *n.* step, pace, stride. *Syn:* **wakang.**

lumaksang *v.* stride, step. *Morph:* **l<um>aksang.**

lakset

lumakset [lu'maksɛt] *v.* leave, make oneself ready to go, start a journey, commence. *Syn:* **r<um>ettat.** *Morph:* **l<um>akset.**

laktat

malaktat [ma'laktat] *adj.* startled, surprised. *Morph:* **na-laktat.** *See:* **masbew** 'amazed'.

lalakay ['lalakay] *n.* old man, husband. *Syn:* **malupoy; lupog.** *See:* **kallakyan** 'sibling or cousin of the same sex'. *Etym:* PMP *laki 'male, man'.

lallaki [lalla'ki] *n.* man, male.

laman [la'man] *n.* wild pig (cannot refer to the cooked meat, but only the animal before it is butchered). *See:* **pilas** 'meat, especially pork'.

lammen

malammen [malam'mɛn] *adj.* soft, smooth. *Syn:*

ma-lomak. *Morph:* **ma-lammen.**

lammod [lam'mod] *n.* toothless person. *Syn:* **gammol.**

lamon-lamon [la'monla'mon] *n.* grass, weeds. *Syn:* **rapot-rapot; ruot.** *Etym:* PMP *lamun 'swamp grass' (Blust 1983-4).

lampad [lam'pad] *n.* dry rice that is planted on hillsides.

lampadan *n.* field of **lampad.** *Morph:* **lampad-an.**

lampad

malampad [ma'lampad] *adj.* wide. *Morph:* **ma-lampad.**

lamsa

malamsa [ma'lamsa] *adj.* damp, moist. *Morph:* **ma-lamsa.**

lamsak

malamsak [malam'sak] *adj.* bland, tasteless, lacking salt. *Morph:* **ma-lamsak.**

lamton

malamton [ma'lamton] *adj.* cold, of temperature. *Syn:* **ma-dagmen.** *Morph:* **ma-lamton.**

lannad

lomnad ['lomnad] *v.* sink; set, of the sun and moon. *Morph:* **l<um>annad.** *Etym:* PWMP *leñej.

lannag [lan'nag] *n.* plain; level ground.

lanos

malanos [mala'nos] *adj.* brisk, invigorating, cool, fresh, as a breeze. *Morph:* **ma-lanos.**

langas [la'ŋas] *n.* forehead, face. *Syn:* **kidap.**

langaw [la'ŋaw] *n.* housefly. *Syn:* **baringaw.** *Etym:* PMP *laŋaw.

langet [la'ŋɛt] *n.* sky. *Syn:* **lakop.** *Etym:* PAN *laŋiC (Blust 1999).

langoy

maglangoy *v.* swim. *Syn:* **mag-nangoy; mag-sulog.** *Morph:* **mag-langoy.** *Etym:* PAN *laŋuy (Blust 1999).

langtob

maglangtob [mag'laŋtob] *v.* boil anything in water except meat. *Morph:* **mag-langtob.**

ilangtob [i'laŋtob] *v.* boil anything in water except meat. *Morph:* **i-langtob.**

lapag ['lapag] *n.* boat paddle, oar.

lapat

malapat [mala'pat] *adj.* scorched, burnt.

lapat

malapat [ma'lapat] *adj.* slender, slim, small. *Morph:* **ma-lapat.**

lapdis

maglapdis *v.* skin an animal when butchering. *Morph:* **mag-lapdis.**

lapes *Etym:* PAN root *-pis 'thin, tenuous, fine' (Blust 1989).

malapes [ma'lapɛs] *adj.* thin, of objects. *Morph:* **ma-lapes.**

lapnit ['lapnit] *n.* tree with bark used to make string.

lapos [la'pos] *n.* outside; town, market, urban settlement.

lumapos [luma'pos] *v.* exit, go out; go to town, leave a rural area for a more urban one. *Morph:* **l<um>apos.**

ilapos *v.* bring or take something out, as bringing something to town. *Morph:* **i-lapos.**

lappag *Etym:* PWMP *repag 'slap' (Blust 1989).

maglappag [maglap'pag] *v.* slap, hit with hand. *Morph:* **mag-lapag.**

lappagan [lap'pagan] *v.* slap someone in the face. *Morph:* **lappag-an.**

lassak *n.* blindness.

nalassak *adj.* blind. *Morph:* **na-lassak.**

kalassak [kalas'sak] *n.* person who is completely blind in both eyes. *Syn:* **mabulsak.** *Morph:* **ka-lassak.**

lassong [las'soŋ] *n.* mortar, dish in which rice is placed for pounding with an **alayu** 'pestle'. *Etym:* PAN *lesuŋ.

lasuna [la'suna] *n.* onion. *From:* Ilokano.

lati [la'ti] *n.* rattan.

maglati *v.* search for and cut rattan. *Morph:* **mag-lati.**

latop

linatopan [li'natopan] *v.* expensive. *Morph:* **l<in>atop-an.**

lattag [lat'tag] *n.* stomach, belly. *Syn:* **tiyan.**

lomtag ['lomtag] *v.* swell. *Syn:* **bumagi.** *Morph:* **l<um>attag.**

latugat [latu'gat] *n.* disease, fever, long illness.

laya [la'ya] *n.* ginger. *Zingiber officinale.* *Etym:* PMP *laqia.

layag ['layag] *n.* sail of a boat. *From:* Ilokano.

layat

malayat [mala'yat] *adj.* wide. *Morph:* **ma-layat.**

lebut ['lɛbut] *n.* around, area around, circumference.

leg [lɛ:g] *n.* neck, throat. *Etym:* PAN *liqeR (Blust 1999).

leget

lumeget [lu'mɛgɛt] *v.* look down, look out a window. *Syn:* **<um>osdung.** *Morph:* **l<um>eget.**

lekwat

lumekwat [lu'mɛkwat] *v.* turn. *Morph:* **l<um>ekwat.**

malekwat [ma'lɛkwat] *adj.* curved, crooked, bent, winding. *Morph:* **ma-lekwat.**

lelle ['lɛllɛ] *n.* butterfly. *Syn:* **lollo.**

lembuk

maglembuk [mag'lɛmbuk] *v.* move, stir. *Syn:* **mag-linas**. *Morph:* **mag-lembuk**.

lemuwan

malemuwanan [ma'lɛmwanan] *v.* forget. *Syn:* **ma-leptan-an**. *Morph:* **ma-lemuwan-an**.

lendum ['lɛndum] *n.* shade.

lumendum [lu'mɛndum] *v.* take shelter in the shade of a tree. *Syn:* **sumalidum**. *Morph:* **l<um>endum**.

leptan

maleptanan [ma'lɛptanan] *v.* forget. *Morph:* **ma-leptan-an**.

lesles

maglesles [mag'lɛslɛs] *v.* lift or roll up clothes when crossing a body of water so that they do not get wet. *Syn:* **mag-laknes**. *Morph:* **mag-lesles**.

libalbang [li'balbaŋ] *n.* cemetery.

libbew [lib'bew] *n.* top, surface. *Syn:* **dibbew**.

lidum *Etym:* PWMP *lidem.

malidum [mali'dum] *adj.* dark. *Syn:* **ma-diram**. *Morph:* **ma-lidum**.

ligas [li'gas] *n.* traditional basket with a lid.

liggu [lig'gu] *n.* week, Sunday.

likon-likon

malikon-likon [mali'konli'kon] *adj.* coiled, twisted, folded, rolled. *Morph:* **ma-likon-likon**.

liksup

lumiksup [lu'miksup] *v.* set, as the sun or moon. *Morph:* **l<um>iksup**.

lilen [li'lɛn] *n.* bee's wax. *Etym:* PMP *lilin.

lima ['lima] *adj.* five. *Etym:* PAN *lima.

limas

malimas [mali'mas] *v.* drown. *Morph:* **ma-limas**.

limuden [limu'dɛn] *n.* kind of palm tree with edible fruits.

limus ['limus] none, negative existential. *Syn:* **awan**.

limutu [li'mutu] *n.* pus.

linas

maglinas [magli'nas] *v.* move, stir. *Syn:* **mag-lembuk**. *Morph:* **mag-linas**.

linay

ilinay [i'linay] *v.* put something next to fire to keep it warm. *Morph:* **i-linay**.

lipat ['lipat] *n.* small river leech that can get into the eyes, nose, and ears. *See:* **alemtak** 'leech (general)'; **balleng** 'land leech'; **kattad** 'mountain leech'.

lipat-lipat [li'patli'pat] *n.* firefly. *Etym:* PWMP *qali-petpet.

litong

malitong [mali'toŋ] *adj.* blue. *Morph:* **ma-litong**.

liwat ['liwat] *n.* mistake, sin, fault, error.

liyad [li'yad] *n.* far-away place. *Syn:* **alikansad**.

liyod [li'yod] *n.* ladle.

magliyod [magli'yod] *v.* scoop out, serve food, especially rice. *See:* **akid-an** 'serve non-rice course'.

lobugen ['lobugɛn] *n.* lobster.

lodag ['lodag] *n.* mud. *Syn:* **luket**; **lusak**.

logat

maglogat [mag'logat] *v.* take a stroll, go for a walk. *Morph:* **mag-logat**.

logon

malogon [ma'logon] *adj.* cheap, inexpensive; easy. *Morph:* **ma-logon**.

loktab

magloktab [mag'loktab] *v.* spit. *Morph:* **mag-loktab**.

iloktab [i'loktab] *v.* spit something. *Syn:* **i-toppak**. *Morph:* **i-loktab**.

loku *From:* Spanish loco 'crazy'.

mangloku [maŋ'loku] *v.* harm, harass. *Morph:* **mang-loku**.

maloku [ma'loku] *adj.* harmful, crazy.

lollo [lol'lo] *n.* butterfly. *Syn:* **lelle**.

lomak *Etym:* PWMP *lemek.

malomak [ma'lomak] *adj.* soft. *Syn:* **ma-lammen**. *Morph:* **ma-lomak**.

lomdap ['lomdap] *v.* dive into water; sink. *Syn:* **k<um>altob**; **lomnak**. *Morph:* **l<um>addap**. *See:* **laddap**.

lomnad ['lomnad] *v.* sink; set, of the sun and moon. *Morph:* **l<um>annad**.

lomtag ['lomtag] *v.* swell. *Syn:* **b<um>agi**; **b<um>igi**. *Morph:* **l<um>attag**. *See:* **lattag** 'belly'.

longsot

malongsot [ma'loŋsot] *adj.* spoiled, rotten, as fruit. *Morph:* **ma-longsot**.

lotlot

malotlot [ma'lotlot] *adj.* murky, turbid, unclear, of water. *Ant:* **madinnang**. *Morph:* **ma-lotlot**.

lubid [lu'bid] *n.* rope. *Etym:* PWMP *lubid.

lubok [lu'bok] *n.* middle, center.

lugen [lu'gɛn] *n.* vehicle. *From:* Ilokano *lugan*.

ilugen *v.* transport something by vehicle. *Morph:* **i-lugen**.

magkalugen *v.* ride together with someone. *Morph:* **mag-ka-lugen**.

lugulug

lugulugan [lugu'lugan] *v.* kill. *Syn:* **tegbakan**. *Morph:* **lugulug-an**.

malugulug [ma'lugulug] *v.* die. *Syn:* **mategbak**; **maggasak**. *Morph:* **ma-lugulug**.

lukag

malukag [malu'kag] *v.* awake, wake up. *Morph:* **ma-lukag**.

lukagan *v.* wake someone up. *Morph:* **lukag-an.**
luket [lu'kɛt] *n.* mud. *Syn:* **lusak; lodag.**
maluket *adj.* muddy. *Morph:* **ma-luket.**
lukong [lu'koŋ] *n.* basket used to hold honey.
lukot
lukutan *v.* gather things up. *Morph:* **lukot-an.**
lumot [lu'mot] *n.* moss. *Etym:* PMP *lumut.
lunag
malunag [malu'nag] *v.* melt. *Morph:* **ma-lunag.**
lupas [lu'pas] *n.* rice husk.
lupog [lu'pog] *n.* old man, husband. *Syn:* **malupoy; lalakay.** *See:* **bakas** 'old woman'.
lupoy
malupoy [malu'poy] *adj.* tired, over-worked, exhausted. *Syn:* **ma-bannag.** *Morph:* **ma-lupoy.** *See:* **maka-kilap** 'tired, sleepy'.
malupoy [malu'poy] *n.* old man, husband. *Syn:* **lupog; lalakay.** *Morph:* **ma-lupoy.**
lusak ['lusak] *n.* mud. *Syn:* **luket; lodag.**
lutak [lu'tak] *n.* earth, ground, land. *Etym:* PWMP *lutak 'muddy' (Blust 1989).
lutu *Etym:* PPh *lutuq.
maglutu [mag'lutu] *v.* cook, especially rice. *Morph:* **mag-lutu.**
nalutu [na'lutu] *adj.* cooked, ripe. *Morph:* **na-lutu.**
luwa [lu'wa] *n.* teardrop. *Etym:* PAN*luSeq (Blust 2006).
magluwa [maglu'wa] *v.* cry, shed tears. *Morph:* **mag-luwa.**

M - m

ma- adjectival prefix. *Syn:* **na-.** *Etym:* PAN *ma-.
ma- prefix for accidental verbs in the incompletive aspect.
ma-al-al ['ma?al?al] *n.* newborn baby that does not come out all the way.
mabaw [ma'baw] *n.* cooked rice.
mabtong *adj.* deep, of water. *Morph:* **ma-battong.**
madalang [mada'laŋ] *n.* non-Agta person, especially an Ilokano. *Syn:* **ogden.**
madi
madian [ma'dʒan] *v.* don't want, don't like; shake head. *Morph:* **madi-an.**
madi *Etym:* *maja 'dry up' (Blust 2000b).
mamadi [mama'di] *adj.* dry. *Morph:* **ma-madi.**
madiket [madi'kɛt] *n.* bachelorette; unmarried woman, especially a young, unmarried woman. *See:* **ulitaw** 'young, unmarried man'.
madipa [madi'pa] *n.* civet, a small cat-like mammal; Philippine Palm Civet. *Paradoxurus Philippinensis*. *See:* **sarimaw.**
madmad
mumadmad [mu'madmad] *v.* smile. *Syn:* **m<um>anghe; <um>emad.** *Morph:* **m<um>admad.**
mag- actor focus verbal prefix in the incompletive aspect. *Syn:* **<um>; mang-.** *Etym:* PWMP *maR-.
maggas [mag'gas] *adj.* spicy; strong (of liquor, tobacco, coffee). *Morph:* **ma-daggas.** *See:* **daggas.**
magman *v.* chew betel nut. *Morph:* **mag-amman.** *See:* **amman** 'betel nut chew'.
mahuyag [mahu'yag] *n.* gun, firearm. *Syn:* **palattug.**
maka- abilitative prefix. *Etym:* PMP *maka-.
makadaklan [ma'kadaklan] *n.* carabao, water buffalo. *Syn:* **galambud; galampes.**
make- prefix for forming ordinal numbers. **make-tallo** third *Syn:* **meka-.**
maki- verbal prefix for social verbs in the incompletive aspect. *See:* **naki-** 'completive social verb prefix'. *Etym:* PMP *maki-.
makin- [makin] prefix indicating ownership of the nominal root. **Makin-pangal iday?** Whose arrow is that?
makkak [mak'kak] *adj.* bitter, salty. *Morph:* **ma-takkak.**
makpal ['makpal] *adj.* many, much. *Morph:* **ma-kappal.** *See:* **kappal.**
malabi [ma'labi] *n.* large clay pot.
malagi [mala'gi] *n.* large mullet fish. *See:* **kalbo** 'smaller mullet fish'.
malasag [mala'sag] *n.* ghost. *Syn:* **anitu; mangilen.**
maligat-ligat [ma'ligat,ligat] *n.* sea turtle.
malinganay [malinja'nay] *n.* kind of dark-colored fruit that grows on trees. *Syn:* **asawa.**
malisaw [mali'saw] *n.* kind of riverine fish.
malledum [mal'lɛdum] *adj.* early, morning.
malogmog *Etym:* PMP *muRmuR (Blust 1983-4).
magmalogmog [magma'logmog] *v.* gargle. *Syn:* **mag-allmogmog.** *Morph:* **mag-mulogmog.**
malugyaw [ma'lugyaw] *n.* baby.
malupoy [malu'poy] *n.* old man, husband. *Syn:* **lupog; lalakay.**
mamangal *v.* shoot an arrow. *Syn:* **pumangal.** *Morph:* **mang-pangal.** *See:* **pangal** 'arrow'.
mamen- multiplicative numberal prefix. **mamen-tallo** three times
mamitukan [mamitu'kan] *v.* get honey comb. *Syn:* **mag-samang.** *Morph:* **mang-pitukan.** *See:* **pitukan** 'bee, honey comb'.

mamulan [mamu'lan] *v.* do something under the light of the moon. *Morph:* **mang-bulan**. *See:* **bulan** 'moon'.

mamunot [mamu'not] *v.* burn for getting bees out of hive; make a torch for smoking bees out of hive. *Morph:* **mang-bunot**.

-man *adv.* although, though, actually; on the other hand; adverbial particle used to emphasize a statement or to indicate that the statement is contrary to expectation. **Ide-man i bilay-mi.** This is actually our house (contrary to expectation).

managbu [ma'nagbu] *v.* run into, meet; spot, in hunting; be able to get, as an animal. *Morph:* **mang-tagbu**.

manaknag [ma'naknag] *v.* wait in ambush until game is driven towards the hunter by dogs, then attack or ambush the game. *Morph:* **mang-taknag**. *See:* **taknag**.

manaktak [ma'naktak] *v.* crawl. *Syn:* **mag-taktak**. *Morph:* **mang-taktak**.

manareptep [mana'rɛptɛp] *v.* walk along the edge of a river. *Morph:* **mang-tareptep**.

manarod [mana'rod] *v.* believe. *Morph:* **mang-tarod**. *See:* **tarod** 'truth'.

manay [ma'nay] *n.* aunt.

manek [ma'nɛk] *n.* necklace. *Syn:* **ulay**. *From:* Sanskrit 'jewel, gem, pearl' via Malay via Tagalog manik 'beads'.

maningas ['maniŋas] *n.* moon. *Syn:* **bulan**.

manok [ma'nok] *n.* bird, chicken. *Etym:* PMP *manuk 'chicken, fowl' (Blust 2002b).

-manon [ma'non] *adv.* again (enclitic particle).

manugang [manu'gaŋ] *n.* parent-in-law, child-in-law. *Etym:* PMP *tuRaŋ.

mang- actor focus verbal prefix in the incompletive aspect. *Syn:* **mag-**; **<um>**. *Etym:* PMP *maŋ-.

manganya *adj.* harmful. *Morph:* **mang-anya**. *See:* **ania** 'what'.

manghe

mumanghe [mu'maŋhɛ] *v.* smile. *Syn:* **<um>emad**; **m<um>admad**. *Morph:* **m<um>anghe**.

mangilen [maŋi'lɛn] *n.* ghost. *Syn:* **anitu**; **malasag**.

mangilog

magmangilog [magmaŋi'log] *v.* suffer the capricious cravings and appetite of pregnancy. *Morph:* **mag-mangilog**.

mangudut [maŋu'dut] *v.* sneak up. *Morph:* **mang-kudut**.

mapet [ma'pɛt] *n.* kind of bitter-tasting yam. *Etym:* PMP *ma-paqit 'bitter'.

mappya ['mappya] *adj.* pretty, beautiful; good. *Ant:* **ma-dukas**. *See:* **peya**. *Etym:* PMP *ma-pia 'good' (Blust 1999).

maroging [ma'rogiŋ] *n.* ebony tree. *Diospyros ferrea*.

mas more (used exclusively in comparative constructions). **Mas matoldug ni Priming im ni Agnes.** Priming is smarter than Agnes. *From:* Spanish via Ilokano.

masbew ['masbew] *adj.* amazed, surprised. *Morph:* **ma-sabbew**. *See:* **ma-laktat** 'startled'.

maski ['maski] *conj.* even so, even if, even though. **Maginaw i essa a madiket, maski awan hikuna pabikanan ha lallaki.** 'A young woman is showing signs of pregnancy, even though she has not been near a man' (Mathew 1:23) *Syn:* **mensan**. *From:* Spanish mas que.

maslag ['maslag] *adj.* strong-flowing, of a river current. *Morph:* **ma-sallag**. *See:* **sallag**.

mata [ma'ta] *n.* eye. *Etym:* PAN *maCa.

matnog ['matnog] *v.* noisy, loud, roaring sound, capable of shaking the ground. *Morph:* **ma-tannog**. *See:* **tannog**.

maton

mematon ['mɛmaton] *adj.* lonely, sad, homesick. *Morph:* **ma-i-maton**.

mayan [ma'yan] *n.* nut, seed, kernel; the edible inside part of a fruit, tuber, or nut.

meka- ['mɛka] prefix for forming ordinal numbers. **meka-lima** fifth *Syn:* **make-**.

mensan ['mɛnsan] *conj.* even though. **Umangay-ak hu, mensan maguden.** I'm going there, even though it's raining. *Syn:* **maski**.

mepodru [mɛ'podru] *n.* island.

-mi *pron.* we, ours; first personal plural exclusive enclitic genitive pronoun. **wadi-mi** our younger sibling

-mina *adv.* hopefully, adverbial enclitic expressing a wish or hope. **Atoy-mina i kurinnat-ko.** I wish I had money.

minaddap [minad'dap] *adj.* very beautiful.

mitak [mi'tak] *n.* eye sleep, the crust that gathers in the corner of one's eye.

-mo *pron.* you; second person singular genitive pronoun. **Hidaan-mo i padut-aya.** You will eat that fish. *Etym:* PMP *-mu.

mokal-mokal

nagmokal-mokal [nag'mokalmo'kal] *adj.* round, whole. *Syn:* **nag-molu-molu**. *Morph:* **nag-mokal-mokal**. *See:* **bukal** 'seed'.

molu-molu

nagmolu-mulu [nag'molumu'lu] *adj.* round. *Syn:* **nag-mokal-mokal**. *Morph:* **nag-molu-molu**.

mori ['mori] *n.* goby fish, a kind of fat freshwater fish.

-moy *pron.* you, your; second personal plural enclitic

genitive pronoun. manay-moy your aunt

mula [mu'la] *n.* crop, something to be planted. *Etym:* PAN *mula (Blust 1999).

magmula [magmu'la] *v.* plant, as crops. *Morph:* mag-mula.

munas

magmunas [mag'munas] *v.* commit suicide. *Morph:* mag-munas.

murah [mu'rah] *n.* husked rice, uncooked rice. *Syn:* bagah; baggat.

murok [mu'rok] *adj.* sharp, of a point or end. *See:* ma-tadam 'sharp, as a blade'.

mutag

mumutag [mumu'tag] *v.* open eyes wide, stare; wake up. *Morph:* m<um>utag.

N - n

na genitive marker. paseng na laman pig's tusk *Etym:* PAN *na.

na *conj.* because. Madian-mi-n mangitoldu ha nikaw na maigat i buntok-mo. We don't want to teach you because you are hard-headed. *Syn:* ta.

na- adjectival prefix; less common than ma-. *Syn:* ma-.

na- prefix for accidental verbs in the completive aspect.

-na *pron.* he, she, his, her; third person singular enclitic genitive pronoun. islip-na his goggles

nabab

manabab ['manabab] *adj.* noisy. *Morph:* ma-nabab.

nag- actor focus prefix in the completive aspect. *Syn:* nang-; <in><um>. *See:* mag- 'incompletive counterpart of nag-'.

nagen [na'gɛn] *n.* name. *Etym:* PAN *ŋajan.

inaginan [ina'ginan] *v.* give a name to someone or something. *Morph:* i-nagen-an.

nagnag

nagnagan ['nagnagan] *v.* fight, hit. *Morph:* nagnag-an.

naka- completive counterpart of the abilitative prefix; rather than indicating ability, the completive prefix indicates the completion of an action or an attained state. Naka-des-dan hidi ha isan-di. They had reached their camp.

nakam *n.* mind, intellect, thought; thoughtfulness, respect.

magnakam [magna'kam] *v.* think. *Morph:* mag-nakam.

nakamman [na'kamman] *v.* hope. *Morph:* nakam-an.

manakam [mana'kam] *v.* remember. *Morph:* ma-nakam.

manakam [mana'kam] *adj.* thoughtful, respectful. *Morph:* ma-nakam. *See:* nakam 'mind'.

naki- verbal prefix for social verbs in the completive aspect. *See:* maki- 'incompletive social verb prefix'.

nakkapon [nak'kapon] *n.* yesterday. *See:* apon 'afternoon'.

nakkoya [nak'koya] *adv.* earlier on the same day. *See:* ayenan 'later on the same day'.

naknak

naknakan [nak'nakan] *v.* hit, slap, beat someone or something. *Morph:* naknak-an.

inaknak [i'naknak] *v.* hit, beat someone with an instrument. *Morph:* i-naknak.

nama *n.* father. *Syn:* hama. *Morph:* ni-ama. *See:* ama 'father, vocative'; amang 'father, vocative'; dema 'father and others'; nena 'mother'.

namaw [na'maw] *n.* reef. *Etym:* PMP *namaw 'sheltered water: Deep place in a river; cover, harbor, lagoon' (Blust 1980).

namok ['namok] *n.* mosquito. *Etym:* PAN *ñamuk (Blust 1999).

nang- actor focus prefix in the completive aspect. *Syn:* nag-; -in-um-. *See:* mang- 'incompletive counterpart of nang-'.

nangka ['naŋka] *n.* jackfruit. *Artocarpus heterophylus*. *Etym:* PWMP *naŋka.

nangoy *Etym:* PWMP *Naŋuy.

magnangoy *v.* swim. *Syn:* mag-sulog; mag-langoy. *Morph:* mag-nangoy.

nangrabut ['naŋrabut] *n.* pinapple.

napradan [nap'radan] *v.* satisfied, satiated. Napradan a nagngoyngoy. She cried until she could cry no more. *Morph:* na-parad-an.

nasnas

nasnasan ['nasnasan] *v.* wipe, rub. *Morph:* nasnas-an.

natang [na'taŋ] *n.* vegetable. *Etym:* PWMP *nateŋ.

inatang [i'nataŋ] *v.* cook vegetables. *Morph:* i-natang.

-nayak *pron.* enclitic pronoun that is a combination of the third person singular genitive na plus the first person singular nominative ak.

nekka [nɛk'ka] *n.* older sibling (as a term of reference). *Syn:* hekka. *See:* akka 'older sibling (address term)'; dekka 'older siblings (plural)'.

nena ['nɛna] *n.* mother (term of reference). *Syn:* hena;

ina. *Morph:* **ni-ina.**

ni marker of personal names. **Nagkan ni Lubi.** Lubi ate. *See:* **di** 'marker of plural personal names'. *Etym:* PAN *ni.

ni- prefix for the instrumental focus in the completive aspect. *See:* **i-** 'incompletive instrumental focus prefix'.

nibik ['nibik] *n.* side, edge. *Syn:* **digdig.**

nidi *pron.* them; third person plural oblique pronoun.

nikam [ni'kam] *pron.* you, second person plural oblique pronoun.

nikami *pron.* us; first person plural exclusive oblique pronoun.

nikan [ni'kan] *pron.* me; first person singular oblique pronoun. **Apay a maingal-ka ha nikan?** Why are you angry with me?

nikaw [ni'kaw] *pron.* you; second person singular oblique pronoun.

nikita [niki'ta] *pron.* you & me, us; first person dual inclusive oblique pronoun. **Niditang ni Ronald i lati ha nikita.** Ronald brought the rattan to us.

nikitam *pron.* us; first person plural inclusive oblique pronoun.

nikuna [ni'kuna] *pron.* him, her; third person singular oblique pronoun. **Niatad-di i padut ha nikuna.** They gave the fish to her.

-nin *adv.* adverbial enclitic used to emphasize that an event will take place in the future. **Agayan-mo-nin i ilay-mo.** You will call your friend.

nipa ['nipa] *n.* nipa palm. *Nipa fruticans. Etym:* PWMP *nipaq.

niyog [ni'yog] *n.* coconut. *Etym:* *niuR.

no *conj.* if; used to form conditional clauses. **No umangay-ka ha lapos, gumatang-ka ha uru.** If you go to town, buy medicine. *Etym:* PMP *nu.

nobus ['nobus] *adv.* after, finished; gone, used up. **Nobus-dan a nagkan i ulitaw-a, tinumagadak-dan hikuna ha karusuan.** After the young man ate, he climbed up the large rocks. *Morph:* **na-obus.** *See:* **me-kabus** 'gone, used up'.

nokkan ['nokkan] *adv.* marker indicating than an event takes place in the future, relative to the time of the main verb.

-noman *adv.* enclitic particle of emphasis, intensification, sudden realization, questions, or to indicate that statement is contrary to expectation. **Manakam-ka-la-noman.** You just are too well-behaved.

nougma [no'ʔugma] *n.* tomorrow. *Morph:* **no-ugma.** *See:* **ugma** 'tomorrow'.

nukad

magnukad [magnu'kad] *v.* have bad luck; see a ghost. *Morph:* **mag-nukad.**

Ng - ng

ngadas [ŋa'das] *n.* gums.

ngalngal

magngalngal [mag'ŋalŋal] *v.* chew, gnaw. *Syn:* **magngatngat.** *Morph:* **mag-ngalngal.**

ngamin ['ŋamin] *adv.* all.

ngangay ['ŋaŋay] *n.* long ago, old days.

ngaras [ŋa'ras] *n.* disease of the mouth where saliva is milky; disease most often suffered by small children. *Syn:* **amad.**

ngatngat *Etym:* PWMP *ŋetŋet.

magngatngat [mag'ŋatŋat] *v.* chew, gnaw. *Syn:* **mag-ngalngal.** *Morph:* **mag-ngatngat.**

ngidit

ngumidit [ŋu'midit] *v.* laugh. *Syn:* **mag-ngidit; gidit; idit.** *Morph:* **ng<um>idit.**

ngipan ['ŋipan] *n.* tooth. *Etym:* PMP *ŋipen.

ngirab

kangirab [ka'ŋirab] *n.* toothless person; person missing (some) teeth. *Morph:* **ka-ngirab.** *See:* **gammol** 'person missing all teeth'.

ngiset

mangiset [maŋi'sɛt] *adj.* black, dark-colored. *Syn:* **ma-ngitet.** *Morph:* **ma-ngiset.** *From:* Ilokano.

ngitet

mangitet [maŋi'tɛt] *adj.* black, dark-colored. *Syn:* **ma-ngiset.** *Morph:* **ma-ngitet.**

ngitngit ['ŋitŋit] *n.* food stuck between teeth. *Etym:* PAN *ŋitŋit 'gnaw' (Blust 1989).

ngoyngoy

magngoyngoy [mag'ŋoyŋoy] *v.* cry, wail. *Syn:* **mag-sanget.** *Morph:* **mag-ngoyngoy.**

ngudal

mangudal [maŋu'dal] *adj.* dull. *Morph:* **ma-ngudal.** *Etym:* PWMP *ŋudel.

O - o

o *conj.* or; conjunction used with **no** 'if' in coordinating constructions.

obug

obugan ['obugan] *v.* sharpen something. *Syn:* **magpasirap.** *Morph:* **obug-an.**

ogden ['ogdɛn] *n.* non-Agta person, especially an Ilokano. *See:* **ibay** 'an **ogden** who trades or works with Agta'.

ogsa ['ogsa] *n.* deer. *Etym:* PPh *u(R)sah (Blust 1995).

ogsad

umogsad [u'mogsad] *v.* descend, go down, climb down a tree, exit a house or vehicle. *Syn:* **<um>usak; <um>orsod; b<um>gsok.** *Morph:* **<um>ogsad.**

okap

iokap [i'yokap] *v.* blow food or liquid out of mouth. *Syn:* **i-okkak; i-pordad.** *Morph:* **i-okap.**

okkak

iokkak [i'yokkak] *v.* blow food or liquid out of mouth. *Syn:* **i-pordad; i-okap.** *Morph:* **i-okkak.**

oltak ['oltak] *n.* young leaf or shoot of a plant.

omag

maomag [ma'ʔomag] *adj.* cooked completely until crispy perfection. *Morph:* **ma-omag.**

ombag ['ombag] *v.* lie down. *Syn:* **p<um>ayad.** *Morph:* **<um>abbag.** *See:* **abbag.**

omlad ['omlad] *v.* sink, flood, engulf. *Morph:* **<um>allad.**

ompes [ompɛs] *v.* subside, decrease, ebb, of bodies of water, or swelling of the body. *Syn:* **<um>as-as.** *Morph:* **<um>appes.**

oni ['oni] yes.

ontok ['ontok] *n.* high, up high, height.

orsod

umorsod [u'morsod] *v.* descend, go down, climb down a mountain. *Syn:* **b<um>ugsok; <um>ogsad; <um>usak.** *Morph:* **<um>orsod.**

osdung

umosdung [u'mosduŋ] *v.* look down. *Syn:* **l<um>eget.** *Morph:* **<um>osdung.**

ota *Etym:* PAN *utaq (Blust 1999).

magota [ma'gota] *v.* vomit, throw up. *Morph:* **mag-ota.**

oyun [o'yun] *adv.* particle that appears in stories; confirmatory adverb, certainly, yes, that's it, well then; yes, that's too bad, that's a pity. **Kona kan oyun....** Once upon a time (lit., It's said that they certainly say....)

P - p

pa- causative prefix. *Etym:* PAN *pa-.

padding [pad'diŋ] *n.* wall.

padingel [padi'ŋɛl] *n.* cheek.

padut [pa'dut] *n.* fish.

pag- nominalizing prefix. *Etym:* PWMP *paR-.

pag- actor focus verbal prefix in sequential narrative forms, corresponds to **mag-**.

paga

magpaga [magpa'ga] *v.* pay. *Syn:* **mag-balli.** *Morph:* **mag-paga.** *From:* Spanish via Labin (Central Cagayan) Agta.

pagga [pag'ga] *n.* kind of soft stone.

pahal

mangpahal [maŋpa'hal] *v.* tie the legs of an animal. *Morph:* **mang-pahal.**

paka- abilitative verbal prefix in sequential narrative forms, corresponds to **maka-**.

pakaway [paka'way] *n.* outrigger, large bamboo pole or poles attached to a boat for stability.

pakkal

pakkalan *v.* wring, as coconut meat; squeeze, knead, massage, milk a cow. *Syn:* **paspas-an.** *Morph:* **pakkal-an.** *See:* **pes-an** 'wring, as wet clothes'.

-pala ['pala] *adv.* still, yet, else; an aspectual adverbial enclitic. **Ballek-pala ni Lingling-ay.** Lingling is still young.

palad [pa'lad] *n.* palm of hand, sole of foot. *Etym:* *palaj 'palm (of hand)' (Reid 1989).

paladpad

ipaladpad [ipa'ladpad] *v.* open something, unfold something. *Morph:* **i-paladpad.**

palagad [pala'gad] *n.* poison-tipped arrow.

palataw [pala'taw] *n.* large knife, especially a bolo knife. *Syn:* **siyu.** *From:* Labin (Central Cagayan) Agta.

palattug [palat'tug] *n.* gun, firearm. *Syn:* **mahuyag.**

palattugan [palat'tugan] *v.* shoot with a gun. *Morph:* **palattug-an.**

pallos

magpallos [magpal'los] *n.* whistle. *Morph:* **mag-pallos.**

palpal
magpalpal *v.* pierce, penetrate, drive a nail or arrow into; penetrate sexually.
mapalpal *adj.* pierced, penetrated. *Morph:* **ma-palpal.**
ipalpal [i'palpal] *v.* pierce, penetrate something, as with an arrow or a nail. *Morph:* **i-palpal.**
palsok [pal'sok] *n.* arrow with a diamond-shaped head.
paltek
magpaltek [mag'paltek] *v.* flick the finger. *Morph:* **mag-paltek.**
paltikan ['paltikan] *v.* flick something with the finger. *Morph:* **paltek-an.**
palungo [pa'luŋo] *adj.* first in number; eldest child.
pamalak [pama'lak] *n.* day, midday, noon. *Usage:* northern dialects. *See:* **aldew** 'day, midday, noon (southern dialects)'.
pammalak *n.* lunch.
paman ['paman] *adv.* confirmatory adverb, certainly, yes, that's it, well then; yes, that's too bad, unfortunately, that's a pity.
pamen
ipamen [ipa'mɛn] *v.* deny, turn down. *Morph:* **i-pamen.**
panyan *interrog.* how. **Panyan-di-waden a magtakaw ha galampes?** How did they steal a carabao?
pang- nominalizing prefix. *Etym:* PWMP *paŋ-.
pang- actor focus verbal prefix in sequential narrative forms, corresponds to **mang-**.
pangal [pa'ŋal] *n.* arrow (general term); bow & arrow as a unit; an arrow with a particular style of classically-shaped head.
pumangal [puma'ŋal] *v.* shoot an arrow. *Syn:* **mamangal.** *Morph:* **p<um>angal.**
papa ['papa] *n.* duck.
papekal
magpapekal [magpa'pɛkal] *v.* be numb. *Syn:* **bebenad.** *Morph:* **mag-papekal.**
pappatay *Etym:* PAN *pa-aCay.
magpappatay [magpappa'tay] *v.* kill. *Morph:* **mag-pa-patay.**
pappatayan *v.* kill someone. *Morph:* **pa-patay-an.**
pappeya *Morph:* **pa-peya.** *See:* **peya.**
pappeyan [pap'pɛyan] *v.* fix, mend, finish, complete, put in order, arrange. *Morph:* **pa-peya-an.**
ipappeya [ipap'pɛya] *v.* clean up, put away, straighten up. *Morph:* **i-pa-peya.**
parabin [pa'rabin] *n.* forest, woods, mountains, jungle, remote area. *Syn:* **amogud; talon.**
parad
napradan [nap'radan] *v.* satisfied, satiated. **Napradan a nagnoyngoy.** She cried until she could cry no more. *Morph:* **na-parad-an.**
parag- nominalizing prefix that indicates habitual action; often co-occurs with suffix **-an.** **parag-kilap-an** usual sleeping place
parak
magparak [magpa'rak] *v.* be hoarse, lose one's voice. *Syn:* **mag-hamakel.** *Morph:* **mag-parak.**
parangaw [para'ŋaw] *n.* upper back between the shoulder blades, including the lower part of the back of the neck.
paras [pa'ras] *n.* wind. *Etym:* PPh *pajes ~ pades (Zorc n.d.)
maparas [mapa'ras] *adj.* windy. *Morph:* **ma-paras.**
paray [pa'ray] *n.* rice plant, rice in the field; unhusked rice, rice grains that have been threshed but not yet milled. *See:* **inapoy** 'cooked rice'; **bagah** 'husked rice'. *Etym:* PAN *pajay (Blust 2006).
pasak [pa'sak] *n.* beam in the roof of a house. *See:* **bubungan.**
paseng [pa'sɛŋ] *n.* tusk, canine tooth.
pasi
mapasi [mapa'si] *adj.* hot. *Morph:* **ma-pasi'.**
pasirap
magpasirap [magpasi'rap] *v.* sharpen an arrow. *Syn:* **mang-obug.** *Morph:* **mag-pasirap.**
paspas
mapaspasen [ma'paspasen] *v.* use up all one's arrows. *Morph:* **ma-paspas-en.**
paspas *Etym:* PWMP *pespes 'squeeze, press out' (Blust 1983-4).
paspasan [pas'pasan] *v.* wring, as coconut meat; squeeze, knead, massage, milk a cow. *Syn:* **pakkal-an.** *Morph:* **paspas-an.** *See:* **pes-an** 'wring, as wet clothes'.
passag
pomsag ['pomsag] 1) *n.* dawn, early morning. *Morph:* **p<um>assag.** 2) — *v.* lighten in the morning, become dawn. *Morph:* **p<um>assag.**
pat- prefix indicating mutual family relationship for two individuals **pat-wadi** 'sibling pair'; combined with Ca- reduplication for familial relationships involving three or more individuals. **pa-pat-wadi** 'set of siblings (3 or more)'
-pat *adv.* still, yet; an adverbial enclitic used when statement is in contrast to expectation. **Awan-pat ha agumko.** My companion is still not here.
patak [pa'tak] *n.* arrow with a long, narrow

arrowhead.

patay *Etym:* PAN *pa-aCay.
magpappatay [magpappa'tay] *v.* kill. *Morph:* **mag-pa-patay.**
pappatayan *v.* kill someone. *Morph:* **pa-patay-an.**
patit ['patit] *n.* species of light brown bird.
patpat
patpatan ['patpatan] *v.* clear the land of trees. *Morph:* **patpat-an.**
pattama [pat'tama] *n.* a father and some or all members of his family. *Morph:* **pat-hama.** *See:* **hama** 'father'.
pawiran [pawi'ran] *n.* scorpion. *Syn:* **annipig.**
payad
magpayad [magpa'yad] *v.* wave the hand. *Morph:* **mag-payad.**
payak [pa'yak] *n.* large bat. *See:* **kalallipang; kalumbetag** 'small bat'.
pedped ['pɛdpɛd] *n.* fan.
ipedped [i'pɛdpɛd] *v.* fan. *Morph:* **i-pedped.**
pegkat ['pɛgkat] *n.* glue, adhesive. *Etym:* PAN root *-keC 'stick, adhere'.
pelpel
mapelpel [ma'pɛlpɛl] *adj.* flattened, wide. *Morph:* **ma-pelpel.**
penam
ipenam [i'pɛnam] *v.* introduce, accustom to something. **Ipenam-ko i bagi-ko.** I will introduce myself. *Morph:* **i-penam.**
mapenam [ma'pɛnam] *adj.* tame, gentle; accustomed to. *Morph:* **ma-penam.**
pengkel ['pɛŋkɛl] *n.* hip, side of thigh, side of buttocks.
pes-an
pesan ['pɛsan] *v.* wring, as wet clothes. *Morph:* **pes-an.** *See:* **paspas-an** 'wring, as coconut meat'.
peta
ipeta [i'pɛta] *v.* tell, ask, answer, say. *Morph:* **i-peta.**
magpeta [mag'pɛta] *v.* shout, call out. *Syn:* **mag-ayag.** *Morph:* **mag-peta.**
peya
kapeya [ka'pɛya] *adj.* well-behaved, good. *Morph:* **ka-peya.**
mappya ['mappya] *adj.* pretty, beautiful; good. *Ant:* **ma-dukas.** *Etym:* PMP *ma-pia 'good' (Blust 1999).
pappeyan [pap'pɛyan] *v.* fix, mend, finish, complete, put in order, arrange. *Morph:* **pa-peya-an.**
ipappeya [ipap'pɛya] *v.* clean up, put away, straighten up. *Morph:* **i-pa-peya.**

pikon
napikon [napi'kon] *adj.* bent. *Morph:* **na-pikon.**
pikonan [pi'konan] *v.* bend, fold up, roll up. *Morph:* **pikon-an.**
pilak *Etym:* PWMP *pilak 'force open' (Blust 1980).
magpilak [mag'pilak] *v.* chop, cut up, divide, split. *Morph:* **mag-pilak.**
pilas [pi'las] *n.* meat, especially the meat of a wild pig (laman); flesh; muscle. *See:* **ma-pilas** 'rich'.
pilas
mapilas [mapi'las] *adj.* rich, wealthy. *Morph:* **ma-pilas.**
pilay [pi'lay] *n.* crippled person. *Etym:* PWMP *piray 'lame'.
pili *Etym:* PAN *piliq (Blust 1999).
pilian [pi'liyan] *v.* choose. *Morph:* **pili-an.**
pipittot [pipit'tot] *n.* sparrow.
piraped
magpiraped [magpira'pɛd] *v.* tremble, shake, shiver. *Syn:* **mag-yagyag.** *Morph:* **mag-piraped.**
pisad
napisad [napi'sad] *adj.* ripped, torn. *Morph:* **na-pisad.**
pisga ['pisga] *n.* spear. *Syn:* **gidsal.**
pitu [pi'tu] *adj.* seven. *Etym:* PAN *pitu.
pitukan [pitu'kan] *n.* bee; bee hive, honey comb.
mamitukan [mamitu'kan] *v.* search for bee hives. *Syn:* **mag-samang.** *Morph:* **mang-pitukan.**
piyak ['piyak] *n.* chick, baby chicken. *Etym:* PWMP *piak.
pokpok *Etym:* PMP *pukpuk.
magpokpok [mag'pokpok] *v.* wash clothes; pound, knock. *Syn:* **mag-balbal.** *Morph:* **mag-pokpok.**
polpog ['polpog] *adj.* bald.
kapolpog *n.* bald person. *Morph:* **ka-polpog.**
polpol ['polpol] *n.* down, feathers from the belly of a bird. *See:* **allad** 'feather'.
polyad
mepolyad [mɛpol'yad] *v.* lose something. *Morph:* **ma-i-polyad.**
pomsag ['pomsag] 1) *n.* dawn, early morning. *Morph:* **p<um>assag.** 2)
— *v.* lighten in the morning, become dawn. *Morph:* **p<um>assag.**
ponsak
maponsak [ma'ponsak] *adj.* white, light-colored. *Syn:* **ma-pongsit.** *Morph:* **ma-ponsak.**
pongotan ['poŋotan] *n.* wrist.
pongsit
mapongsit [ma'poŋsɪt] *adj.* white, light-colored. *Syn:* **ma-ponsak.** *Morph:* **ma-pongsit.**

pordad

ipordad [i'pordad] *v.* blow food or liquid out of mouth. *Syn:* **i-okkak; i-okap.** *Morph:* **i-pordad.**

poso ['poso] *n.* cave that opens from the top rather than the side; open well; large hole in the ground. *From:* Spanish pozo 'well' via Ilokano.

potpot

magpotpot [mag'potpot] *v.* harvest a vegetable that grows in the ground; pluck, uproot. *Morph:* **mag-potpot.** *See:* **maggatab** 'harvest by cutting, as rice'.

potputan ['potputan] *v.* pluck, pull out, uproot, as a hair or a vegetable in the ground. *Morph:* **potpot-an.**

pugang [pu'gaŋ] *n.* nipple of the breast.

pugedu [pu'gɛdu] *n.* stone. *Syn:* **bitu; rusu.**

pukal [pu'kal] *n.* thigh, upper leg.

pukan

magpukan [magpu'kan] *v.* cut down a tree in the forest. *Morph:* **mag-pukan.**

pukat-pukat

mapukatpukat [mapu'katpu,kat] *adj.* curly, of hair. *Syn:* **ma-kulat-kulat.** *Morph:* **ma-pukat-pukat.**

pulas

polsan ['polsan] *v.* snatch, carry off. *Morph:* **pulas-an.**

pumulas [pumu'las] *v.* snatch, steal, rob from someone. *Morph:* **p<um>alas.**

puleng [pu'lɛŋ] *n.* dirt or other matter stuck in the eye.

pulot

mapulot [mapu'lot] *adj.* falling asleep, dozing off. *Morph:* **ma-pulot.**

pulu *Etym:* PAN *puluq.

mapulu [ma'pulu] *adj.* ten. *Morph:* **ma-pulu.**

duwapulu [du'wapulu] *adj.* twenty. *Morph:* **duwa-pulu.** *See:* **duwa** 'two'.

tallupulu *adj.* thirty. *Morph:* **tallu-pulu.** *See:* **tallo** 'three'.

pulutan *n.* snack, something eaten without rice. *From:* Tagalog 'food eaten with alcohol' via Ilokano.

mag-pulutan [magpu'lutan] *v.* eat something without rice. *Morph:* **mag-pulutan.** *See:* **mag-kan** 'eat a meal that includes rice'.

purak [pu'rak] *n.* white or gray hair.

puron

magpuron [magpu'ron] *v.* gather, assemble, unite, meet, convene; collect, save. *Morph:* **mag-puron.**

napuron *adj.* gathered, assembled, convened. *Morph:* **na-puron.**

napuru-puron [napu'rupu'ron] *adj.* orderly, arranged. *Morph:* **na-puro-puron.**

pusad [pu'sad] *n.* navel. *Etym:* PMP *pusej.

pusiyan [pusi'yan] *n.* star. *See:* **kaldiwan** 'morning star'.

pusonan [pu'sonan] *n.* lower abdomen.

pusot [pu'sot] *n.* bag, bundle, package.

magpusot [magpu'sot] *v.* wrap. *Syn:* **mag-baknag.** *Morph:* **mag-pusot.**

pusutan [pusu'tan] *v.* wrap up, pack up, bundle up. *Morph:* **pusut-an.**

pusu [pu'su] *n.* heart. *Etym:* PMP *pusuq.

putad

magputad [magpu'tad] *v.* cut, shorten. *Morph:* **mag-putad.**

putadan [pu'tadan] *v.* cut off, shorten something. *Morph:* **putad-an.**

putalo [pu'talo] *n.* kind of yam.

putat

maputat [mapu'tat] *adj.* full, complete, whole. *Morph:* **ma-putat.**

puti

magputi [mag'puti] *v.* reap, gather, harvest, pluck, pick (not for harvesting rice). *Morph:* **mag-puti.**

R - r

rabon ['rabon] *n.* bird's nest.

rabrab ['rabrab] *n.* foam, as on the ocean or around the mouth of an animal.

rabwaren [rabwa'rɛn] *n.* spring of water. *Syn:* **arabuwaran; labwaren.**

ragas-ragas

maragas-ragas [mara'gasra'gas] *adj.* rough. *Syn:* **ma-rudog-rudog.** *Morph:* **ma-ragas-ragas.**

rahik ['rahik] *n.* gnat.

rakaw [ra'kaw] *n.* chest of the body.

rakit *n.* raft. *Syn:* **bagwak.** *From:* Ilokano.

magirakit [magi'rakit] *v.* send something by raft. *Morph:* **mag-i-rakit.** *From:* Ilokano.

rakned

raknidan [rak'nidan] *v.* shout at, scold, berate. *Morph:* **rakned-an.**

raksa ['raksa] *n.* grasshopper.

ramas [ra'mas] *n.* mixture; ingredient, something that is mixed into something else. *From:* Ilokano.

iramas [i'ramas] *v.* mix things together. *Morph:* **i-ramas.**

ramet [ra'mɛt] *n.* clothes. *Syn:* **tennon; aladum.**

ramot [ra'mot] *n.* root of a plant or tree. *From:*

Ilokano.

ramram

iramram [i'ramram] *v.* submerge something, submerse something in water, drown someone. *Syn:* **i-laddap; i-ladlad.** *Morph:* **i-ramram.**

ramset

ramsitan ['ramsitan] *v.* squish, crush. *Morph:* **ramsit-an.**

ranak ['ranak] *n.* stick.

rangrang ['raŋraŋ] *n.* ember, live coal. *Syn:* **hakhak.**

rapang ['rapaŋ] *n.* short spear with several sharp points at the end; used for killing fish or chickens. *Syn:* **sarangat.**

rapog

rumapog [ru'mapog] *v.* cross a river. *Syn:* **<um>arabes.** *Morph:* **r<um>apog.**

rapot-rapot [ra'potra'pot] *n.* grass, weeds. *Syn:* **lamon-lamon; ruot.**

rappotak [rap'potak] *adj.* rotten, of wood.

rasa

marasa [ma'rasa] *adj.* skinny, thin, of people or animals. *Morph:* **ma-rasa.**

magparasa *v.* make someone or something skinny or thin. *Morph:* **mag-pa-rasa.**

rekos *Etym:* PAN root *-kus 'encircle, wrap around'.

irekos [i'rɛkos] *v.* wrap around, wind around. *Morph:* **i-rekos.**

retret

magretret [mag'rɛtrɛt] *v.* tear; harvest by cutting, as rattan. *Syn:* **maggatab.** *Morph:* **mag-retret.**

rettat

rumettat [ru'mɛttat] *v.* make oneself ready to go, start a journey, commence. *Syn:* **l<um>aksit.** *Morph:* **r<um>ettat.**

ribu

maribu [ma'ribu] *adj.* one thousand. *Morph:* **ma-ribu.** *From:* Ilokano.

riga

mariga [ma'riga] *adj.* difficult, hard. *Morph:* **ma-riga.**

rikap

magrikap [magri'kap] *v.* marry more than one wife. *Syn:* **mag-ka-seding.** *Morph:* **mag-rikap.**

risa [ri'sa] *n.* nit, louse egg. *See:* **kutu** 'louse (general term)'. *Etym:* PAN *liseSeq 'nit, egg of a louse' (Blust 1995).

rogrog

marogrog [ma'rogrog] *adj.* ruined, collapsed, destroyed, demolished, crumbled, flimsy, rotten, decayed, weak, as of a house. *Morph:* **ma-rogrog.**

romsa

maromsa [ma'romsa] *adj.* dirty. *Morph:* **ma-romsa.**

rongrong ['roŋroŋ] *n.* coffee.

magrongrong [mag'roŋroŋ] *v.* drink, especially coffee. *Morph:* **mag-rongrong.**

rudog-rudog

marudog-rudog [marudogru'dog] *adj.* bumpy, rough. *Syn:* **ma-ragas-ragas.** *Morph:* **ma-rudog-rudog.**

rukab [ru'kab] *n.* cave.

rukad

mangrukad [maŋru'kad] *v.* dive for eels. *Morph:* **mang-rukad.**

ruot ['ruʔot] *n.* grass, weeds. *Syn:* **lamon-lamon; rapot-rapot.** *From:* Ilokano.

ruprup

magruprup [mag'ruprup] *v.* sip liquids, especially coffee. *Syn:* **igup.** *Morph:* **mag-ruprup.**

rusu ['rusu] *n.* stone. *Syn:* **pugedo; bitu.**

karusuan *n.* stony place, rocky outcrop. *Morph:* **ka-rusu-an.**

S - s

sa *conj.* then; conjunction used to coordinate sequential clauses. **Nategbak ni babong sa-mi nilabbang.** Grandmother died, then we buried her.

sabang [sa'baŋ] *n.* mouth of a river. *Etym:* PMP *sabaŋ.

sabbew

masbew ['masbew] *adj.* amazed, surprised. *Morph:* **ma-sabbew.** *See:* **ma-laktat** 'startled'.

sabinet

sabinitan *v.* carry in hands. *Morph:* **sabinet-an.**

sabit

isabit [i'sabit] *v.* hang up. *Morph:* **i-sabit.**

sabut [sa'but] *n.* pubic hair.

saddap *Etym:* PAN *sejep 'enter, penetrate' (Blust 1983-4).

sumaddap [sumad'dap] *v.* enter. *Morph:* **s<um>addap.**

magsaddap *v.* enter. *Idiom:* **magsaddap ha rabon** 'search for bird nests (by entering caves)'. *Morph:* **mag-saddap.**

saddapan *n.* door. *Morph:* **saddap-an.**

saddit

magsaddit [magsad'dit] *v.* crush lice, generally

between the fingernails. *Syn:* **mag-laddis.** *Morph:* **mag-saddit.** *Etym:* PWMP *tedis.

sadsad

magsadsad [mag'sadsad] *v.* have something stuck in the throat; choke slightly on one's food. *Syn:* **ma-tingal.** *Morph:* **mag-sadsad.**

saduk ['saduk] *n.* horn of an animal.

sagab

sumagab [su'magab] *v.* fetch water. *Syn:* **magsagab.** *Morph:* **s<um>agab.**

sagget [sag'gɛt] *n.* narra tree, a kind of tree with yellow flowers whose wood is valuable in construction but is now illegal to log; Agta people use the sap as glue for making arrows. *Pterocarpus indicus.*

sagid [sa'gid] *n.* rattan palm, a plant whose leaves are used for making roofs. *Calamus sp.*

sagikrom [sagi'krom] *n.* dusk, evening. *Syn:* **pag-sagikrom.**

sagsat

isagsat [i'sagsat] *v.* land a boat; climb, ascend a mountain. *Syn:* **tagdak.** *Morph:* **i-sagsat.**

sagudsud

magsagudsud [magsa'gudsud] *v.* dance, especially at a wedding. *Morph:* **mag-sagudsud.**

sagupang [sagu'paŋ] *n.* front side of something.

sakal

sumakal [suma'kal] *v.* root, eat as a wild pig. *Morph:* **s<um>akal.**

sakat [sa'kat] *n.* almond, almond tree. *Terminalia sp. Syn:* **salisay.**

sakbet

magsakbet [mag'sakbɛt] *v.* carry by slinging over the shoulder. *Morph:* **mag-sakbet.**

sakbitan [sakbi'tan] *v.* carry something on shoulders, as a backpack. *Morph:* **sakbet-an.**

saket

masaket [masa'kɛt] *adj.* sick. *Morph:* **ma-saket.** *Etym:* PMP *ma-sakit 'sick, painful' (Blust 1999).

sakkal

kasakkal [ka'sakkal] *n.* thing that makes one angry, mad, irritated, or disgusted. *Morph:* **ka-sakkal.**

somkal ['somkal] *v.* become angry. *Morph:* **s<um>akkal.**

sakkop

sakkopan [sak'kopan] *v.* answer a question.

sakngat ['sakŋat] *n.* hook.

sakon [sa'kon] *n.* kind of palm tree with an edible center.

sakrot

sakrutan [sak'rutan] *v.* unsheathe, pull an arrow out of something (sheath, body, etc). *Morph:* **sakrut-an.**

salagsag [sa'lagsag] *n.* earrings. *Syn:* **subang.**

salanep

magsalanep [magsa'lanep] *v.* hunt without dogs. *Syn:* **mag-angkat.** *Morph:* **mag-salanep.** *See:* **mang-anop** 'hunt with dogs'.

salang [sa'laŋ] *n.* dammar pine tree; its raw wood is waxy and is burned as candles. *Agathis philippinensis. Etym:* PAN *saleŋ 'pine tree'.

salawa [sala'wa] *adj.* fast, nimble, agile, quick.

salawekwek [sala'wɛkwɛk] *adj.* talkative. *Syn:* **ma-kagi.**

salduy

salduyan [sal'duyan] *v.* carry something by hanging it from the forehead. *Morph:* **salduy-an.**

salidum

sumalidum [sumali'dum] *v.* take shelter from the rain. *Syn:* **i<um>endum.** *Morph:* **s<um>alidum.** *See:* **halidong** 'umbrella'.

salipot

isalipot [isali'pot] *v.* go around. *Morph:* **i-salipot.**

salisay [sali'say] *n.* almond, almond tree. *Terminalia sp. Syn:* **sakat.** *Etym:* PMP *talisay.

sallad [sal'lad] *n.* interval, space between two things. *Etym:* PMP *seled.

sallag ['sallag] *n.* current of a river. *Etym:* PWMP *seleg 'flowing water, current' (Blust 1989).

masallag [masal'lag] *adj.* strong-flowing, of a river current. *Morph:* **ma-sallag.**

sallang [sal'laŋ] *n.* jaw.

sallen ['sallɛn] *n.* fence.

salnget

isalnget [isal'ŋɛt] *v.* put something in the branches of a tree. *Morph:* **i-salnget.**

salo

sumalo [su'malo] *v.* borrow. *Morph:* **s<um>alo.**

salpak

magsalpak *v.* meet, agree. *Morph:* **mag-salpak.**

salpakan ['salpakan] *v.* meet, run into. *Syn:* **depun-an.** *Morph:* **salpak-an.**

salsag

isalsag [i'salsag] *v.* eagerly do something difficult, work hard at something. *Morph:* **i-salsag.**

salungaseng [sa'luŋaseŋ] *n.* side of face.

salupengan [salu'pɛŋan] *n.* kind of freshwater fish with four fins.

samang

magsamang [magsa'maŋ] *v.* search for bee hives. *Syn:* **mamitukan.** *Morph:* **mag-samang.**

samay-samay [sa'maysa'may] *n.* small black ant.

samondut

massamondut [massa'mondut] *adj.* frowning. *Syn:* **ma-soklap.** *Morph:* **ma-samondut.**

makassamondut [makassa'mondut] *adj.* sad. *Morph:* **maka-samondut.**

sandig *Etym:* PWMP *senjiR.

magsandig [mag'sandig] *v.* lean. *Syn:* **s<um>andig; s<um>andiyag.** *Morph:* **mag-sandig.**

pasandigan [pa'sandigan] *n.* something that is leaned upon. *Morph:* **pa-sandig-an.**

sandiyag

sumandiyag [su'mandiyag] *v.* lean. *Syn:* **mag-sandig.** *Morph:* **s<um>adiyag.**

sanig

magsanig [mag'sanig] *v.* hear, listen. *Morph:* **mag-sanig.**

sanigan ['sanigan] *v.* listen to something. *Morph:* **sanig-an.**

saniki

masaniki [ma'saniki] *adj.* shy, embarrassed, ashamed. *Syn:* **ma-seknan.** *Morph:* **ma-saniki.**

sangbay *v.* put arm around someone. *Syn:* **angbay.**

sanget

magsanget [magsa'ŋɛt] *v.* cry, weep. *Syn:* **mag-ngoyngoy.** *Morph:* **mag-sanget.**

sangkalan ['saŋkalan] *n.* ring worn on finger.

sanglag

isanglag [i'saŋlag] *v.* fry. *Morph:* **i-sanglag.** *Etym:* PWMP *saŋelaR.

sapa [sa'pa] *n.* stream, creek.

sapot

saputan [sa'putan] *v.* lick. *Syn:* **deldel-an.** *Morph:* **saput-an.**

sappang [sap'paŋ] *n.* waist.

sapray

isapray [i'sapray] *v.* hang out to dry, as clothes. *Morph:* **i-sapray.**

sapsap *Etym:* PAN *sepsep (Blust 1999).

magsapsap [mag'sapsap] *v.* suck. *Morph:* **mag-sapsap.**

sarangat [sa'raŋat] *n.* short spear with several sharp points at the end; used for killing fish or chickens. *Syn:* **rapang.**

sarek [sa'rɛk] *n.* termite.

sarek

sinarek [sina'rek] *n.* arrow with a head that is rounded at base and comes to a fine point. *Morph:* **s<in>arek.**

sarekked [sa'rɛkkɛd] *n.* hut, small house. *Syn:* **toklong.**

sari [sa'ri] *n.* kind of spiny rattan.

sarimaw [sari'maw] *n.* civet, a small cat-like mammal; Malay civet. *Viverra tangalunga*. *See:* **madipa.** *Etym:* PWMP *qarimaw.

saron

isaron *v.* dry in the sun. *Morph:* **i-saron.**

magisaron dry in the sun.

sarungan [saru'ŋan] *n.* sheath for a large knife. *Etym:* PWMP *saruŋ.

isarungan [isa'ruŋan] *v.* sheathe a knife. *Morph:* **i-sarungan.**

sarupit [sa'rupit] *n.* child. *Syn:* **anak.**

seding

magkaseding *n.* marry more than one wife. *Syn:* **mag-rikap.** *Morph:* **mag-ka-seding.**

segkat

masegkat [ma'sɛgkat] *adj.* lazy. *Morph:* **ma-segkat.**

sekay

magsekay [mag'sekay] *v.* be sensitive, mildly jealous, resentful, disgusted. *Morph:* **mag-sekay.**

seknan

maseknan [ma'sɛknan] *v.* shy, embarrassed, ashamed. *Syn:* **ma-saniki.** *Morph:* **ma-seknan.**

seksek ['sɛksɛk] *n.* fish scale. *Syn:* **keskes.** *Etym:* PWMP *siksik.

sennad [sɛn'nad] *n.* python.

senggit ['sɛŋgit] *n.* sun.

sengkar

sumengkar [su'meŋkar] *v.* rise, of the sun. *Morph:* **s<um>engkar.**

seseburaraw [sɛsɛbu'raraw] *n.* species of black bird.

sesit ['sɛsit] *n.* thorn; fish bone.

sidung [si'duŋ] *n.* underneath; under side; space under house. *Etym:* PPh *siduŋ.

sigante [si'gante] *n.* kind of monitor lizard. *Syn:* **silay.**

sigeg [si'gɛg] *n.* kind of yam with a thorny stem.

sigida

magsigida [magsi'gida] *v.* hurry up. *Morph:* **mag-sigida.**

sigidaan *v.* do something quickly. *Morph:* **sigida-an.**

sigit [si'git] *n.* small bucket.

sumigit [sumi'git] *v.* dip for a liquid with a small bucket. *Morph:* **s<um>igit.**

sigud ['sigud] *n.* small knife.

sikan

masikan [masi'kan] *adj.* hard-working. *Morph:* **ma-sikan.**

sikaw *n.* swidden farm, a farm where a field is partially cleared, leaving only the stumps of the largest trees, the cuttings are burned, and crops are planted; fields are generally small in scope and rotated every few years.

magsikaw [magsi'kaw] *v.* practice swidden agriculture. *Morph:* **mag-sikaw.**

sikul [si'kul] *n.* elbow.

silag
magsilag [magsi'lag] *v.* hunt, fish, or gather foods or forest products to eat, sell, or trade. *Morph:* **mag-silag.**
silaggan [silag'gan] *v.* take care of, provide for, look after someone by hunting, fishing, and gathering for them. *Morph:* **silag-an.**
silak
magsilak [magsi'lak] *v.* cut, strip, shred. *Morph:* **mag-silak.**
silap
masilap [masi'lap] *adj.* shiny, bright, glittering, flashing, sparkling. *Morph:* **ma-silap.** *Etym:* PMP *cilap.
silay [si'lay] *n.* kind of monitor lizard. *Syn:* **sigante.**
sileng [si'lɛŋ] *n.* lie, untruth. *Syn:* **toblol; tobloy.**
magsileng [magsi'lɛŋ] *v.* lie, tell an untruth. *Morph:* **mag-sileng.**
sili ['sili] *n.* hot pepper. *From:* Ilokano.
simal [si'mal] *n.* flea. *Etym:* PWMP *timel 'Blust 1995'.
simang [si'maŋ] *n.* rust.
sinag *n.* sunlight; weather; summer. *Etym:* PAN *siNaR.
masinag [masi'nag] *adj.* sunny. *Morph:* **ma-sinag.**
kassinag [kassi'nag] *n.* summer, dry season; year. *Morph:* **ka-sinag.**
sinti
kasinti [ka'sinti] *n.* thing that makes one angry, mad, irritated, or disgusted. *Syn:* **ka-sakkal.** *Morph:* **ka-sinti.**
masinti [ma'sinti] *adj.* annoying, irritating. *Morph:* **ma-sinti.**
singat *Etym:* PWMP *siŋ(e)het.
magsingat [magsi'ŋat] *v.* sting. *Morph:* **mag-singat.**
singaw ['siŋaw] *n.* steam. *Syn:* **asngaw.**
masingaw [ma'siŋaw] *adj.* steamy. *Morph:* **ma-singaw.**
singgat
masinggat [ma'siŋgat] *adj.* tasty, delicious; sweet. *Morph:* **ma-singgat.**
sirat [si'rat] *n.* intestines, guts, innards.
siyam ['siyam] *adj.* nine. *Etym:* PPh *siam.
siyu ['siyu] *n.* large knife, bolo knife. *Syn:* **palataw.**
sogbi
magsogbi [mag'sogbi] *v.* char an animal before cooking to remove hair and outer layer of skin. *Morph:* **mag-sogbi.**
sogbuk
sogbukan ['sogbukan] *v.* catch in the hands. *Morph:* **sogbuk-an.**
sokad
magisokad [magi'sokad] *v.* roast, grill. *Syn:* **mag-gubok; mang-i-apoy.** *Morph:* **mag-i-sokad.**
soklap
massoklap [mas'soklap] *adj.* frowning. *Syn:* **ma-samondut.** *Morph:* **ma-soklap.**
soli *Etym:* PMP *suliq.
magsoli [mag'soli] *v.* return, go home. *Morph:* **mag-soli.**
isoli [i'soli] *v.* return something. *Morph:* **i-soli.**
somkal ['somkal] *v.* become angry. *Morph:* **s<um>akkal.** *See:* **sakkal.**
sondang ['sondaŋ] *n.* knife; small knife in northern dialects, bolo knife in southern dialects.
songot
mesongot [mɛ'soŋot] *v.* be hungry. *Syn:* **mag-ke-songot; ma-alap.** *Morph:* **ma-i-songot.**
soppang
masoppang [ma'soppaŋ] *adj.* annoying, bothersome, overly persistent, stubborn, said of people. *Syn:* **ma-soprang.** *Morph:* **ma-soppang.**
soprad
masoprad [ma'soprad] *adj.* unripe, of bananas. *Morph:* **ma-soprad.** *Etym:* PWMP *sapeled.
soprang
masoprang [ma'sopraŋ] *adj.* annoying, bothersome, overly persistent, stubborn, said of people. *Syn:* **ma-soppang.** *Morph:* **ma-soprang.**
sosson
magsosson [magsos'son] *v.* carry on head. *Morph:* **mag-sosson.**
sossonan [sos'sonan] *v.* carry something on the head. *Morph:* **sosson-an.**
subang [su'baŋ] *n.* earrings. *Syn:* **salagsag.**
subu ['subu] *n.* tobacco.
subuk [su'buk] *n.* large brown ant; non-Agta people eat the eggs.
sugod ['sugod] *n.* lice comb. *See:* **surod** 'comb'. *From:* Ilokano.
sula [su'la] *n.* cigarettes.
sulawan [sula'wan] *n.* saltwater mollusk.
suleg
sumuleg [sumu'lɛg] *v.* look back. *Morph:* **s<um>uleg.**
sulet
magsulet [magsu'lɛt] *v.* change; change clothes, get dressed. *Morph:* **mag-sulet.**
isulet [isu'lɛt] *v.* change, exchange goods. *Morph:* **i-sulet.**
sullug
isullug [i'sullug] *v.* spear, thrust like a spear. *Syn:* **i-balasug.** *Morph:* **i-sullug.**
sulog
magsulog [magsu'log] *v.* swim. *Syn:* **s<um>ulog; mag-nangoy.** *Morph:* **mag-sulog.**

sulu ['sulu] *n.* light, any kind of device for emitting light. *Etym:* PMP *suluq 'torch' (Blust 2006).

sulu

masulu [masu'lu] *adj.* red. *Usage:* **Southern Dupaningan only.** *Syn:* **ma-dideg; ma-digkat; ma-dulaw.** *Morph:* **ma-sulu.**

sunong

masunong [masu'noŋ] *adj.* straight. *Morph:* **ma-sunong.**

sungsung

sungsungan [suŋ'suŋan] *n.* headwaters, source of a stream or river. *Morph:* **sungsung-an.**

supsup *Etym:* PAN *supsup 'sip, suck' (Blust 1989).

supsupan [sup'supan] *v.* suck.

suput [su'put] *n.* bag.

suriwat [su'riwat] *n.* adolescent monkey. *See:* **adaw** 'baby monkey'; **burog** 'monkey'.

surod [su'rod] *n.* comb. *See:* **sugod** 'lice comb'.

susang ['susaŋ] *n.* earwax.

susu

magsusu *v.* breastfeed. *Morph:* **mag-susu.** *See:* **gisat** 'breast'. *Etym:* PAN *susu.

suwa ['suwa] *n.* pomelo, a fruit similar to a grapefruit.

T - t

ta *conj.* because. **Inumangay-ak ha arabuwaran-ayo ta tinumgaw-ak.** I went to the spring because I was thirsty. *Syn:* **na.**

ta- diminutive prefix indicating the small size of the noun to which it is prefixed. **ta-anak** small child

-ta *pron.* we, you & I, our, mine & yours; first person dual inclusive enclitic genitive pronoun. **dilan-ta** our path *Etym:* PAN *-ta.

tabar [ta'bar] *n.* species of fig tree whose fruits are not edible. *Ficus ribes*.

tabas *Etym:* PAN *tebaS 'cut, clear vegetation' (Blust 1986).

magtabas [magta'bas] *v.* clear vegetation, whether in the jungle, for a swidden farm, or weeding an already planted field. *Syn:* **mag-baddas.** *Morph:* **mag-tabas.**

tabbay

itabbay [i'tabbay] *v.* hang something. *Morph:* **i-tabbay.**

tabbeg [tab'bɛg] *n.* answer.

tumabbeg [tumab'bɛg] *v.* answer.

tabbog [tab'bog] *n.* puddle, mudhole; freshwater spring. *Etym:* PAN *Cebuj.

tabi [ta'bi] *n.* fat, oil. *Etym:* PWMP *tabeq.

matabi [mata'bi] *adj.* fat, overweight; fatty, oily. *Morph:* **ma-tabi.**

tadam [ta'dam] *n.* fishing hook. *Syn:* **bangwes.**

matadam [mata'dam] *adj.* sharp, as a blade. *Morph:* **ma-tadam.** *See:* **murok** 'sharp, of a point'. *Etym:* PMP *ma-tazem (Blust 1999).

tadi [ta'di] expression of surprise. *Etym:* PWMP *ajiq 'exclamation of pain or surprise' (Blust 1989).

tag- prefix for forming distributive numbers. **tag-issa** one each

taga- prefix indicating the place of origin of the root. **Ide a buybuy, buybuy na Dupaningan a taga-Pasaweg.** This is a story, a Dupaningan story from Pasaweg. *Etym:* PPh *taRa-.

tagad [ta'gad] *n.* large pieces of firewood. *See:* **dukot** 'small pieces of firewood'.

magtagad [magta'gad] *v.* build a fire; feed a fire; arrange firewood, make a pile of firewood. *Morph:* **mag-tagad.**

tagbak ['tagbak] *n.* a kind of reed used for making floors.

tagbu

managbu [ma'nagbu] *v.* run into, meet; spot, in hunting; be able to get, as an animal. *Morph:* **mang-tagbu.**

tagdak

tumagdak [tu'magdak] *v.* land, as a boat; climb, ascend a mountain. *Syn:* **sagsat.** *Morph:* **t<um>agdak.**

tagdo

magtagdo [mag'tagdo] *v.* drip. *Morph:* **mag-tagdo.**

tagenap [ta'gɛnap] *n.* dream. *Etym:* PPh *taRa-qinep.

taggad

magtaggad [magtag'gad] *v.* prune, cut branches of a tree; pick, as fruit. *Morph:* **mag-taggad.**

taggadan [tag'gadan] *v.* prune a tree, pick fruits. *Morph:* **taggad-an.**

taggaw

tomgaw ['tomgaw] *v.* be thirsty, thirst. *Morph:* **t<um>aggaw.**

taghayup [tag'hayup] *adj.* very large.

tagiletel [tagi'lɛtel] *n.* hill, mountain. *Syn:* **kurot.**

tagipolyas

tagipolyasan [tagi'polyasan] *v.* bewitch, charm, cast a spell on. *Morph:* **tagipolyas-an.**

tagkang ['tagkaŋ] *n.* rib. *Etym:* PAN *tageRaŋ.

taglad

itaglad [i'taglad] *v.* press down on something with the hand. *Syn:* **i-tamlad.** *Morph:* **i-taglad.**

tagmak

itagmak [i'tagmak] *v.* put, place, set something. *Syn:* **i-datton.** *Morph:* **i-tagmak.**

tagtag *Etym:* PAN *CegCeg 'beat, pound' (Blust 1986).

magtagtag [mag'tagtag] *v.* crush, pound, knock. *Morph:* **mag-tagtag.**

tagu

magtagu [mag'tagu] *v.* hide. *Morph:* **mag-tago.** *Etym:* PMP *taRu.

tagubet

magtagubet *v.* race, chase. *Morph:* **mag-tagubet.**

tagubetan [tagu'bɛtan] *v.* chase. *Syn:* **adlay-an.**

taguwang

magtaguwang [magta'guwaŋ] *v.* howl, as a dog. *Morph:* **mag-taguwang.**

-taka *pron.* enclitic pronoun that is a combination of the first person singular genitive **ko** plus the second person singular nominative **ka**. **Kasur-taka, wadi-ko.** I love you, my sibling.

takab-takab

magtakab-takab [magta'kabta'kab] *v.* crawl, creep. *Morph:* **mag-takab-takab.**

takad-takad *Etym:* PWMP *taked.

tumakad-takad [tuma'kadta'kad] *v.* climb, ascend. *Syn:* **<um>unek.** *Morph:* **t<um>akad.**

-takam *pron.* enclitic pronoun that is a combination of the first person singular genitive **ko** plus the second person plural nominative **kam.**

takaw [ta'kaw] *n.* large black ant.

takaw *Etym:* PAN *Cakaw 'steal, do secretly' (Blust 1995).

magtakaw [magta'kaw] *v.* steal. *Morph:* **mag-takaw.**

takawan [taka'wan] *v.* steal something. *Morph:* **takaw-an.**

takkak

makkak [mak'kak] *adj.* bitter, salty. *Morph:* **ma-takkak.**

takkan [tak'kan] *n.* pole used to propel a boat. *Etym:* PMP *teken.

magtakkan [magtak'kan] navigate a boat using a pole. *Morph:* **mag-takkan.**

taklaw

mataklaw [ma'taklaw] *adj.* brave, fearless. *Morph:* **ma-taklaw.**

taknag

tumaknag [tu'maknəg] *v.* stand.

taknagan ['taknagan] *v.* to be straightforward, to stand by one's word. *Morph:* **taknag-an.**

taknag *n.* ambush, raid.

manaknag [ma'naknag] *v.* wait in ambush until game is driven towards the hunter by dogs, then attack or ambush the game. *Morph:* **mang-taknag.**

takneg

matakneg [ma'taknɛg] *v.* fall, drop. *Morph:* **ma-takneg.**

taktak

manaktak [ma'naktak] *v.* crawl. *Syn:* **mag-taktak.** *Morph:* **mang-taktak.**

takwab

takwaban [tak'waban] *v.* open. *Morph:* **takwab-an.**

talak

matalak *adj.* happy, hopeful. *Morph:* **ma-talak.**

katalak [kata'lak] *n.* expectation, hope. *Morph:* **ka-talak.**

katalakan *v.* expect, hope. *Morph:* **ka-talak-an.**

talaktak

tumalaktak [tuma'laktak] *v.* cross over, go over to the other side. *Morph:* **t<um>alaktak.**

talaktakan [ta'laktakan] *v.* cross, as a mountain. *Morph:* **talaktak-an.**

talaktakan [ta'laktakan] *n.* mountain pass. *Syn:* **bikasat.** *Morph:* **talaktak-an.**

talapatap [talapa'tap] *n.* wasp.

taleb

tumaleb [tuma'lɛb] *v.* pass, go by. *Morph:* **t<um>aleb.**

magpataleb *v.* let something go past. *Morph:* **mag-pa-taleb.**

talekkod

tumalekkod [tumalɛk'kod] *v.* turn around, turning back on others. *Morph:* **t<um>alekkod.**

italekkod [ita'lɛkkod] *v.* turn one's back on someone or something. *Morph:* **i-talekkod.**

talinga [ta'liŋa] *n.* ear. *Etym:* PAN *Caliŋa (Blust 1999).

talingo

matalingo *v.* wounded, having a small wound. *Morph:* **ma-talingo.** *See:* **ma-tellas** 'having a large wound'.

tallo [tal'lo] *adj.* three. *Etym:* PAN *telu 'Blust 1999'.

tallobag [tal'lobag] *adj.* naked. *Syn:* **bayus-bayus.**

tallubu [tallu'bu] *n.* boy, ten to twelve years of age.

talon [ta'lon] *n.* forest, woods, jungle, mountains, remote place; place (general term). *Syn:* **amogud; parabin.** *Etym:* PAN *talun 'fallow land'.

-tam *pron.* we, our; first personal plural inclusive enclitic genitive pronoun. **hida-tam** our meal

tamlad

itamlad [i'tamlad] *v.* press down on something with hand. *Syn:* **i-taglad.** *Morph:* **i-tamlad.**

tamus ['tamus] *v.* please look at this. *Morph:* **enta-mo-bas.**

tanad

tinanad [ti'nanad] *n.* arrow with several sharp, flaring spikes at the base of the arrowhead; head detaches from arrow shaft. *Morph:* **t<in>anad.**

tanam *Etym:* PMP *tanem.

itanam [ita'nam] *v.* bury. *Morph:* **i-tanam.**

tannog [tan'nog] *n.* sound.

matnog ['matnog] *v.* noisy, loud, roaring sound, capable of shaking the ground. *Morph:* **ma-tannog.**

tangad

magtangad [magta'ŋad] *v.* look in an upward direction, raise the eyes. *Syn:* **t<um>angad.** *Morph:* **mag-tangad.**

tangkay

matangkay [ma'taŋkay] *adj.* tall, high. *Morph:* **ma-tangkay.** *See:* **apellak** 'short'.

mangitangkay [maŋi'taŋkay] *v.* put something on the fire for cooking, begin cooking by hanging pot above the fire. *Morph:* **mang-i-tangkay.**

pagtangkay *n.* rise, raising, as of the sun or moon. *Morph:* **pag-tangkay.**

tangngad [taŋ'ŋad] *n.* back of neck.

tango

magtango [mag'taŋo] *v.* nod head. *Morph:* **mag-tango.**

tangpod

matangpod [ma'taŋpod] *adj.* broken, snapped in two. *Morph:* **ma-tangpod.**

tangtang

matangtang [ma'taŋtaŋ] *adj.* burnt, of rice. *Morph:* **ma-tangtang.**

tap *Etym:* PMP *tahep.

magtap [mag'tap] *v.* winnow rice. *Syn:* **magtar-ap.** *Morph:* **mag-tap.**

tapaw [ta'paw] *n.* waterfall.

tapog

tapugan [ta'pugan] *v.* hit something with an arrow. *Morph:* **tapog-an.**

tapok

magtapok [magta'pok] *v.* fight. *Morph:* **mag-tapok.**

tappag

tappagan [tap'pagan] *v.* prevent, hold back, detain, restrain, hinder, impede, stop. *Syn:* **mag-iwad.** *Morph:* **tappag-an.**

tappaw [tap'paw] *n.* floating device; buoy.

tompaw ['tompaw] *v.* float. *Morph:* **t<um>appaw.**

taprak

itaprak [itap'rak] *v.* release, let go, drop, set free. *Morph:* **i-taprak.**

taragipo

magtaragipo [magta'ragipo] *v.* drizzle. *Morph:* **mag-taragipo.**

taraket

magtaraket [magta'rakɛt] *v.* crow, as a rooster. *Morph:* **mag-taraket.**

tarang-tarang

itarang-tarang [ita'raŋta'raŋ] *v.* have someone or something walk fast. *Morph:* **i-tarang-tarang.**

tar-ap

magtar-ap [mag'tar?ap] *v.* winnow rice. *Syn:* **mag-tap.** *Morph:* **mag-tar-ap.**

tareptep

manareptep [mana'rɛptɛp] *v.* walk along the edge of a river. *Morph:* **mang-tareptep.**

tarheb

magtarheb [mag'tarhɛb] *v.* burp, belch. *Morph:* **mag-tarheb.**

tarod [ta'rod] *n.* truth, correct, right.

manarod [mana'rod] *v.* believe. *Morph:* **mang-tarod.**

tarong [ta'roŋ] *n.* eggplant. *From:* Ilokano.

taryaw ['taryaw] *n.* plate for eating.

tasuluk [ta'suluk] *n.* arrow with a narrow arrowhead. *Morph:* **ta-suluk.**

tattang

metattang ['mɛtattaŋ] *v.* accidentally shoot an arrow into a tree. *Morph:* **ma-i-tattang.**

tawag

metawag [meta'wag] *v.* disappear, vanish, get lost. *Morph:* **ma-i-tawag.**

tawed *n.* load to be carried.

magtawed [magta'wɛd] *v.* carry. *Morph:* **mag-tawed.**

tawidan [ta'widan] *v.* carry. *Morph:* **tawid-an.**

tayang

tumayang [tu'mayaŋ] *v.* fall on back, lie on back. *Morph:* **t<um>ayang.**

matayang *v.* lie on back. *Morph:* **ma-tayang.**

tegbak

mategbak [ma'tɛgbak] *v.* die. *Syn:* **ma-lugulug; mag-gasak.** *Morph:* **ma-tegbak.**

tegbakan ['tɛgbakan] *v.* kill. *Syn:* **lugulug-an.** *Morph:* **tegbak-an.**

telad

magtelad *v.* wipe anus. *Morph:* **mag-telad.**

tellas

matellas [ma'tɛllas] *adj.* wounded, having a large gash or wound. *Morph:* **ma-tellas.** *See:* **ma-talingo** 'having a small wound'.

telmok

telmukan [tɛl'mukan] *v.* swallow something. *Morph:* **telmok-an.**

teman

magteman [mag'tɛman] *v.* listen. *Morph:* **mag-teman.**

timanan *v.* listen to something. *Morph:* **timan-an.**

matiman [mati'man] *v.* hear. *Morph:* **ma-timan.**

tena ['tɛna] *n.* any flying insect.

tennon ['tɛnnon] *n.* clothes, shirt. *Syn:* **aladum; ramet.** *Etym:* PAN *tenun 'weave'.

tewalang ['tɛwalaŋ] *n.* cobra snake.

tidug

matidug [mati'dug] *v.* sleep. *Syn:* **k<um>ilap.** *Morph:* **ma-tidug.** *Etym:* PMP *tiduR.

tikad [ti'kad] *n.* leg, foot. *Etym:* PMP *tiked 'heel, back of the leg' (Blust 1986).

mateka-tekad [matɛkatɛkad] *n.* footprint. *Morph:* **ma-tika-tikad.**

tikal [ti'kal] *n.* kind of sugarcane with hairy, white, flowering grass. *Saccharum spontaneum.*

tilu ['tilu] *n.* animal trail.

timon [ti'mon] *n.* rudder of a boat.

tingal

matingal [mati'ŋal] *v.* choke slightly on one's food, as when food goes down the wrong pipe or one chokes on a fishbone. *Syn:* **mag-sadsad.** *Morph:* **ma-tingal.**

tingi [ti'ŋi] *n.* branch of a tree.

tirak

matirak [mati'rak] *v.* leave behind. *Morph:* **ma-tirak.**

titu ['titu] *n.* puppy. *Etym:* PWMP *titu.*

tatitu [ta'titu] *n.* small puppy. *Morph:* **ta-titu.**

tiyan ['tiyan] *n.* belly, stomach. *Syn:* **lattag.** *Etym:* PAN *tiaN.

tobbak

itobbak [i'tobbak] *v.* discard, throw away; drop; throw. *Morph:* **i-tobbak.**

toblol *n.* lie, untruth. *Syn:* **tobloy; sileng.**

magtoblol [magtob'lol] *v.* lie, tell an untruth; cheat. *Morph:* **mag-toblol.**

toblolan *v.* lie to, deceive. *Morph:* **toblol-an.**

tobloy *n.* lie, untruth, deception. *Syn:* **toblol; sileng.**

magtobloy [mag'tobloy] *v.* lie, tell an untruth. *Morph:* **mag-tobloy.**

togkay

itogkay [i'togkay] *v.* push. *Syn:* **i-toglad.** *Morph:* **i-togkay.**

togkok

tumogkok [tu'mogkok] *v.* squat, sit. *Morph:* **t<um>ogkok.**

toglad

itoglad [i'toglad] *v.* push. *Syn:* **i-togkay.** *Morph:* **i-toglad.**

tognan

itognan [i'tognan] *v.* send, escort. *Morph:* **i-tugan-an.** *See:* **tugan.**

toklab

toklaban ['toklaban] *v.* attack by striking out. *Morph:* **toklab-an.**

toklong [tok'loŋ] *n.* hut, shelter, small house. *Syn:* **sarekked.**

tokram

magtokram [mag'tokram] *v.* nod, bow, duck head, lower head, nod off. *Morph:* **mag-tokram.**

toktok *Etym:* PAN *CukCuk 'knock, pound, beat' (Blust 1995).

magtoktok [mag'toktok] *v.* knock, pound. *Morph:* **mag-toktok.**

tolay ['tolay] *n.* person.

natolay [na'tolay] *adj.* alive.

tolbak

tolbakan ['tolbakan] *v.* poke. *Morph:* **tolbak-an.**

toldu

magtoldu [mag'toldu] *v.* teach, point. *Morph:* **mag-toldu.**

mangitoldo [maŋi'toldu] *v.* teach. *Morph:* **mang-i-toldo.** *See:* **toldo.**

tolduan ['tolduwan] *v.* teach something, learn something. *Morph:* **toldu-an.**

itoldu [i'toldu] *v.* point, teach. *Morph:* **i-toldu.**

toldug

matoldug [ma'toldug] *adj.* skilled, good, smart, intelligent, lucky. *Morph:* **ma-toldug.**

tolnak ['tolnak] *n.* stake, pole, post. *See:* **adigi** 'house post'.

tomgaw ['tomgaw] *v.* be thirsty, thirst. *Morph:* **t<um>aggaw.**

tompaw ['tompaw] *v.* float. *Syn:* **mag-alatab-latab.** *Morph:* **t<um>appaw.** *See:* **tappaw.**

tonglad ['toŋlad] *n.* dead tree that is still standing; tree stump.

toppak ['toppak] *n.* spit, saliva.

magtoppak [mag'toppak] *v.* spit. *Morph:* **mag-toppak.**

itoppak [i'toppak] *v.* spit something. *Morph:* **i-toppak.**

torduk

magtorduk [mag'torduk] *v.* pierce with a needle. *Morph:* **mag-torduk.**

tubiyan [tu'biyan] *n.* arrow with a head of classic, triangular shape.

tubu *Etym:* PAN *Cubuq 'plant sprout' (Blust 1986).

magtubu [mag'tubu] *v.* sprout, grow, as a young plant. *Morph:* **mag-tubu.**

tugan

itugan [itu'gan] *v.* take an object, escort a person.

itognan [i'tognan] *v.* send, escort. *Morph:* **i-tugan-an.**

tukad

tumukad [tumu'kad] *v.* fall, flip over, turn upside down. *Usage:* be very hungry (lit, flip over with hunger). *Idiom:* **tumukad a alap.** *Morph:* **t<um>ukad.**

tukak [tu'kak] *n.* frog. *See:* **balbag** 'large frog'.
tulang [tu'laŋ] *n.* bone. *Etym:* PMP *tuqelaŋ (Blust 1999).
tulos
magtulos [magtu'los] *v.* continue. *Morph:* **mag-tulos.**
itulos [itu'los] *v.* continue doing something. *Morph:* **i-tulos.**
tungu ['tuŋu] *n.* firewood, anything used to fuel a fire.
turidak
maturidak [ma'turidak] *adj.* erect, stiff, of breasts. *Morph:* **ma-turidak.**
tutod
magtutod [magtu'tod] *v.* burn. *Morph:* **mag-tutod.**
tutudan [tu'tudan] *v.* blaze, burn, char something. *Morph:* **tutud-an.**
tuwad
mattuwad [mattu'wad] *adj.* kneeling with face down. *Morph:* **ma-tuwad.**
tuyak
tuyakan [tuya'kan] *v.* gut, clean out the innards of an animal. *Morph:* **tuyak-an.**

U - u

ubat [u'bat] *n.* vagina, vulva. *Etym:* PMP *ubet 'buttocks'.
ubi [u'bi] *n.* purple yam. *Etym:* PMP *qubi 'yam'.
ubobi
magubobi [magu'bobi] *v.* be naked. *Morph:* **mag-ubobi.**
udek *Etym:* PWMP *uDahik.
magudek [magu'dɛk] *v.* travel upstream. *Morph:* **mag-udek.** *See:* **didiya** 'area upstream'.
uden [u'dɛn] *n.* rain. *Etym:* PAN *quzaN (Blust 1999).
maguden [magu'dɛn] *v.* rain. *Morph:* **mag-uden.**
uges *See:* **balbal; pokpok** 'wash clothes'. *Etym:* PAN *SuRas 'wash body parts, cooking or eating utensils (but not clothes)'.
maguges [magu'gɛs] *v.* wash, rinse, as body or dishes. *Morph:* **mag-uges.**
ugisan [u'gisan] *v.* wash, rinse something, do the dishes. *Morph:* **uges-an.**
uget [u'gɛt] *n.* vein. *Etym:* PAN *uRaC (Blust 1995).
uggang [ug'gaŋ] *n.* sweat.
uging [u'giŋ] *n.* charcoal. *Etym:* PAN *qujiŋ (Blust 1995).
ugma ['ugma] *n.* tomorrow. *See:* **nougma** 'tomorrow'.
pangugma [pa'ŋugma] *n.* breakfast. *Morph:* **pang-ugma.**
mangugma [maŋugma] *v.* eat breakfast. *Morph:* **mang-ugma.**
ukong [u'koŋ] *n.* egg. *Syn:* **bunay.**
ukset
uksitan [uk'sitan] *v.* pester, bother, insist, force, make trouble for. *Morph:* **ukset-an.**
ulag [u'lag] *n.* snake. *Etym:* PAN *SulaR (Blust 1999).
ulap [u'lap] *n.* cloud.
ulas [u'las] *n.* blanket.
ulas [u'las] *n.* device made of rattan for making fire; a piece of (tubular) rattan is split down the center to the midline and a rock is wedged in, creating a V-shape; a piece of thin rattan cord is wrapped around the rattan wedge and the cord is rubbed against the V-shaped piece until there is fire.
ulay [u'lay] *n.* necklace, something worn around neck. *Syn:* **manek.**
iulay [iyu'lay] *v.* wear something around the neck, put on a necklace. *Morph:* **i-ulay.**
ulay *n.* peanut.
ulitaw [uli'taw] *n.* bachelor; young, unmarried man. *See:* **madiket** 'bachelorette'.
ulolaw
magulolaw [magu'lolaw] *v.* feel dizzy, nauseous. *Morph:* **mag-ulolaw.** *Etym:* PAN *ulaw 'dizzy, giddy, dazed' (Blust 1983-4).
-um- actor focus verbal infix. *Syn:* **mag-**; **mang-**. *Etym:* PAN *-um-.
umal [u'mal] *n.* mute person; someone who doesn't speak at all or has difficulty speaking.
umeng [u'mɛŋ] *n.* beard.
magumeng [magu'mɛŋ] *v.* shave. *Morph:* **mag-umeng.**
unek *Etym:* PWMP *unahik.
umunek [umu'nɛk] *v.* climb, ascend; enter, as a house or vehicle. *Syn:* **t<um>akad-takad.** *Morph:* **<um>unek.**
unod *Syn:* **useg.**
umunod [umu'nod] *v.* follow, accompany, go along. *Morph:* **<um>unod.**
unodan [u'nodan] *v.* follow. *Morph:* **unod-an.**
iunod [iyu'nod] *v.* take along with, as a person. *Morph:* **i-unod.**
ungor
magungor [magu'ŋor] *v.* snore. *Morph:* **mag-ungor.**
upa ['upa] *n.* hen, female chicken. *Etym:* PWMP

*upa.

upas
mangupas [maŋu'pas] *v.* fish with a net. *Morph:* **mang-upas.**

uppon
uppunan [up'punan] *v.* help someone. *Morph:* **uppon-an.**

urad [u'rad] *n.* worm. *Etym:* PAN *qulej.

uray
maguray [magu'ray] *v.* wait. *Morph:* **mag-uray.**

urod [u'rod] *n.* bamboo jug.

uru [u'ru] *n.* medicine. *Etym:* PWMP *uRu.
uruan [u'ruwan] *v.* heal, cure, medicate, give medicine. *Morph:* **uru-an.**

usak
umusak [umu'sak] *v.* descend, go down, climb down a tree, exit a house or vehicle. *Syn:* **<um>ogsad; <um>orsod; b<um>ugsok.** *Morph:* **<um>usak.**

usaw
magusaw [ma'gusaw] *v.* fade in color. *Morph:* **mag-usaw.**

useg *Syn:* **unod.** *Etym:* PAN *qusig.
umuseg [umu'sɛg] *v.* follow, accompany, go along. *Syn:* **umunod.** *Morph:* **<um>useg.**
usigan [usi'gan] *v.* follow, go with someone. *Morph:* **useg-an.**
iuseg [iyusɛg] *v.* take along with, as a person. *Morph:* **i-useg.**

usog
magusog [magu'sog] *v.* travel downstream. *Morph:* **mag-usog.** *See:* **mag-udek** 'travel upstream'.

ussit [us'sit] *n.* toddler, small child that is walking already.

utak [u'tak] *n.* brain. *Etym:* PMP *qutek.

utang [u'taŋ] *n.* steel, iron.

utor-utor [u'tor?u'tor] *n.* not thinking straight, not all there, somewhat crazy. *Syn:* **awag.**

ut-ut ['ut?ut] *n.* dove.

u-ung [u'?uŋ] *v.* any kind of mushroom that grows from a tree. *Syn:* **kulat.** *From:* Ilokano.

uwa [u'wa] *n.* address term for eldest sibling. *Etym:* PWMP *ua.

uwab
maguwab [magu'wab] *v.* yawn. *Morph:* **mag-uwab.** *Etym:* PAN *ma-Suab.

uyad *See:* **koyoyad** 'straight'.
iuyad [i'yuyad] *v.* open something, unfold, stretch out. *Syn:* **giwed-an.** *Morph:* **i-uyad.**

uyung
maguyung [magu'yuŋ] *v.* be crazy. *Morph:* **mag-uyung.**

W - w

-waden [wa'dɛn] *adv.* perhaps, maybe; adverbial enclitic used to indicate uncertainty. *Syn:* **-wan.**

wadi ['wadi] *n.* younger sibling. *Etym:* PAN *Suaji (Blust 1995).

wadwad
magwadwad [mag'wadwad] *v.* unpack, rummage through, especially a pack for chewing betel nut; shake out clothes. *Morph:* **mag-wadwad.**

wakang ['wakaŋ] *n.* step, pace, stride. *Syn:* **laksang.**

wakay
mawakay [mawa'kay] *v.* get lost. *Morph:* **ma-wakay.**

wakwak *n.* crow. *Syn:* **gakgak.**

walab ['walab] *n.* knee. *Usage:* central dialects. *See:* **alab** 'knee (northern dialects)'; **guwalab** 'knee (southern dialects)'.

walingiwang
magwalingiwang [magwa'liŋi'waŋ] *v.* shake head. *Morph:* **mag-walingiwang.**

walu ['walu] *adj.* eight. *Etym:* PAN *walu 'eight, of non-humans' (Blust 1995).

-wan *adv.* perhaps, maybe; adverbial enclitic used to indicate uncertainty. *Syn:* **-waden.**

wangli ['waŋli] *n.* molar tooth.

warak
iwarak [iwa'rak] *v.* leave something behind. *Morph:* **i-warak.**

warek
iwarek [iwa'rɛk] *v.* disperse, throw about, scatter. *Morph:* **i-warek.**

wasay [wa'say] *n.* axe. *Etym:* PWMP *wasay.

waswas
waswasan ['waswasan] *v.* shake something or someone. *Morph:* **waswas-an.**

watak
mawatak [mawa'tak] *v.* lose something, be lost. *Morph:* **ma-watak.**

weker ['wɛkɛr] *n.* briefs, men's underwear.

Y - y

yagyag

magyagyag [mag'yagyag] *v.* shake. *Syn:* **mag-piraped.** *Morph:* **mag-yagyag.**

yamyam

yamyammen [yam'yammɛn] *v.* suck. *Morph:* **yamyam-en.**

English-Dupaningan

A - a

abandon *v.* **kabengan,** *see:* **kabeng.**
abdomen *n.* **pusonan.**
accept *v.* **giwatan,** *see:* **giwat.**
accompany *v.* **ikuyog,** *see:* **kuyog;**
v. **umunod,** *see:* **unod;**
v. **umuseg,** *see:* **useg.**
accustomed *adj.* **mapenam,***se e:* **penam.**
actually *adv.* **-man.**
add *v.* **aguman,***se e:* **agom.**
adhesive *n.* **pegkat.**
adjacent *n.* **bikan.**
afraid *adj.* **maanteng,***se e:* **anteng.**
after *adv.* **nobus.**
afternoon *n.* **apon.**
again *adv.* **-manon.**
agile *adj.* **salawa.**
ago *n.* **ngangay.**
agree *v.* **magsalpak,** *see:* **salpak.**
alcohol *n.* **enabuyu.**
alive *adj.* **natolay,** *see:* **tolay.**
all *adv.* **ngamin.**
almond *n.* **sakat;**
n. **salisay.**
alone *adj.* **is-essa,** *see:* **essa.**
already *adv.* **-dan.**
also *adv.* **-bi.**
alternate *v.* **halinan,** *see:* **halin.**
although *adv.* **-man.**
amazed *adj.* **masbew.**
ambush *n.* **taknag;**
v. **manaknag,** *see:* **taknag.**
angry *adj.* **maingal,** *see:* **ingal;**
n. **kasinti,***s ee:* **sinti;**
v. **somkal,** *see:* **sakkal.**
annoying *adj.* **masinti,** *see:* **sinti;**
adj. **masoppang,** *see:* **soppang;**
adj. **masoprang,***s ee:* **soprang.**
answer *n.* **tabbeg;**
v. **ipeta,** *see:* **peta;**
v. **sakkopan,** *see:* **sakkop;**
v. **tumabbeg,** *see:* **tabbeg.**
ant *n.* **amtek;**
n. **arak-arak;**
n. **kadital;**
n. **kannet;**
n. **samay-samay;**
n. **subuk;**
n. **takaw;**
v. **atattungal.**
anus *n.* **buli.**
approach *v.* **bumikan,** *see:* **bikan.**
arm *n.* **kamat;**
n. **labunugen.**
armband *n.* **biskal.**
armpit *n.* **alipep.**
around *n.* **lebut.**
arrange *v.* **pappeyan,** *see:* **peya.**
arranged *adj.* **napuru-puron,** *see:* **puron.**
arrive *v.* **dumemat,** *see:* **demat;**
v. **magdes,** *see:* **des;**
v. **dumitang,***s ee:* **ditang.**
arrow *n.* **albig;**
n. **balawat;**
n. **baniku;**
n. **barot;**
n. **battek;**
n. **bigsak;**
n. **daguyos;**
n. **pinaeknod,** *see:* **eknod;**
n. **pinaetnod,** *see:* **etnod;**
n. **giniIat,** *see:* **gilat;**
n. **gutob;**
n. **palagad;**
n. **palsok;**
n. **pangal;**
n. **patak;**
n. **sinarek,** *see:* **sarek;**
n. **tinanad,** *see:* **tanad;**
n. **tasuluk;**
n. **tubiyan.**
ascend *v.* **isagsat,***se e:* **sagsat;**
v. **tumagdak,** *see:* **tagdak;**
v. **tumakad-takad,***se e:* **takad-takad;**
v. **umunek,** *see:* **unek.**
ashamed *adj.* **masaniki,** *see:* **saniki;**
v. **maseknan,** *see:* **seknan.**
ashes *n.* **dipog.**
ask *v.* **umaged,** *see:* **aged;**
v. **ipeta,** *see:* **peta.**
asleep *adj.* **makellap,***se e:* **kellap.**
assemble *v.* **magagom,***s ee:* **agom;**
v. **magpuron,** *see:* **puron.**
assembled *adj.* **maammong,** *see:* **ammong;**
adj. **napuron,** *see:* **puron.**

attack *v.* **dangpiran,** *see:* **dangper;**
v. **manaknag,** *see:* **taknag;**
v. **toklaban,***se e:* **toklab.**
aunt *n.* **dada;**
n. **manay.**
avenge *v.* **bilassan,***se e:* **bilas.**
avoid *v.* **umagat,** *see:* **agat;**
v. **ikapot,** *see:* **kapot.**
await *v.* **ballayan,***se e:* **ballay.**
awake *v.* **mabati,** *see:* **bati;**
v. **malukag,** *see:* **lukag.**
aware *v.* **mabati,** *see:* **bati.**
axe *n.* **wasay.**

B - b

baby *n.* **malugyaw.**
baby-sit *v.* **magdappon,***se e:* **dappon.**
bachelor *n.* **ulitaw.**
bachelorette *n.* **madiket.**
back *n.* **addag;**
n. **parangaw.**
bad *adj.* **madukas,** *see:* **dukas.**
bag *n.* **pusot;**
n. **suput.**
bait *n.* **appan.**
bald *adj.* **kolkog;**
adj. **polpog.**
bamboo *n.* **bayug;**
n. **biraw;**
n. **bulu;**
n. **kawiyan.**
banana *n.* **adika;**
n. **alasanay;**
n. **dupat.**
bark *n.* **giyak;**
n. **kulapes;**
n. **kulet;**
v. **magakbo,***s ee:* **akbo;**
v. **giyakan,** *see:* **giyak.**
basket *n.* **kalupi;**
n. **ligas;**
n. **lukong.**
bat *n.* **kalallipang;**
n. **kalumbetag;**
n. **payak.**
bathe *v.* **magdegus,** *see:* **degus.**
beam *n.* **balatbat;**
n. **bubungan;**
n. **pasak.**
beard *n.* **umeng.**
beat *v.* **naknakan,** *see:* **naknak.**
beautiful *adj.* **minaddap;**
adj. **mappya,** *see:* **peya.**
because *conj.* **ta.**
bedbug *n.* **ipas.**
bee *n.* **abuyog;**
n. **pitukan.**
beg *v.* **umaged,** *see:* **aged.**
begin *v.* **maggipu,** *see:* **gipu.**
belch *v.* **magtarheb,** *see:* **tarheb.**
believe *v.* **manarod,** *see:* **tarod.**
belly *n.* **lattag;**
n. **tiyan.**
bend *v.* **pikonan,** *see:* **pikon.**
bent *adj.* **malekwat,** *see:* **lekwat;**
adj. **napikon,** *see:* **pikon.**
berate *v.* **raknidan,** *see:* **rakned.**
betel *n.* **amman;**
n. **bungel;**
n. **butag;**
n. **giwad.**
bewitch *v.* **tagipolyasan,***se e:* **tagipolyas.**
big *adj.* **dakal.**
bile *n.* **apdu.**
bird *n.* **kalapati;**
n. **kalaw;**
n. **kali;**
n. **manok;**
n. **patit;**
n. **seseburaraw.**
birthe *v.* **magenak,** *see:* **enak.**
bite *v.* **maggutgut,** *see:* **gutgut;**
v. **kumaget,** *see:* **kaget.**
bitter *adj.* **makkak;**
adj. **makkak,** *see:* **takkak.**
bittermelon *n.* **apapet.**
black *adj.* **mangiset,** *see:* **ngiset;**
adj. **mangitet,** *see:* **ngitet.**
bladder *n.* **alebban.**
bland *adj.* **malamsak,***se e:* **lamsak.**
blanket *n.* **ulas.**
blaze *v.* **tutudan,** *see:* **tutod.**
bleed *v.* **dumigi,***se e:* **digi.**
blind *adj.* **nalassak,** *see:* **lassak;**
n. **bulding.**
blindness *n.* **lassak.**
blink *v.* **magkisap,***s ee:* **kisap.**
blood *n.* **digi.**
blow *v.* **mangiyup,***s ee:* **iyup;**
v. **iokap,***se e:* **okap;**
v. **iokkak,** *see:* **okkak;**

v. **ipordad,** *see:* **pordad.**
blue *adj.* **malitong,** *see:* **litong.**
boat *n.* **abang.**
body *n.* **baggi.**
boil *v.* **magdakan,** *see:* **dakan;**
v. **maglabbut,** *see:* **labbut;**
v. **maglangtob,***se e:* **langtob.**
bolo *n.* **palataw;**
n. **siyu.**
bone *n.* **sesit;**
n. **tulang.**
borrow *v.* **gumahut,** *see:* **gahut;**
v. **sumalo,** *see:* **salo.**
boss *n.* **hapu.**
bother *v.* **kolangan,** *see:* **kolang;**
v. **uksitan,***se e:* **ukset.**
bothersome *adj.* **masoppang,** *see:* **soppang;**
adj. **masoprang,***s ee:* **soprang.**
bottom *n.* **buli.**
bow *n.* **busog;**
v. **magtokram,** *see:* **tokram.**
bowl *n.* **diyog.**
boy *n.* **tallubu.**
boyfriend *n.* **kammegus.**
brackish *adj.* **naimbal,** *see:* **imbal.**
brain *n.* **utak.**
branch *n.* **tingi.**
brave *adj.* **mataklaw,***se e:* **taklaw.**
bread *n.* **kankanen,** *see:* **kan.**
breakfast *n.* **pangugma,** *see:* **ugma.**
breast *n.* **gisat.**
breastfeed *v.* **magsusu,** *see:* **susu.**
breath *n.* **angas.**
breathe *v.* **umangas,** *see:* **angas;**
v. **magingas,** *see:* **ingas.**
briefs *n.* **weker.**
bright *adj.* **madasak,** *see:* **dasak;**
adj. **masilap,** *see:* **silap.**
bring *v.* **idemat,** *see:* **demat;**
v. **iditang,***se e:* **ditang.**
brisk *adj.* **malanos,** *see:* **lanos.**
broken *adj.* **nabisag,***s ee:* **bisag;**
adj. **matangpod,***se e:* **tangpod.**
broom*n.* **kaykay.**
broth *n.* **digu.**
brother *n.* **abeng;**
n. **akka;**
n. **hekka;**
n. **kallakyan;**
n. **wadi.**
brush *n.* **surod;**
v. **maggisgis,***s ee:* **gisgis.**
buck *n.* **buduwan.**
bucket *n.* **sigit.**
buffalo *n.* **galambud;**
n. **galampes;**
n. **makadaklan.**
bug *n.* **tena.**
bump *n.* **butegal.**
bumpy *adj.* **marudog-rudog,** *see:* **rudog-rudog.**
bunch *n.* **kakpal,***se e:* **kappal.**
bundle *n.* **pusot;**
v. **magbaknag,** *see:* **baknag;**
v. **pusutan,***se e:* **pusot.**
buoy *n.* **tappaw.**
burn *v.* **mamunot,***s ee:* **bunot;**
v. **mamunot;**
v. **magtutod,***s ee:* **tutod;**
v. **tutudan,** *see:* **tutod.**
burnt *adj.* **attep;**
adj. **malapat,** *see:* **lapat;**
adj. **matangtang,** *see:* **tangtang.**
burp *v.* **magtarheb,** *see:* **tarheb.**
bury *v.* **ikotkot,***se e:* **kotkot;**
v. **ilabbang,** *see:* **labbang;**
v. **itanam,** *see:* **tanam.**
but *conj.* **im.**
butcher *v.* **maggalgal,** *see:* **galgal.**
butterfly *n.* **lelle;**
n. **lollo.**
buttocks *n.* **buli;**
n. **pengkel.**
buy *v.* **gumatang,***s ee:* **gatang.**

C - c

cake *n.* **dekat.**
calf *n.* **pagbariyatan,** *see:* **bariyat;**
n. **bisat.**
call *v.* **magayag,** *see:* **ayag;**
v. **ayagan,** *see:* **ayag;**
v. **kulukolan,** *see:* **kulukol;**
v. **magpeta,** *see:* **peta.**
calm *adj.* **maerak,***s ee:* **erak.**
camp *n.* **pagisanan,** *see:* **isan.**
canine *n.* **paseng.**
capture *v.* **dakappan,***s ee:* **dakap.**
carabao *n.* **galambud;**
n. **galampes;**
n. **makadaklan.**
care *v.* **magdappon,***se e:* **dappon;**
v. **silaggan,***se e:* **silag.**

carry *v.* **umabben,** *see:* **abben;**
v. **betbitan,** *see:* **betbet;**
v. **haligidan,** *see:* **haligid;**
v. **polsan,** *see:* **pulas;**
v. **sabinitan,** *see:* **sabinet;**
v. **magsakbet,** *see:* **sakbet;**
v. **salduyan,** *see:* **salduy;**
v. **magsosson,** *see:* **sosson;**
v. **magtawed,** *see:* **tawed.**
cassava *n.* **kahoy.**
catch *v.* **dakappan,** *see:* **dakap;**
v. **makengwa,** *see:* **kengwa;**
v. **sogbukan,** *see:* **sogbuk.**
cave *n.* **abbut;**
n. **alingabngab;**
n. **poso;**
n. **rukab.**
cemetery *n.* **libalbang.**
center *n.* **lubok.**
centipede *n.* **karamay.**
certainly *adv.* **paman.**
chameleon *n.* **kaparanga.**
change *v.* **magsulet,** *see:* **sulet.**
char *v.* **magsogbi,** *see:* **sogbi;**
v. **tutudan,** *see:* **tutod.**
charcoal *n.* **uging.**
charge *v.* **dangpiran,** *see:* **dangper.**
charm *v.* **tagipolyasan,** *see:* **tagipolyas.**
chase *v.* **adlayan,** *see:* **adlay;**
v. **magtagubet,***se e:* **tagubet.**
chat *v.* **makibuybuy,***s ee:* **buybuy.**
cheap *adj.* **malogon,** *see:* **logon.**
cheat *v.* **mabungog,** *see:* **bungog;**
v. **magtoblol,** *see:* **toblol.**
cheek *n.* **padingel.**
chest *n.* **rakaw.**
chew *v.* **magngalngal,***se e:* **ngalngal;**
v. **magngatngat,***se e:* **ngatngat.**
chick *n.* **piyak.**
chicken *n.* **kasi;**
n. **kawitan;**
n. **manok;**
n. **upa.**
child *n.* **along;**
n. **anak;**
n. **asang;**
n. **bugtong;**
n. **sarupit.**
child-in-law *n.* **atang.**
chilled *v.* **komsag.**
choke *v.* **magsadsad,** *see:* **sadsad;**
v. **matingal,***se e:* **tingal.**
choose *v.* **pilian,** *see:* **pili.**
chop *v.* **magpilak,** *see:* **pilak.**
cicada *n.* **dure-dure.**
cigarettes *n.* **sula.**
circuitous *adj.* **malipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**
circular *n.* **alibukawkaw.**
circumference *n.* **lebut.**
civet *n.* **madipa;**
n. **sarimaw.**
clean *v.* **ipappeya,** *see:* **peya.**
clear *adj.* **madinnang,** *see:* **dinnang;**
v. **magbaddas,** *see:* **baddas;**
v. **patpatan,** *see:* **patpat;**
v. **magtabas,***s ee:* **tabas.**
clench *v.* **magegkam,** *see:* **egkam.**
cliff *n.* **kalebkeb.**
climb *v.* **magagwad,** *see:* **agwad;**
v. **isagsat,***se e:* **sagsat;**
v. **tumagdak,** *see:* **tagdak;**
v. **tumakad-takad,***se e:* **takad-takad;**
v. **umunek,** *see:* **unek.**
cling *v.* **kumarep,** *see:* **karep.**
close *v.* **magdurog,** *see:* **durog.**
cloth *n.* **agi.**
clothes *n.* **aladum;**
n. **girak;**
n. **ramet;**
n. **tennon.**
cloud *n.* **anod;**
n. **diklam;**
n. **ulap.**
coal *n.* **hakhak;**
n. **rangrang.**
cobra *n.* **tewalang.**
cockroach *n.* **ipas.**
coconut *n.* **niyog.**
coffee *n.* **rongrong.**
coffin *n.* **bagikat.**
coiled *adj.* **malikon-likon,** *see:* **likon-likon.**
cold *adj.* **madagmen,** *see:* **dagmen;**
adj. **malamton,** *see:* **lamton;**
n. **gabbu;**
n. **hipon;**
v. **komsag.**
collapsed *adj.* **marogrog,***se e:* **rogrog.**
collect *v.* **magpuron,** *see:* **puron.**
colorful *n.* **burek.**
comb *n.* **sugod;**
n. **surod.**
come *v.* **umangay,***s ee:* **angay;**
v. **kom-.**
command *v.* **bonan,** *see:* **bon.**
commence *v.* **rumettat,** *see:* **rettat.**
companion *n.* **agom.**
compare *v.* **ikalan,** *see:* **kalan.**
compassionate *adj.* **makagbi,** *see:* **kagbi.**

complain *v.* **magagal,** *see:* **agal.**
complete *adj.* **maputat,** *see:* **putat;**
v. **pappeyan,** *see:* **peya.**
constricted *adj.* **mafiat,** *see:* **ilat.**
continue *v.* **magtulos,** *see:* **tulos.**
convene *v.* **magpuron,** *see:* **puron.**
convened *adj.* **napuron,** *see:* **puron.**
converse *v.* **makibuybuy,***s ee:* **buybuy.**
cook *v.* **maglutu,** *see:* **lutu;**
v. **inatang,** *see:* **natang;**
v. **mangitangkay,***se e:* **tangkay.**
cooked *adj.* **nadakan,** *see:* **dakan;**
adj. **nalutu,***se e:* **lutu;**
adj. **maomag,** *see:* **omag.**
cool *adj.* **maabew,** *see:* **abew;**
adj. **malanos,** *see:* **lanos.**
co-parent *n.* **amul.**
copy *v.* **kalanan,***se e:* **kalan.**
correct *n.* **tarod.**
cotton *n.* **kapas.**
cough *v.* **magikar,** *see:* **ikar.**
count *v.* **magbilang,** *see:* **bilang.**
couple *n.* **magkabanga,** *see:* **kabanga.**
cousin *n.* **kallakyan;**
n. **kasinsin.**
cover *n.* **kallab.**
crab *n.* **agatol;**
n. **karoykoy.**
crack *n.* **baret.**
cradle *v.* **alukopan,** *see:* **alukop.**
crash *v.* **idagpak,***se e:* **dagpak.**
crave *v.* **magmangilog,***se e:* **mangilog.**
crawl *v.* **magarakas,** *see:* **arakas;**
v. **magtakab-takab,** *see:* **takab-takab;**
v. **manaktak,** *see:* **taktak.**
crayfish *n.* **lagad.**
crazy *adj.* **awag;**
adj. **maloku,***s ee:* **loku;**
n. **utor-utor;**
v. **maguyung,** *see:* **uyung.**
creek *n.* **sapa.**
creep *v.* **magarakas,** *see:* **arakas;**
v. **magtakab-takab,** *see:* **takab-takab.**
cricket *n.* **kuret-kuret.**
cripple *n.* **pilay.**
crocodile *n.* **bukarot.**
crooked *adj.* **kilaw-kilaw;**
adj. **malekwat,** *see:* **lekwat.**
crop *n.* **mula.**
cross *v.* **umarabes,** *see:* **arabes;**
v. **rumapog,** *see:* **rapog;**
v. **tumalaktak,** *see:* **talaktak.**
crotch *n.* **alangang.**
crow *n.* **gakgak;**
n. **wakwak;**
v. **magtaraket,** *see:* **taraket.**
crumpled *adj.* **nakumal-kumal,** *see:* **kumal-kumal;**
adj. **nakupal-kupal,***se e:* **kupal-kupal.**
crush *v.* **ramsitan,** *see:* **ramset;**
v. **magtagtag,** *see:* **tagtag.**
cry *v.* **magluwa,** *see:* **luwa;**
v. **magngoyngoy,** *see:* **ngoyngoy;**
v. **magsanget,** *see:* **sanget.**
cuddle *v.* **alukopan,** *see:* **alukop;**
v. **magkalkal,** *see:* **kalkal.**
cure *v.* **uruan,** *see:* **uru.**
curly *adj.* **mapukatpukat,** *see:* **pukat-pukat.**
current *n.* **sallag.**
curved *adj.* **malekwat,** *see:* **lekwat.**
cut *adj.* **mabagsot,** *see:* **bagsot;**
v. **magpagarasib,** *see:* **garasib;**
v. **garsatan,** *see:* **garsat;**
v. **maggartod,** *see:* **gartod;**
v. **mangkatlad,***se e:* **katlad;**
v. **magkattol,** *see:* **kattol;**
v. **magpilak,** *see:* **pilak;**
v. **magpukan,** *see:* **pukan;**
v. **magputad,** *see:* **putad;**
v. **magsilak,** *see:* **silak;**
v. **magtaggad,** *see:* **taggad.**

D - d

damp *adj.* **malamsa,** *see:* **lamsa.**
dance *v.* **magsagudsud,** *see:* **sagudsud.**
dark *adj.* **madiklam,***se e:* **diklam;**
adj. **madiram,** *see:* **diram;**
adj. **malidum,** *see:* **lidum.**
date *n.* **bilang.**
daughter *n.* **asang.**
dawn *n.* **pomsag.**
day *n.* **aldew;**
n. **pamalak.**
deaf *adj.* **bangngag.**
debt *n.* **gahut.**
decayed *adj.* **marogrog,***se e:* **rogrog.**
decrease *v.* **ompes.**
deduct *v.* **adian,***se e:* **adia.**
deep *adj.* **madisalad,***se e:* **disalad;**
adj. **mabtong.**
deer *n.* **buduwan;**

n. **ogsa.**
defecate *v.* **magattay,***s ee:* **attay.**
delicious *adj.* **masinggat,***se e:* **singgat.**
deliver *v.* **igiwat,** *see:* **giwat.**
demolished *adj.* **marogrog,***se e:* **rogrog.**
dense *adj.* **maduksan,***se e:* **duksan.**
deny *v.* **ipamen,***se e:* **pamen.**
depression *n.* **alog.**
descend *v.* **bumugsok,** *see:* **bugsok;**
v. **umogsad,** *see:* **ogsad;**
v. **umorsod,***se e:* **orsod;**
v. **umusak,** *see:* **usak;**
v. **magusog,***se e:* **usog.**
design *n.* **kareng.**
destroyed *adj.* **marogrog,***se e:* **rogrog.**
detain *v.* **magiwad,** *see:* **iwad;**
v. **tappagan,** *see:* **tappag.**
detour *v.* **mangabung,***se e:* **abung.**
dew *n.* **amur.**
die *v.* **maggasak,** *see:* **gasak;**
v. **malugulug,** *see:* **lugulug;**
v. **mategbak,** *see:* **tegbak.**
different *adj.* **aset;**
adj. **bakkan.**
difficult *adj.* **mariga,** *see:* **riga.**
dig *v.* **magkali,***se e:* **kali;**
v. **ikotkot,** *see:* **kotkot.**
dip *n.* **alog;**
v. **sumigit,***se e:* **sigit.**
dirty *adj.* **madukas,** *see:* **dukas;**
adj. **maromsa,** *see:* **romsa.**
disappear *v.* **metawag,** *see:* **tawag.**
discard *v.* **itobbak,** *see:* **tobbak.**
disease *n.* **latugat.**
disgusted *v.* **magsekay,** *see:* **sekay.**
disobedient *adj.* **bangngag.**
disperse *v.* **iwarek,** *see:* **warek.**
ditch *n.* **alog.**
dive *v.* **gumutap,** *see:* **gutap;**
v. **lomdap,** *see:* **laddap.**
divide *v.* **magbunong,***se e:* **bunong;**
v. **magpilak,** *see:* **pilak.**
dizzy *adj.* **naellaw,***s ee:* **ellaw;**
v. **magalimontak,** *see:* **alimontak;**
v. **magulolaw,** *see:* **ulolaw.**
do *v.* **maggimet,** *see:* **gimet.**
dog *n.* **asu.**
door *n.* **saddapan,** *see:* **saddap.**
dove *n.* **balaneban;**
n. **dagalan;**
n. **kalapati;**
n. **ut-ut.**
down *n.* **polpol.**
downstream *n.* **dilod.**
dozing *adj.* **mapulot,** *see:* **pulot.**
draw *v.* **maggiwed,** *see:* **giwed.**
dream *n.* **tagenap.**
drift *v.* **magbulod,***s ee:* **bulod.**
drink *v.* **uminom,** *see:* **inom;**
v. **magrongrong,** *see:* **rongrong.**
drip *v.* **magtagdo,** *see:* **tagdo.**
drizzle *v.* **magtaragipo,** *see:* **taragipo.**
drooping *adj.* **maduyog,***se e:* **duyog.**
drop *v.* **idagadag,** *see:* **dagadag;**
v. **matakneg,** *see:* **takneg;**
v. **itaprak,** *see:* **taprak;**
v. **itobbak,** *see:* **tobbak.**
drown *v.* **malimas,** *see:* **limas.**
drunk *adj.* **naellaw,***s ee:* **ellaw.**
dry *adj.* **mamadi,** *see:* **madi;**
v. **isaron,** *see:* **saron.**
duck *n.* **papa;**
v. **magtokram,***se e:* **tokram.**
dull *adj.* **mangudal,***se e:* **ngudal.**
dumb *adj.* **dagel.**
dusk *n.* **sagikrom.**
dust *n.* **dipog.**
dwell *v.* **maghen,** *see:* **hen.**

E - e

each *adv.* **kada.**
eagle *n.* **akuwang.**
ear *n.* **talinga.**
earlier *adv.* **nakkoya.**
early *adj.* **malledum.**
earrings *n.* **salagsag;**
n. **subang.**
earth *n.* **lutak.**
earthworm *n.* **alokinag.**
earwax *n.* **susang.**
easy *adj.* **malogon,** *see:* **logon.**
eat *v.* **magagsak,***s ee:* **agsak;**
v. **magdiyag,***s ee:* **diyag;**
v. **maghida,** *see:* **hida;**
v. **magkan,***se e:* **kan.**
ebb *v.* **umas-as,***se e:* **as-as;**
v. **ompes.**
ebony *n.* **maroging.**
edge *n.* **digdig;**
n. **nibik.**
eel *n.* **agmang;**
n. **iget.**

egg *n.* **bunay;**
n. **ukong.**
eggplant *n.* **tarong.**
eight *adj.* **walu.**
elbow *n.* **sikul.**
eldest *adj.* **palungo;**
n. **uwa.**
else *adv.* **-pala.**
embarrassed *adj.* **masaniki,** *see:* **saniki;**
v. **maseknan,** *see:* **seknan.**
ember *n.* **hakhak;**
n. **rangrang.**
end *n.* **karad.**
endure *v.* **magattam,** *see:* **attam.**
enfold *v.* **iabben,** *see:* **abben.**
engulf *v.* **omlad.**
enter *v.* **sumaddap,** *see:* **saddap;**
v. **magsaddap,** *see:* **saddap;**
v. **tumakad-takad,** *see:* **takad-takad;**
v. **umunek,** *see:* **unek.**
equal *v.* **magkalan,** *see:* **kalan.**
erect *adj.* **maturidak,***se e:* **turidak.**
error *n.* **liwat.**
escort *v.* **itugan,** *see:* **tugan;**
v. **itognan,** *see:* **tugan.**
even *conj.* **maski;**
conj. **mensan;**
v. **magkalan,** *see:* **kalan.**
evening *n.* **sagikrom.**
every *adv.* **kada.**
exchange *v.* **isulet,** *see:* **sulet.**
exhausted *adj.* **mabannag,***s ee:* **bannag;**
adj. **malupoy,** *see:* **lupoy.**
exit *v.* **lumakad,** *see:* **lakad;**
v. **lumapos,***s ee:* **lapos.**
expect *v.* **katalakan,***s ee:* **talak.**
expectation *n.* **katalak,** *see:* **talak.**
expensive *v.* **linatopan,***s ee:* **latop.**
explode *v.* **duminatal,** *see:* **dinatal.**
eye *n.* **mata.**
eyebrow *n.* **kiray.**

F - f

face *n.* **kidap;**
n. **langas;**
n. **salungaseng.**
fade *v.* **magusaw,** *see:* **usaw.**
fall *n.* **katbigew;**
v. **bumaleksad,***se e:* **baleksad;**
v. **maghakab,** *see:* **hakab;**
v. **humikeg,** *see:* **hikeg;**
v. **matakneg,** *see:* **takneg;**
v. **tumayang,** *see:* **tayang;**
v. **tumukad,** *see:* **tukad.**
family *n.* **pattama.**
fan *n.* **pedped;**
v. **ipedped,** *see:* **pedped.**
fancy *adj.* **alasey-as.**
far *adj.* **madiyu,***s ee:* **adiyu;**
n. **alikansad;**
n. **kegus;**
n. **liyad.**
fare *n.* **balli;**
n. **pagballi,***se e:* **balli.**
farm *n.* **sikaw;**
v. **magsikaw,** *see:* **sikaw.**
fart *n.* **attot;**
v. **magattot,** *see:* **attot.**
fast *adj.* **mabaksag,***se e:* **baksag;**
adj. **mabuyot,** *see:* **buyot;**
adj. **salawa.**
fat *adj.* **matabi,** *see:* **tabi;**
n. **tabi.**
father *n.* **ama;**
n. **amang;**
n. **hama;**
n. **nama.**
fatty *adj.* **matabi,** *see:* **tabi.**
fault *n.* **liwat.**
fawn *n.* **buduwan.**
fearless *adj.* **mataklaw,***se e:* **taklaw.**
feather *n.* **allad;**
n. **polpol.**
feces *n.* **attay.**
feed *v.* **pakanan,** *see:* **kan.**
feel *v.* **karapan,***s ee:* **karap.**
fence *n.* **sallen.**
fetch *v.* **dagahan,***se e:* **dagah;**
v. **hoyutan,** *see:* **hoyut.**
fever *n.* **latugat;**
v. **magditang,** *see:* **ditang;**
v. **magladu,** *see:* **ladu.**
few *adj.* **badit;**
adj. **ballek.**
fig *n.* **tabar.**
fight *v.* **magingal,***s ee:* **ingal;**
v. **nagnagan,** *see:* **nagnag;**
v. **magtapok,***s ee:* **tapok.**
fill *v.* **asakkan,** *see:* **asak.**
final *adj.* **madilukod,** *see:* **dilukod.**
find *v.* **maeryukan,** *see:* **eryok.**

finger *n.* **giray.**
finish *v.* **mekabus,** *see:* **kabus;**
v. **pappeyan,** *see:* **peya.**
fire *n.* **gangatan,** *see:* **gangat;**
v. **magdukot,** *see:* **dukot;**
v. **magtagad,** *see:* **tagad.**
firearm *n.* **mahuyag;**
n. **palattug.**
firefly *n.* **lipat-lipat.**
firewood *n.* **dukot;**
n. **tagad;**
n. **tungu.**
first *adj.* **palungo.**
fish *n.* **alali;**
n. **alukad;**
n. **burasi;**
n. **gotam;**
n. **kapigad;**
n. **malagi;**
n. **malisaw;**
n. **mori;**
n. **padut;**
n. **salupengan;**
v. **magakkab,** *see:* **akkab;**
v. **magbarot,** *see:* **barot;**
v. **magladdap,** *see:* **laddap;**
v. **mangrukad,***se e:* **rukad;**
v. **magsilag,***se e:* **silag;**
v. **mangupas,** *see:* **upas.**
fit *v.* **magkubag-kubag,***se e:* **kubag-kubag.**
five *adj.* **lima.**
fix *v.* **pappeyan,** *see:* **peya.**
flame *n.* **gangatan,** *see:* **gangat;**
v. **gumangat,** *see:* **gangat.**
flashing *adj.* **masilap,** *see:* **silap.**
flattened *adj.* **mapelpel,** *see:* **pelpel.**
flatter *v.* **ayayokan,***s ee:* **ayayok.**
flea *n.* **simal.**
flee *v.* **kumarwad,** *see:* **karwad.**
flesh *n.* **pilas.**
flick *v.* **magpaltek,** *see:* **paltek.**
flimsy *adj.* **marogrog,***se e:* **rogrog.**
flip *v.* **tumukad,** *see:* **tukad.**
flip-flops *n.* **ismagel.**
float *n.* **tappaw;**
v. **magalatablatab,** *see:* **alatab-latab;**
v. **magibulod,** *see:* **bulod;**
v. **iellod,** *see:* **ellod;**
v. **tompaw,***s ee:* **tappaw.**
flood *v.* **omlad.**
floor *n.* **daklat.**
flow *v.* **magbulod,***s ee:* **bulod.**
flower *n.* **budak.**
fly *n.* **balangabang;**
n. **baringaw;**
n. **langaw;**
v. **umebbar,** *see:* **ebbar.**
foam *n.* **rabrab.**
fog *n.* **alsap.**
fold *v.* **pikonan,** *see:* **pikon.**
folded *adj.* **malikon-likon,** *see:* **likon-likon.**
follow *v.* **abitan,** *see:* **abit;**
v. **unodan,** *see:* **unod;**
v. **usigan,** *see:* **useg.**
fondle *v.* **karapan,***s ee:* **karap.**
food *n.* **madiyag,** *see:* **diyag;**
n. **hida;**
n. **kanan,** *see:* **kan.**
foot *n.* **tikad.**
footprint *n.* **mateka-tekad,** *see:* **tikad.**
forbid *v.* **ikemot,** *see:* **kemot.**
force *v.* **uksitan,***se e:* **ukset.**
forehead *n.* **kidap;**
n. **langas.**
forest *n.* **amogud;**
n. **parabin;**
n. **talon.**
forget *v.* **malemuwanan,***se e:* **lemuwan;**
v. **maleptanan,***se e:* **leptan.**
four *adj.* **appat.**
fragrant *adj.* **mabangog,***s ee:* **bangog.**
fresh *adj.* **malanos,** *see:* **lanos.**
friend *n.* **agay;**
n. **ibay;**
n. **ilay.**
friendly *adj.* **makiilay,** *see:* **ilay.**
frog *n.* **balbag;**
n. **tukak.**
front *n.* **sagupang.**
frowning *adj.* **massamondut,** *see:* **samondut;**
adj. **massoklap,***se e:* **soklap.**
fruit *n.* **bunga.**
fry *v.* **kerugan,** *see:* **kerug;**
v. **kiroyan,** *see:* **kiroy;**
v. **isanglag,***se e:* **sanglag.**
full *adj.* **mabiyag,** *see:* **biyag;**
adj. **maputat,** *see:* **putat.**

G - g

gall *n.* **apdu.**
garbage *n.* **pagiduruan,***se e:* **duro.**
gargle *v.* **magalimogmog,** *see:* **alimogmog;**
v. **magmalogmog,***se e:* **malogmog.**
gather *v.* **magagom,** *see:* **agom;**
v. **magakanakan,** *see:* **akan-akan;**
v. **magbudbud,***se e:* **budbud;**
v. **iduro,** *see:* **duro;**
v. **lukutan,** *see:* **lukot;**
v. **magpuron,** *see:* **puron;**
v. **magputi,** *see:* **puti;**
v. **magsilag,***se e:* **silag.**
gathered *adj.* **maammong,** *see:* **ammong;**
adj. **napuron,** *see:* **puron.**
gentle *adj.* **mapenam,***se e:* **penam.**
get *v.* **mangalap,** *see:* **alap;**
v. **alapan,** *see:* **alap;**
v. **giwatan,** *see:* **giwat.**
ghost *n.* **anitu;**
n. **malasag;**
n. **mangilen.**
gill *n.* **arang.**
ginger *n.* **laya.**
girlfriend *n.* **kammegus.**
give *v.* **akdinan,** *see:* **akden;**
v. **iatad,** *see:* **atad;**
v. **atdinan,** *see:* **atden;**
v. **igiwat,** *see:* **giwat.**
glittering *adj.* **masilap,** *see:* **silap.**
glue *n.* **pegkat.**
gnat *n.* **rahik.**
gnaw *v.* **magngalngal,***se e:* **ngalngal;**
v. **magngatngat,***se e:* **ngatngat.**
go *v.* **umangay,***s ee:* **angay;**
v. **kad-.**
goat *n.* **kalding.**
goby *n.* **mori.**
god *n.* **hapu.**
goggles *n.* **islip.**
gold *n.* **baleyan.**
gone *v.* **mekabus,** *see:* **kabus.**
good *adj.* **alasey-as;**
adj. **magino,** *see:* **gino;**
adj. **kapeya,** *see:* **peya;**
adj. **mappya,***s ee:* **peya;**
adj. **matoldug,** *see:* **toldug.**
grab *v.* **kumarep,** *see:* **karep.**
grandchild *n.* **apuku.**
grandfather *n.* **kakay.**
grandmother *n.* **babong.**
grapefruit *n.* **suwa.**
grasp *v.* **magegkam,** *see:* **egkam.**
grass *n.* **lamon-lamon;**
n. **rapot-rapot;**
n. **ruot;**
n. **tikal.**
grasshopper *n.* **raksa.**
graze *v.* **maggatam,** *see:* **gatam.**
greedy *adj.* **makemot,** *see:* **kemot.**
grill *v.* **mangiapoy,** *see:* **apoy;**
v. **maggubok,** *see:* **gubok;**
v. **magisokad,** *see:* **sokad.**
groin *n.* **alangang.**
grope *v.* **karapan,***s ee:* **karap.**
ground *n.* **lutak.**
group *n.* **kakpal,***se e:* **kappal.**
grow *v.* **magtubu,** *see:* **tubu.**
g-string *n.* **beg.**
guard *v.* **magalam,***s ee:* **alam;**
v. **magdappon,***se e:* **dappon.**
guava *n.* **balongbong;**
n. **bayobang;**
n. **biyabas.**
gums *n.* **ngadas.**
gun *n.* **mahuyag;**
n. **palattug.**
gut *v.* **tuyakan,** *see:* **tuyak.**
guts *n.* **sirat.**

H - h

hack *v.* **mangkatlad,***se e:* **katlad.**
hair *n.* **buk.**
half *n.* **gadduwa.**
hammock *n.* **doyan.**
hand *n.* **kamat.**
handkerchief *n.* **kalobung.**
hang *v.* **ibatten,** *see:* **batten;**
v. **bikkalan,***s ee:* **bikkal;**
v. **isabit,** *see:* **sabit;**
v. **isapray,** *see:* **sapray;**
v. **itabbay,** *see:* **tabbay.**
happy *adj.* **matalak,** *see:* **talak.**
harass *v.* **mangloku,***s ee:* **loku.**
hard *adj.* **malgat,** *see:* **igat;**

adj. **mariga,** *see:* **riga.**
hard-working *adj.* **masikan,** *see:* **sikan.**
harelip *n.* **kagesngaw,** *see:* **gesngaw.**
harm *v.* **mangloku,** *see:* **loku.**
harmful *adj.* **manganya,***s ee:* **anya;**
adj. **maloku,***s ee:* **loku.**
harvest *v.* **maggatab,** *see:* **gatab;**
v. **magpotpot,** *see:* **potpot;**
v. **magputi,** *see:* **puti;**
v. **magretret,***s ee:* **retret.**
he *pron.* **hikuna;**
pron. **-na.**
head *n.* **buntok;**
n. **kidap.**
headwaters *n.* **sungsungan,** *see:* **sungsung.**
heal *v.* **uruan,** *see:* **uru.**
hear *v.* **magsanig,** *see:* **sanig;**
v. **matiman,** *see:* **teman.**
heart *n.* **pusu.**
hearth *n.* **daporan.**
heavy *adj.* **maadlak,** *see:* **adlak;**
adj. **madaggi,** *see:* **daggi.**
help *v.* **uppunan,** *see:* **uppon.**
hen *n.* **upa.**
her *pron.* **-na;**
pron. **nikuna.**
herb *n.* **alilam.**
herd *v.* **dumakpan.**
here *pron.* **ihe.**
hiccup *v.* **maghaldu,** *see:* **haldu;**
v. **maghildu,***s ee:* **hildu.**
hide *v.* **magtagu,** *see:* **tagu.**
high *adj.* **matangkay,***s ee:* **tangkay;**
n. **disat;**
n. **ontok.**
hill *n.* **kurot;**
n. **tagiletel.**
hillside *n.* **kalebkeb.**
him *pron.* **nikuna.**
hinder *v.* **gamman;**
v. **magiwad,** *see:* **iwad;**
v. **tappagan,** *see:* **tappag.**
hip *n.* **pengkel.**
his *pron.* **-na.**
hit *v.* **dinatalan,***s ee:* **dinatal;**
v. **maglappag,** *see:* **lappag;**
v. **nagnagan,** *see:* **nagnag;**
v. **naknakan,***s ee:* **naknak.**
hive *n.* **pitukan.**
hoarse *v.* **maghamakel,** *see:* **hamakel;**
v. **magparak,** *see:* **parak.**
hold *v.* **akrupan,***se e:* **akrup;**
v. **magegkam,** *see:* **egkam.**
hole *n.* **abbut;**
n. **alingabngab;**
n. **poso.**
homesick *adj.* **mematon,** *see:* **maton.**
honey *n.* **habu.**
honor *v.* **diyawan,***s ee:* **diyaw.**
hook *n.* **bangwes;**
n. **sakngat;**
n. **tadam.**
hope *n.* **katalak,** *see:* **talak;**
v. **nakamman,** *see:* **nakam;**
v. **katalakan,***s ee:* **talak.**
hopeful *adj.* **matalak,** *see:* **talak.**
hopefully *adv.* **-mina.**
horn *n.* **saduk.**
hot *adj.* **mapasi,** *see:* **pasi.**
house *n.* **bilay;**
n. **sarekked;**
n. **toklong.**
how *interrog.* **panyan.**
howl *v.* **magtaguwang,***se e:* **taguwang.**
hug *v.* **gumakos,** *see:* **gakos.**
hundred *adj.* **magatu,** *see:* **gatu.**
hungry *adj.* **maalap,** *see:* **alap;**
v. **mesongot,** *see:* **songot.**
hunt *v.* **manganop,** *see:* **anop;**
v. **magangkat,***se e:* **angkat;**
v. **manglagum,***se e:* **lagum;**
v. **magsalanep,***se e:* **salanep;**
v. **magsilag,** *see:* **silag.**
hurry *v.* **hagudan,** *see:* **hagud;**
v. **magsigida,** *see:* **sigida.**
husband *n.* **kabanga;**
n. **lalakay;**
n. **lupog;**
n. **malupoy.**
husk *n.* **lupas.**
hut *n.* **sarekked;**
n. **toklong.**

I - i

I *pron.* **hikan;**
pron. **-ko.**
if *conj.* **no.**
ignite *v.* **magpagangat,** *see:* **gangat.**
ignore *v.* **kabengan,** *see:* **kabeng;**
v. **ikapot,** *see:* **kapot.**
illness *n.* **latugat.**
Ilokano *n.* **madalang;**

	n. **ogden.**
imitate	*v.* **arnotan,** *see:* **arnot;**
	v. **kalanan,***se e:* **kalan.**
immerse	*v.* **iladlad,** *see:* **ladlad.**
impede	*v.* **gamman;**
	v. **magiwad,** *see:* **iwad;**
	v. **tappagan,** *see:* **tappag.**
increase	*v.* **aguman,***se e:* **agom.**
inexpensive	*adj.* **malogon,** *see:* **logon.**
ingredient	*n.* **ramas.**
in-law	*n.* **ayung;**
	n. **ipag;**
	n. **manugang.**
insect	*n.* **tena.**
inside	*n.* **disalad.**
insist	*v.* **uksitan,***se e:* **ukset.**
intellect	*n.* **nakam.**
intelligent	*adj.* **matoldug,** *see:* **toldug.**
intercourse	*v.* **maggunak,** *see:* **gunak.**
interval	*n.* **sallad.**
intestines	*n.* **sirat.**
introduce	*v.* **ipenam,** *see:* **penam.**
invigorating	*adj.* **malanos,** *see:* **lanos.**
invite	*v.* **ayagan,***se e:* **ayag.**
iron	*n.* **utang.**
irritating	*adj.* **masinti,** *see:* **sinti.**
island	*n.* **mepodru.**
it	*pron.* **ito.**
itchy	*adj.* **makatal,** *see:* **katal.**

J - j

jackfruit	*n.* **nangka.**
jaw	*n.* **sallang.**
jealous	*v.* **mangimon,** *see:* **imon;**
	v. **magsekay,** *see:* **sekay.**
jug	*n.* **biyas;**
	n. **urod.**
jump	*v.* **maglakbung,***s ee:* **lakbung.**
jungle	*n.* **amogud;**
	n. **parabin;**
	n. **talon.**
just	*adv.* **-la.**

K - k

kernel	*n.* **mayan.**
kick	*v.* **ikarsad,** *see:* **karsad;**
	v. **magkuyat,** *see:* **kuyat.**
kidnap	*v.* **ilakad,** *see:* **lakad.**
kidney	*n.* **bukal.**
kill	*v.* **bunagan,** *see:* **bunag;**
	v. **lugulugan,** *see:* **lugulug;**
	v. **magpappatay,***se e:* **patay;**
	v. **tegbakan,***s ee:* **tegbak.**
kind	*adj.* **makagbi,** *see:* **kagbi.**
kiss	*v.* **ammusan,** *see:* **ammus.**
knead	*v.* **kamalkamalan,***s ee:* **kamal-kamal;**
	v. **pakkalan,** *see:* **pakkal;**
	v. **paspasan,** *see:* **paspas.**
knee	*n.* **alab;**
	n. **guwalab;**
	n. **walab.**
kneeling	*adj.* **mattuwad,***se e:* **tuwad.**
knife	*n.* **guhu;**
	n. **kampit;**
	n. **palataw;**
	n. **sigud;**
	n. **siyu;**
	n. **sondang.**
knock	*v.* **magbalbal,** *see:* **balbal;**
	v. **magpokpok,***se e:* **pokpok;**
	v. **magtagtag,** *see:* **tagtag;**
	v. **magtoktok,** *see:* **toktok.**
know	*v.* **katandi.**

L - l

ladle	*n.* **liyod.**
land	*n.* **lutak;**
	v. **umagpon,** *see:* **agpon;**
	v. **umakdet,***se e:* **akdet;**
	v. **isagsat,***se e:* **sagsat;**
	v. **tumagdak,** *see:* **tagdak.**
language	*n.* **kakkagi,** *see:* **kagi.**
large	*adj.* **daddadi;**
	adj. **dakal;**
	adj. **taghayup.**
last	*adj.* **madilukod,** *see:* **dilukod;**
	n. **dilukod.**

late *adj.* **madilukod,** *see:* **dilukod.**
later *adv.* **ayenan.**
laugh *v.* **gumidit,** *see:* **gidit;**
v. **umidit,***se e:* **idit;**
v. **ngumidit,** *see:* **ngidit.**
lazy *adj.* **masegkat,** *see:* **segkat.**
leaf *n.* **don;**
n. **oltak.**
lean *v.* **magsandig,** *see:* **sandig;**
v. **sumandiyag,***se e:* **sandiyag.**
leaning *adj.* **maduyog,** *see:* **duyog.**
learn *v.* **tolduan,** *see:* **toldu.**
leave *v.* **lumakad,***se e:* **lakad;**
v. **lakadinan,** *see:* **lakad;**
v. **lumakset,** *see:* **lakset;**
v. **matirak,** *see:* **tirak;**
v. **iwarak,** *see:* **warak.**
leech *n.* **alemtak;**
n. **balleng;**
n. **kattad;**
n. **lipat.**
leftover *n.* **buray.**
leg *n.* **pagbariyatan,** *see:* **bariyat;**
n. **bisat;**
n. **tikad.**
lick *v.* **deldilan,***se e:* **deldel;**
v. **saputan,** *see:* **sapot.**
lid *n.* **kallab.**
lie *n.* **sileng;**
n. **toblol;**
n. **tobloy;**
v. **ombag,***se e:* **abbag;**
v. **magabbag,** *see:* **abbag;**
v. **mabungog,** *see:* **bungog;**
v. **magdidug,** *see:* **didug;**
v. **maghakab,** *see:* **hakab;**
v. **humikeg,** *see:* **hikeg;**
v. **magsileng,** *see:* **sileng;**
v. **tumayang,** *see:* **tayang;**
v. **toblolan,***se e:* **toblol;**
v. **magtobloy,** *see:* **tobloy.**
life *n.* **angas.**
lift *v.* **agkatan,***se e:* **agkat;**
v. **akligan,***se e:* **aklig;**
v. **magbagten,** *see:* **bagten.**
light *adj.* **malagen,** *see:* **lagen;**
n. **sulu;**
v. **maglait,** *see:* **lait.**
lighten *v.* **pomsag.**
lightning *n.* **kilat.**
like *v.* **kasur.**
lime *n.* **apog.**
lips *n.* **labi.**
listen *v.* **sanigan,** *see:* **sanig;**
v. **magteman,** *see:* **teman.**
live *v.* **maghen,** *see:* **hen.**
liver *n.* **agtay.**
lizard *n.* **bellat;**
n. **bitikaw;**
n. **sigante;**
n. **silay.**
load *n.* **tawed.**
lobster *n.* **lagad;**
n. **lobugen.**
loincloth *n.* **beg.**
lonely *adj.* **mematon,** *see:* **maton.**
long *adj.* **malay,***se e:* **alay;**
adj. **atakdug.**
look *v.* **ibatad,** *see:* **batad;**
v. **umenta,** *see:* **enta;**
v. **eryukan,** *see:* **eryok;**
v. **lumeget,** *see:* **leget;**
v. **umosdung,** *see:* **osdung;**
v. **sumuleg,** *see:* **suleg;**
v. **tamus;**
v. **magtangad,***se e:* **tangad.**
lose *v.* **mepolyad,***s ee:* **polyad.**
lost *v.* **mawakay,***s ee:* **wakay;**
v. **mawatak,***s ee:* **watak.**
loud *v.* **matnog,** *see:* **tannog.**
louse *n.* **bitoloy;**
n. **gimay;**
n. **kitang;**
n. **kutu;**
n. **risa.**
love *v.* **kasur.**
luck *v.* **magnukad,** *see:* **nukad.**
lucky *adj.* **matoldug,** *see:* **toldug.**
luke-warm *adj.* **maabew,** *see:* **abew.**
lunch *n.* **pammalak,** *see:* **pamalak.**
lungs *n.* **gasa.**
lying *adj.* **mahikeg,** *see:* **hikeg.**

M - m

make *v.* **maggimet,** *see:* **gimet.**
male *n.* **lallaki.**
man *n.* **lalakay;**
n. **lallaki;**
n. **lupog;**
n. **malupoy.**
mange *n.* **kitatung.**
mango *n.* **bunutan.**

many *adj.* **makpal,***s ee:* **kappal.**
market *n.* **dipon.**
marry *v.* **magkabanga,** *see:* **kabanga.**
massacre *v.* **bunagan,** *see:* **bunag.**
massage *v.* **aplusan,** *see:* **aplos;**
v. **pakkalan,** *see:* **pakkal;**
v. **paspasan,** *see:* **paspas.**
masseuse *n.* **maragaplos,***se e:* **aplos.**
master *n.* **hapu.**
mat *n.* **abak.**
match *v.* **magkalan,** *see:* **kalan.**
maybe *adv.* **baka;**
adv. **-waden;**
adv. **-wan.**
me *pron.* **nikan.**
meandering *adj.* **malipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**
meat *n.* **dinaga,***s ee:* **daga;**
n. **pilas.**
medicate *v.* **uruan,** *see:* **uru.**
medicine *n.* **uru.**
meet *v.* **magagom,** *see:* **agom;**
v. **depunan,** *see:* **depun;**
v. **magpuron,** *see:* **puron;**
v. **salpakan,** *see:* **salpak.**
melt *v.* **malunag,** *see:* **lunag.**
mend *v.* **pappeyan,** *see:* **peya.**
menstruate *v.* **magdigi,***se e:* **digi.**
merciful *adj.* **makagbi,** *see:* **kagbi.**
midday *n.* **aldew;**
n. **pamalak.**
middle *n.* **lubok.**
midwife *n.* **maragaplos,***se e:* **aplos.**
milk *n.* **gattak.**
mill *v.* **magbiyu,** *see:* **biyu.**
mind *n.* **nakam.**
mirror *n.* **espeho.**
mist *n.* **alsap.**
mistake *n.* **liwat.**
mitigate *v.* **gamman.**
mix *v.* **aguman,***se e:* **agom;**
v. **pagaguman,***se e:* **agom;**
v. **iramas,** *see:* **ramas.**
mixture *n.* **ramas.**
moan *v.* **magagal,** *see:* **agal.**
moderate *v.* **gamman.**
moist *adj.* **malamsa,** *see:* **lamsa.**
molar *n.* **wangli.**
mollusk *n.* **katupu;**
n. **sulawan.**
money *n.* **kurinnat;**
n. **kwartu.**
monkey *n.* **adaw;**
n. **kabaksan,** *see:* **bakas;**
n. **burog;**
n. **kabaksan;**
n. **suriwat.**
month *n.* **bulan.**
moon *n.* **bulan;**
n. **maningas.**
more — **mas.**
morning *adj.* **malledum;**
n. **pomsag.**
mortar *n.* **lassong.**
mosquito *n.* **namok.**
moss *n.* **lumot.**
mother *n.* **hena;**
n. **ina;**
n. **inang;**
n. **nena.**
mountain *n.* **giled;**
n. **kurot;**
n. **tagiletel.**
mountains *n.* **amogud;**
n. **parabin;**
n. **talon.**
mouse *n.* **kuyang.**
mouth *n.* **labi.**
move *v.* **umales,** *see:* **ales;**
v. **maglembuk,***se e:* **lembuk;**
v. **maglinas,** *see:* **linas.**
much *adj.* **makpal,***s ee:* **kappal.**
mucus *n.* **daggung;**
n. **gabbu;**
n. **gabutung;**
n. **hipon.**
mud *n.* **lodag;**
n. **luket;**
n. **lusak.**
muddy *adj.* **maluket,** *see:* **luket.**
mudhole *n.* **tabbog.**
mullet *n.* **kalbo;**
n. **malagi.**
murky *adj.* **malotlot,** *see:* **lotlot.**
muscle *n.* **pilas.**
mushroom *n.* **kuditdit;**
n. **kulat;**
v. **u-ung.**
mute *n.* **umal.**
my *pron.* **-ko.**

N - n

naked *adj.* bayus-bayus;
adj. tallobag;
v. magubobi, *see:* ubobi.
name *n.* nagen.
narra *n.* sagget.
narrow *adj.* mallat, *see:* ilat;
adj. makupit, *see:* kupit.
nauseous *adj.* malabiyab,*se e:* alabiyab;
v. magulolaw, *see:* ulolaw.
navel *n.* pusad.
near *adj.* mabikan, *see:* bikan;
n. bikan;
v. bumikan, *see:* bikan.
neck *n.* leg;
n. tangngad.
necklace *n.* manek;
n. ulay.
need *v.* kasuran, *see:* kasur.
needle *n.* dagum.
nephew *n.* panganakan,*se e:* anak.
nest *n.* rabon.
new *adj.* bigu.
next *n.* bikan.
nice *adj.* alasey-as.
niece *n.* panganakan,*se e:* anak.
night *n.* kallap.
nimble *adj.* salawa.
nine *adj.* siyam.
nipple *n.* pugang.
nit *n.* gimay;
n. risa.
no — awan.
nod *v.* magtango, *see:* tango;
v. magtokram,*se e:* tokram.
noise *v.* kumagi, *see:* kagi.
noisy *adj.* mabinakekaw, *see:* binakekaw;
adj. manabab, *see:* nabab;
v. matnog, *see:* tannog.
none — awan;
— limus.
noon *n.* aldew;
n. pamalak.
nose *n.* doong;
n. dungas.
not — awan.
notice *v.* maenta, *see:* enta.
now *adv.* ayein;
adv. -dan.
numb *n.* bebenad;
v. magpapekal, *see:* papekal.
number *n.* bilang.
nut *n.* mayan.

O - o

oar *n.* lapag.
ocean *n.* diget.
octopus *n.* kugita.
odor *n.* arob.
offer *v.* mangiamog,*se e:* amog.
oil *n.* tabi.
oily *adj.* matabi, *see:* tabi.
old *adj.* alegid;
n. babakat;
n. lalakay;
n. lupog;
n. malupoy.
oldest *adj.* palungo;
n. uwa.
one *adj.* essa.
one-handed *n.* kapotgayong.
onion *n.* lasuna.
only *adv.* -la.
open *v.* abbutan, *see:* abbut;
v. maggangngak, *see:* gangngak;
v. ipaladpad,*s ee:* paladpad;
v. takwaban, *see:* takwab;
v. iuyad,*se e:* uyad.
opposite *n.* dibilew;
n. dupaneng.
or *conj.* o.
order *v.* bonan, *see:* bon;
v. pappeyan, *see:* peya.
orderly *adj.* napuru-puron, *see:* puron.
originate *v.* mangigipu, *see:* gipu.
orphan *n.* golang.
other *adj.* aset;
adj. bakkan.
our *pron.* -ta;
pron. -tam.
ours *pron.* -mi.
outrigger *n.* pakaway.
outside *n.* lapos.
overweight *adj.* matabi, *see:* tabi.
over-worked *adj.* mabannag,*s ee:* bannag;

adj. **malupoy,** *see:* **lupoy.**
owl *n.* **kulaw.**

owner — **makin-.**

P - p

pace *n.* **laksang;**
n. **wakang.**
pack *n.* **arikawat;**
v. **magbaknag,***se e:* **baknag;**
v. **pusutan,***se e:* **pusot.**
package *n.* **pusot.**
paddle *n.* **lapag;**
v. **magbusay,** *see:* **busay.**
palm *n.* **palad.**
palm tree *n.* **agal;**
n. **anaw;**
n. **gimat;**
n. **limuden;**
n. **nipa;**
n. **sakon.**
papaya *n.* **kapaya.**
parakeet *n.* **bulalising.**
parents *n.* **daddakal.**
pass *n.* **bikasat;**
n. **talaktakan,** *see:* **talaktak;**
v. **tumaleb,***se e:* **taleb.**
path *n.* **dilan;**
n. **tilu.**
pathetic *adj.* **kagbi.**
pay *v.* **magballi,** *see:* **balli;**
v. **magpaga,** *see:* **paga.**
payment *n.* **balli.**
peaceful *adj.* **maerak,***s ee:* **erak.**
peak *n.* **kurot.**
peanut *n.* **ulay.**
pee *v.* **umesbu,** *see:* **esbu.**
peel *n.* **kulapes;**
n. **kulet;**
v. **kulapisan,** *see:* **kulapes;**
v. **magkulet,** *see:* **kulet.**
penetrate *v.* **magpalpal,** *see:* **palpal.**
penetrated *adj.* **mapalpal,** *see:* **palpal.**
penis *n.* **bugit;**
n. **gaygay.**
pepper *n.* **sili.**
perch *v.* **umagpon,** *see:* **agpon.**
perhaps *adv.* **baka;**
adv. **-waden;**
adv. **-wan.**
persistent *adj.* **masoppang,** *see:* **soppang;**
adj. **masoprang,***s ee:* **soprang.**
person *n.* **agta;**
n. **tolay.**
pester *v.* **kolangan,** *see:* **kolang;**
v. **uksitan,***se e:* **ukset.**
pestle *n.* **ellayu.**
pet *n.* **amoyu.**
phlegm *n.* **ikar.**
pick *v.* **magbudbud,***se e:* **budbud;**
v. **magputi,** *see:* **puti;**
v. **magtaggad,** *see:* **taggad.**
pierce *v.* **magpalpal,** *see:* **palpal;**
v. **magtorduk,***se e:* **torduk.**
pierced *adj.* **mapalpal,** *see:* **palpal.**
pig *n.* **babuy;**
n. **laman.**
pigeon *n.* **kalapati.**
piglet *n.* **barak.**
pinapple *n.* **nangrabut.**
pinch *v.* **magkaddut,** *see:* **kaddut;**
v. **magkatter,** *see:* **katter.**
pine tree *n.* **salang.**
pitiful *adj.* **kagbi.**
pity *adv.* **paman.**
place *n.* **talon;**
v. **idatton,***se e:* **datton;**
v. **itagmak,***se e:* **tagmak.**
placenta *n.* **enyanan.**
plain *n.* **ditag;**
n. **lannag.**
plant *v.* **magmula,** *see:* **mula.**
plate *n.* **donan;**
n. **taryaw.**
play *v.* **maggulam,** *see:* **gulam;**
v. **magkayag,** *see:* **kayag.**
please *adv.* **-agat;**
adv. **-bas;**
v. **ayayokan,***s ee:* **ayayok.**
pluck *v.* **magbudbud,***se e:* **budbud;**
v. **maggartod,** *see:* **gartod;**
v. **magpotpot,** *see:* **potpot;**
v. **magputi,** *see:* **puti.**
point *v.* **itoldu,** *see:* **toldu.**
poke *v.* **tolbakan,** *see:* **tolbak.**
pole *n.* **takkan;**
n. **tolnak.**
polygamy *n.* **magkaseding,** *see:* **seding;**
v. **magrikap,***s ee:* **rikap.**
pomelo *n.* **suwa.**
portion *n.* **bunong.**
possessions *n.* **girak.**

post *n.* **adigi;**
n. **tolnak.**
pot *n.* **banga;**
n. **damili;**
n. **kandeho;**
n. **karamba;**
n. **malabi.**
pound *v.* **magbalbal,** *see:* **balbal;**
v. **magpokpok,***se e:* **pokpok;**
v. **magtagtag,** *see:* **tagtag;**
v. **magtoktok,** *see:* **toktok.**
pour *v.* **ibulak,** *see:* **bulak.**
pregnant *adj.* **mabuktet,** *see:* **buktet.**
press *v.* **itaglad,** *see:* **taglad;**
v. **itamlad,** *see:* **tamlad.**
pretty *adj.* **magino,** *see:* **gino;**
adj. **mappya,** *see:* **peya.**
prevent *v.* **gamman;**
v. **magiwad,** *see:* **iwad;**
v. **tappagan,** *see:* **tappag.**
prohibit *v.* **ikemot,** *see:* **kemot.**
proud *adj.* **maingal,***s ee:* **ingal.**
provision *n.* **bilon;**
v. **magbilon,** *see:* **bilon.**
prune *v.* **magtaggad,** *see:* **taggad.**
pubic hair *n.* **sabut.**
puddle *n.* **tabbog.**
pull *v.* **guyodan,***se e:* **guyod;**
v. **ilagedan,** *see:* **lagedan;**
v. **potputan,** *see:* **potpot.**
punch *v.* **dinatalan,***s ee:* **dinatal.**
puppy *n.* **titu.**
pus *n.* **limutu.**
push *v.* **itogkay,** *see:* **togkay;**
v. **itoglad,** *see:* **toglad.**
put *v.* **asakkan,** *see:* **asak;**
v. **idatton,***se e:* **datton;**
v. **itagmak,***se e:* **tagmak.**
python *n.* **iraw;**
n. **sennad.**

Q - q

quick *adj.* **mabaksag,***se e:* **baksag;**
adj. **salawa.**
quiet *v.* **gamman.**

R - r

race *v.* **magtagubet,***se e:* **tagubet.**
raft *n.* **rakit.**
raid *n.* **taknag.**
rain *n.* **uden;**
v. **maguden,***s ee:* **uden.**
rainbow *n.* **balangaw.**
raincloud *n.* **diklam.**
rake *v.* **magkureg,** *see:* **kureg.**
rancid *adj.* **mabuyok,** *see:* **buyok.**
rat *n.* **bilakad;**
n. **kuyang.**
rattan *n.* **lati;**
n. **sari.**
raw *adj.* **makata,** *see:* **kata.**
reach *v.* **umabot,** *see:* **abot;**
v. **magdes,** *see:* **des;**
v. **gumiwat,** *see:* **giwat.**
read *v.* **magkilu-kiluy,** *see:* **kilu-kiluy.**
really *adv.* **-bi.**
reap *v.* **magputi,** *see:* **puti.**
red *adj.* **madideg,** *see:* **dideg;**
adj. **madigkat,** *see:* **digkat;**
adj. **madulaw,** *see:* **dulaw;**
adj. **masulu,** *see:* **sulu.**
reduce *v.* **adian,***se e:* **adia.**
reed *n.* **tagbak.**
reef *n.* **namaw.**
reeking *adj.* **mabuyok,** *see:* **buyok.**
reflection *n.* **alinunu.**
related *v.* **magkalan,** *see:* **kalan.**
relative *n.* **kakalan,** *see:* **kalan.**
release *v.* **itaprak,** *see:* **taprak.**
remainder *n.* **buray.**
remember *v.* **manakam,***s ee:* **nakam.**
remove *v.* **adian,***se e:* **adia;**
v. **magakdet,** *see:* **akdet.**
request *v.* **umaged,** *see:* **aged.**
resentful *v.* **magsekay,** *see:* **sekay.**
reside *v.* **maghen,** *see:* **hen.**
residue *n.* **buray.**
respect *n.* **nakam;**
v. **diyawan,***s ee:* **diyaw.**
respectful *adj.* **manakam,***se e:* **nakam.**
rest *n.* **kakpal,***se e:* **kappal;**
v. **umemmang,***se e:* **emmang.**
restless *v.* **magalombinas,** *see:* **alombinas.**
restrain *v.* **magiwad,** *see:* **iwad;**
v. **tappagan,** *see:* **tappag.**

return *v.* **umaliwadat,***se e:* **aliwadat;**
v. **magsoli,** *see:* **soli.**
revenge *v.* **bilassan,***se e:* **bilas.**
revolve *v.* **magalipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**
revolving *adj.* **malipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**
rib *n.* **tagkang.**
rice *n.* **bagah;**
n. **baggat;**
n. **inapoy;**
n. **kanan,** *see:* **kan;**
n. **lampad;**
n. **mabaw;**
n. **murah;**
n. **paray.**
rich *adj.* **mapilas,** *see:* **pilas.**
ridge *n.* **giled.**
ridicule *v.* **gayakan,***s ee:* **gayak.**
right *n.* **tarod.**
ring *n.* **sangkalan.**
ringworm *n.* **galis.**
rinse *v.* **maguges,** *see:* **uges.**
rip *v.* **maggartod,** *see:* **gartod.**
ripe *adj.* **nalutu,***se e:* **lutu.**
ripped *adj.* **napisad,** *see:* **pisad.**
rise *n.* **pagtangkay,***se e:* **tangkay;**
v. **umikat,** *see:* **ikat.**
river *n.* **bulos.**
road *n.* **dilan.**
roaring *v.* **matnog,** *see:* **tannog.**
roast *v.* **mangiapoy,** *see:* **apoy;**
v. **maggubok,** *see:* **gubok;**
v. **magisokad,** *see:* **sokad.**
rob *v.* **pumulas,***se e:* **pulas.**
rocky *n.* **dangli;**
n. **dilenas.**
roll *v.* **kupal-kupalan,** *see:* **kupal-kupal;**
v. **pikonan,** *see:* **pikon.**
rolled *adj.* **malikon-likon,** *see:* **likon-likon.**
roof *n.* **atap.**
rooster *n.* **kawitan.**
root *n.* **ramot.**
rope *n.* **gakad;**
n. **gilot;**
n. **lubid.**
rotate *v.* **magalipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**
rotten *adj.* **mabuyok,** *see:* **buyok;**
adj. **malongsot,***se e:* **longsot;**
adj. **rappotak;**
adj. **marogrog,***se e:* **rogrog.**
rough *adj.* **madiget,** *see:* **diget;**
adj. **maragas-ragas,** *see:* **ragas-ragas;**
adj. **marudog-rudog,** *see:* **rudog-rudog.**
round *adj.* **nagmokal-mokal,** *see:* **mokal-mokal;**
adj. **nagmolu-mulu,** *see:* **molu-molu.**
rub *v.* **gusgusan,** *see:* **gusgus;**
v. **nasnasan,** *see:* **nasnas.**
rudder*n.* **timon.**
ruined *adj.* **marogrog,***se e:* **rogrog.**
run *v.* **bumuyot,** *see:* **buyot.**
rust *n.* **simang.**
rustling *adj.* **karos-karos.**

S - s

sad *adj.* **mematon,** *see:* **maton;**
adj. **makassamondut,** *see:* **samondut.**
sail *n.* **layag.**
saliva *n.* **ibar;**
n. **toppak.**
salt *n.* **apgas.**
salty *adj.* **naapgad,** *see:* **apgad;**
adj. **makkak;**
adj. **makkak,** *see:* **takkak.**
same *v.* **magkalan,** *see:* **kalan.**
sand *n.* **basad;**
n. **baybay.**
sandals *n.* **ismagel.**
sap *n.* **gattak.**
satiated *adj.* **mabiyag,** *see:* **biyag;**
v. **napradan.**
satisfied *v.* **napradan.**
sauce *n.* **digu.**
save *v.* **magpuron,** *see:* **puron.**
saw *n.* **paggalgal,** *see:* **galgal;**
v. **maggalgal,** *see:* **galgal.**
say *v.* **ipeta,** *see:* **peta.**
scale *n.* **keskes;**
n. **seksek;**
v. **magkeskes,** *see:* **keskes.**
scar *n.* **kublang.**
scatter *v.* **iwarek,** *see:* **warek.**
scissors *n.* **garasib;**
n. **gitting.**
scold *v.* **englan,***se e:* **ingal.**
scoop *v.* **akidan,** *see:* **akid;**
v. **akrupan,***se e:* **akrup;**
v. **magliyod,***s ee:* **liyod.**
scoot *v.* **gumisan,***s ee:* **gisan.**
scorched *adj.* **malapat,** *see:* **lapat.**
scorpion *n.* **annipig;**
n. **pawiran.**
scraped *v.* **maderdiran,***se e:* **derder.**

scratch *v.* **maggusgus,** *see:* **gusgus.**
scratched *v.* **maderdiran,***se e:* **derder.**
sea *n.* **diget.**
search *v.* **mageryok,** *see:* **eryok.**
see *v.* **maenta,***se e:* **enta.**
seed *n.* **bukal;**
n. **mayan.**
self *n.* **baggi.**
send *v.* **itognan,** *see:* **tugan.**
serve *v.* **akidan,***s ee:* **akid.**
set *v.* **idatton,** *see:* **datton;**
v. **kumaltob,***s ee:* **kaltob;**
v. **lomnad,** *see:* **lannad;**
v. **lumiksup,** *see:* **liksup;**
v. **itagmak,***se e:* **tagmak.**
seven *adj.* **pitu.**
sew *v.* **magdaget,** *see:* **daget.**
sex *v.* **maggunak,** *see:* **gunak.**
shade *n.* **lendum.**
shadow *n.* **alinunu.**
shake *v.* **magpiraped,** *see:* **piraped;**
v. **waswasan,** *see:* **waswas;**
v. **magyagyag,** *see:* **yagyag.**
shallow *adj.* **maassap,** *see:* **assap;**
adj. **madibbew,** *see:* **dibbew.**
shame *n.* **bah.**
share *n.* **bunong;**
v. **magbunong,***se e:* **bunong.**
shark *n.* **binal;**
n. **iyu.**
sharp *adj.* **murok;**
adj. **matadam,** *see:* **tadam.**
sharpen *v.* **obugan,***se e:* **obug;**
v. **magpasirap,***se e:* **pasirap.**
shattered *adj.* **nabisag,***s ee:* **bisag.**
shave *v.* **magumeng,** *see:* **umeng.**
she *pron.* **hikuna;**
pron. **-na.**
sheath *n.* **sarungan.**
sheathe *v.* **isarungan,** *see:* **sarungan.**
shell *n.* **kulapes;**
n. **kulet.**
shelter *n.* **toklong;**
v. **lumendum,** *see:* **lendum;**
v. **sumalidum,** *see:* **salidum.**
shin *n.* **pagbariyatan,** *see:* **bariyat;**
n. **bisat.**
shine *v.* **dumasak,** *see:* **dasak.**
shiny *adj.* **masilap,** *see:* **silap.**
shirt *n.* **tennon.**
shiver *v.* **komsag;**
v. **magpiraped,** *see:* **piraped.**
shoot *v.* **mamangal;**
v. **palattugan,** *see:* **palattug;**
v. **pumangal,***s ee:* **pangal;**
v. **metattang,** *see:* **tattang.**
short *adj.* **apellak.**
shorten *v.* **garsatan,** *see:* **garsat;**
v. **magputad,** *see:* **putad.**
shoulder *n.* **abigi.**
shout *n.* **kulukol;**
v. **magayag,** *see:* **ayag;**
v. **magdulaw,** *see:* **dulaw;**
v. **magkaraw,** *see:* **karaw;**
v. **kulukolan,** *see:* **kulukol;**
v. **magpeta,** *see:* **peta;**
v. **raknidan,** *see:* **rakned.**
shred *v.* **magsilak,** *see:* **silak.**
shrimp *n.* **lagad.**
shudder *v.* **magkambus,***se e:* **kambus.**
shy *adj.* **masaniki,** *see:* **saniki;**
v. **maseknan,** *see:* **seknan.**
sibling *n.* **abeng;**
n. **akka;**
n. **hekka;**
n. **kallakyan;**
n. **nekka;**
n. **wadi.**
sick *adj.* **masaket,** *see:* **saket;**
v. **maganad-anad,***se e:* **anad-anad.**
side *n.* **digdig;**
n. **hikeg;**
n. **kalipat;**
n. **nibik.**
sin *n.* **liwat.**
sing *v.* **magginga,***s ee:* **ginga;**
v. **maggisaden,***se e:* **gisaden.**
sink *v.* **lomdap,** *see:* **laddap;**
v. **lomnad,** *see:* **lannad;**
v. **omlad.**
sip *v.* **maglgup,** *see:* **igup;**
v. **magruprup,** *see:* **ruprup.**
sister *n.* **abeng;**
n. **akka;**
n. **hekka;**
n. **kallakyan;**
n. **wadi.**
sit *v.* **umeknod,** *see:* **eknod;**
v. **umetnod,** *see:* **etnod;**
v. **tumogkok,** *see:* **togkok.**
six *adj.* **annam.**
skilled *adj.* **matoldug,** *see:* **toldug.**
skin *n.* **gaddang;**
v. **maglapdis,** *see:* **lapdis.**
skinny *adj.* **marasa,** *see:* **rasa.**
skirt *n.* **ken.**
sky *n.* **lakop;**
n. **langet.**

slap *v.* **balbalan,** *see:* **balbal;**
v. **maglappag,** *see:* **lappag;**
v. **naknakan,** *see:* **naknak.**
slash *v.* **mangkatlad,***se e:* **katlad.**
slaughter *v.* **bunagan,** *see:* **bunag.**
sleep *n.* **mitak;**
v. **humama,***se e:* **hama;**
v. **kumilap,** *see:* **kilap;**
v. **matidug,** *see:* **tidug.**
sleepy *adj.* **makakilap,** *see:* **kilap.**
slender *adj.* **malapat,** *see:* **lapat.**
slice *v.* **magalidis,***s ee:* **alidis.**
slide *v.* **magalos-os,** *see:* **alos-os.**
slim *adj.* **malapat,** *see:* **lapat.**
slippers *n.* **ismagel.**
slippery *adj.* **makanot,** *see:* **kanot.**
slope *n.* **kalebkeb.**
slow *adj.* **malay,***se e:* **alay;**
v. **agagakan,***s ee:* **agagak.**
sluggish *v.* **maganad-anad,***se e:* **anad-anad.**
small *adj.* **badit;**
adj. **ballek;**
adj. **malapat,** *see:* **lapat.**
smart *adj.* **matoldug,** *see:* **toldug.**
smell *n.* **arob;**
v. **magampoy,** *see:* **ampoy;**
v. **aruban,** *see:* **arob.**
smelly *adj.* **manggad,** *see:* **anggad;**
adj. **maarob,** *see:* **arob;**
adj. **mabuyok,** *see:* **buyok.**
smile *v.* **umemad,** *see:* **emad;**
v. **mumadmad,***se e:* **madmad;**
v. **mumanghe,** *see:* **manghe.**
smoke *n.* **asok;**
v. **magisok,** *see:* **isok.**
smoky *adj.* **maasok,***s ee:* **asok.**
smooth *adj.* **malammen,***se e:* **lammen.**
snack *n.* **pulutan.**
snail *n.* **barikongkong.**
snake *n.* **agwasan;**
n. **iraw;**
n. **tewalang;**
n. **ulag.**
snapped *adj.* **mabagsot,** *see:* **bagsot;**
adj. **matangpod,***se e:* **tangpod.**
snatch *v.* **polsan,** *see:* **pulas.**
sneak *v.* **mangudut.**
sneeze *v.* **maggabben,** *see:* **gabben.**
sniff *v.* **aruban,** *see:* **arob.**
snore *v.* **magungor,** *see:* **ungor.**
so *conj.* **kapno.**
soft *adj.* **malammen,***se e:* **lammen;**
adj. **malomak,** *see:* **lomak.**
sold *v.* **raknidan,** *see:* **rakned.**
sole *n.* **palad.**
some *n.* **kakpal,***se e:* **kappal.**
son *n.* **akol;**
n. **along.**
song *n.* **gisaden.**
soothe *v.* **ayayokan,***s ee:* **ayayok.**
soul *n.* **kaliduwa.**
sound *n.* **kagi;**
n. **tannog.**
sour *adj.* **malsot,***se e:* **alsot;**
adj. **maapsot,** *see:* **apsot.**
soursop *n.* **guenaba;**
n. **guyabana.**
sow *n.* **bongkas.**
space *n.* **sallad.**
span *n.* **dangan.**
sparkling *adj.* **masilap,** *see:* **silap.**
sparrow *n.* **pipittot.**
speak *v.* **magammong,** *see:* **ammong;**
v. **magkagi,***se e:* **kagi.**
spear *n.* **gidsal;**
n. **pisga;**
n. **rapang;**
n. **sarangat;**
v. **ibalasug,** *see:* **balasug;**
v. **gidsalan,** *see:* **gidsal;**
v. **isullug,***se e:* **sullug.**
spicy *adj.* **madaggas,***se e:* **daggas;**
adj. **maggas.**
spin *v.* **magalipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**
spinning *adj.* **malipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**
spit *n.* **ibar;**
n. **toppak;**
v. **magloktab,** *see:* **loktab;**
v. **magtoppak,** *see:* **toppak.**
split *v.* **magpilak,** *see:* **pilak.**
spoiled *adj.* **malongsot,***se e:* **longsot.**
spot *v.* **managbu;**
v. **managbu,** *see:* **tagbu.**
spouse *n.* **kabanga.**
spring *n.* **arabuwaran;**
n. **labwaren;**
n. **rabwaren;**
n. **tabbog.**
sprout *v.* **magtubu,** *see:* **tubu.**
sqeeze *v.* **pakkalan,** *see:* **pakkal;**
v. **paspasan,** *see:* **paspas.**
squat *v.* **tumogkok,** *see:* **togkok.**
squid *n.* **laki.**
squish *v.* **ramsitan,** *see:* **ramset.**
stab *v.* **bakalan,***se e:* **bakal;**
v. **ginakkan,** *see:* **ginak.**
stairs *n.* **agden.**
stake *n.* **tolnak.**

stand *v.* tumaknag, *see:* taknag.
star *n.* biton;
n. kaldiwan;
n. pusiyan.
stare *v.* amatan, *see:* amat;
v. mumutag,*s ee:* mutag.
start *v.* mangigipu, *see:* gipu.
startle *v.* magkambus,*se e:* kambus.
startled *adj.* malaktat, *see:* laktat.
stay *v.* maghen, *see:* hen;
v. magisan, *see:* isan.
steal *v.* pumulas, *see:* pulas;
v. magtakaw, *see:* takaw.
steam *n.* asngaw;
n. singaw.
steamy *adj.* maasngaw, *see:* asngaw;
adj. masingaw,*se e:* singaw.
steel *n.* utang.
step *n.* laksang;
n. wakang;
v. gedtanan,*s ee:* gedtan;
v. lumaksang, *see:* laksang.
sternum *n.* gusok.
stick *n.* ranak.
stiff *adj.* maturidak, *see:* turidak.
still *adj.* maerak,*s ee:* erak;
adv. -pala;
adv. -pat.
sting *v.* magsingat, *see:* singat.
stir *v.* maglembuk,*se e:* lembuk;
v. maglinas, *see:* linas.
stomach *n.* lattag;
n. tiyan.
stone *n.* bitu;
n. pugedu;
n. rusu.
stop *v.* gamman;
v. gumimak, *see:* gimak;
v. magiwad, *see:* iwad;
v. tappagan, *see:* tappag.
storm *n.* bagyo;
v. magbagyo, *see:* bagyo.
story *n.* buybuy;
v. magbida, *see:* bida;
v. magbuybuy,*se e:* buybuy.
straight *adj.* koyoyad;
adj. masunong, *see:* sunong.
straighten *v.* ipappeya, *see:* peya.
stream *n.* sapa.
stretch *v.* giwidan, *see:* giwed;
v. iuyad,*se e:* uyad.
stretched *adj.* koyoyad.
stride *n.* laksang;
n. wakang;
v. lumaksang, *see:* laksang.
strip *v.* magalidis,*s ee:* alidis;
v. magsilak, *see:* silak.
stroll *v.* maglogat,*s ee:* logat.
strong *adj.* mabinag, *see:* binag;
adj. madaggas,*se e:* daggas.
stubborn *adj.* masoppang, *see:* soppang;
adj. masoprang, *see:* soprang.
study *v.* magkilu-kiluy, *see:* kilu-kiluy.
stump *n.* tonglad.
stupid *adj.* dagel.
submerge *v.* iellad, *see:* ellad;
v. iladdap, *see:* laddap;
v. iladlad, *see:* ladlad;
v. iramram, *see:* ramram.
submerse *v.* iladlad, *see:* ladlad;
v. iramram, *see:* ramram.
subside *v.* umas-as,*se e:* as-as;
v. ompes.
suck *v.* ammegelan, *see:* ammegel;
v. magsapsap, *see:* sapsap;
v. supsupan,*s ee:* supsup;
v. yamyammen, *see:* yamyam.
suffer *v.* magattam, *see:* attam.
suicide *v.* magmunas, *see:* munas.
summer *n.* kassinag, *see:* sinag.
summit *n.* kurot.
sun *n.* senggit.
Sunday *n.* liggu.
sunlight *n.* sinag.
sunny *adj.* masinag, *see:* sinag.
sunrise *v.* sumengkar,*se e:* sengkar.
surface *n.* dibbew;
n. libbew;
v. umawwat,*s ee:* awwat.
surprised *adj.* malaktat, *see:* laktat;
adj. masbew.
suspend *v.* ibatten, *see:* batten.
swallow *v.* telmukan, *see:* telmok.
sweat *n.* uggang.
sweep *n.* magkared, *see:* kared;
v. magkaykay, *see:* kaykay;
v. magkureg, *see:* kureg.
sweet *adj.* masinggat,*se e:* singgat.
swell *v.* umarnab,*s ee:* arnab;
v. bumagi, *see:* bagi;
v. bumigi,*se e:* bigi;
v. bumikit, *see:* bikit;
v. lomtag, *see:* lattag.
swidden *v.* magsikaw,*s ee:* sikaw.
swim *v.* maglangoy, *see:* langoy;
v. magnangoy, *see:* nangoy;
v. magsulog, *see:* sulog.

T - t

table *n.* **pagdiyagan**,*se e:* **diyag**;
n. **paragkanan**,*se e:* **kan**.
tail *n.* **buned**.
take *v.* **itugan**, *see:* **tugan**;
v. **iunod**, *see:* **unod**.
talk *v.* **magkagi**, *see:* **kagi**.
talkative *adj.* **makagi**, *see:* **kagi**;
adj. **salawekwek**.
tall *adj.* **matangkay**,*s ee:* **tangkay**.
tame *adj.* **mapenam**,*se e:* **penam**.
tangled *adj.* **nakumal-kumal**, *see:* **kumal-kumal**;
adj. **nakupal-kupal**,*se e:* **kupal-kupal**.
taro *n.* **aba**.
taste *n.* **ennam**;
v. **ennaman**,*s ee:* **ennam**.
tasteless *adj.* **malamsak**,*se e:* **lamsak**.
tasty *adj.* **masinggat**,*se e:* **singgat**.
teach *v.* **magtoldu**, *see:* **toldu**.
tear *v.* **magretret**,*s ee:* **retret**.
teardrop *n.* **luwa**.
tell *v.* **ipeta**, *see:* **peta**.
ten *adj.* **mapulu**,*s ee:* **pulu**.
termite *n.* **sarek**.
testicles *n.* **lahag**.
than *conj.* **im**.
that —**-aya**;
—**-ayu**;
pron. **iday**;
pron. **idu**.
their *pron.* **di**.
them *pron.* **nidi**.
then *conj.* **sa**.
there *pron.* **iho**.
these *pron.* **daginde**.
they *pron.* **di**;
pron. **hidi**.
thick *adj.* **mabigal**, *see:* **bigal**.
thigh *n.* **pengkel**;
n. **pukal**.
thin *adj.* **malapes**, *see:* **lapes**;
adj. **marasa**, *see:* **rasa**.
things *n.* **girak**.
think *v.* **magnakam**, *see:* **nakam**.
thirst *v.* **tomgaw**.
thirty *adj.* **tallupulu**, *see:* **pulu**.
this —**-aye**;
pron. **ide**.
thorn *n.* **sesit**.
those *pron.* **daginday**;
pron. **daginto**.
though *adv.* **-man**.
thought *n.* **nakam**.
thoughtful *adj.* **manakam**,*se e:* **nakam**.
thousand *adj.* **maribu**, *see:* **ribu**.
three *adj.* **tallo**.
throat *n.* **bukraw**;
n. **leg**.
throw *v.* **ibisag**, *see:* **bisag**;
v. **itobbak**, *see:* **tobbak**.
thumb *n.* **agradis**.
thunder *n.* **kaddur**.
tickle *v.* **arikatkatan**,*se e:* **arikatkat**;
v. **arukatkatan**,*se e:* **arukatkat**.
tie *n.* **alikaskas**;
v. **iabad**,*se e:* **abad**;
v. **maggakad**, *see:* **gakad**;
v. **gilutan**,*se e:* **gilot**;
v. **mangpahal**,*se e:* **pahal**.
tight *adj.* **mailat**, *see:* **ilat**;
adj. **makupit**, *see:* **kupit**.
time *n.* **kaalay**, *see:* **alay**.
tire *v.* **mabanta**, *see:* **banta**;
v. **mahulat**, *see:* **hulat**.
tired *adj.* **mabannag**,*s ee:* **bannag**;
adj. **makakilap**,*se e:* **kilap**;
adj. **malupoy**, *see:* **lupoy**.
tobacco *n.* **subu**.
today *adv.* **ayein**.
toddler *n.* **ussit**.
toe *n.* **giray**.
tolerate *v.* **magattam**, *see:* **attam**.
tomorrow *n.* **nougma**;
n. **ugma**.
tongue *n.* **dila**.
too *adv.* **-bi**;
adv. **-noman**.
tooth *n.* **ngipan**.
toothless *n.* **gammol**;
n. **lammod**;
n. **kangirab**, *see:* **ngirab**.
top *n.* **dibbew**;
n. **libbew**.
torn *adj.* **napisad**, *see:* **pisad**.
touch *v.* **karapan**,*s ee:* **karap**.
town *n.* **lapos**.
toy *n.* **bobog**.
track *v.* **abitan**, *see:* **abit**.
trail *n.* **dilan**;
n. **tilu**.

transport *v.* **ilugen,** *see:* **lugen.**
tree *n.* **apoy;**
n. **kayu.**
tremble *v.* **magpiraped,** *see:* **piraped.**
trouble *v.* **uksitan,***se e:* **ukset.**
truly *adv.* **-bi.**
truth *n.* **tarod.**
try *v.* **ennaman,***s ee:* **ennam.**
turbid *adj.* **malotlot,** *see:* **lotlot.**
turn *v.* **umaliwadat,***se e:* **aliwadat;**
v. **bumaleksad,***se e:* **baleksad;**
v. **lumekwat,** *see:* **lekwat;**
v. **tumalekkod,***se e:* **talekkod;**
v. **tumukad,** *see:* **tukad.**
turning *adj.* **malipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**
turtle *n.* **dagga;**
n. **maligat-ligat.**
tusk *n.* **paseng.**
twenty *adj.* **duwapulu,** *see:* **pulu.**
twisted *adj.* **nakumal-kumal,** *see:* **kumal-kumal;**
adj. **nakupal-kupal,***se e:* **kupal-kupal;**
adj. **malikon-likon,** *see:* **likon-likon.**
two *adj.* **duwa.**
typhoon *n.* **bagyo.**

U - u

ugly *adj.* **madukas,** *see:* **dukas.**
umbrella *n.* **halidong.**
uncle *n.* **botay.**
unclear *adj.* **malotlot,** *see:* **lotlot.**
underneath *n.* **sidung.**
understand *v.* **katandi.**
underwear *n.* **weker.**
unfold*v.* **ipaladpad,** *see:* **paladpad;**
v. **iuyad,***se e:* **uyad.**
unfortunately *adv.* **paman.**
unite *v.* **magpuron,** *see:* **puron.**
unpack *v.* **magwadwad,** *see:* **wadwad.**
unripe *adj.* **makata,** *see:* **kata;**
adj. **masoprad,***se e:* **soprad.**
unsheathe *v.* **sakrutan,** *see:* **sakrot.**
until — **hanggan.**
uproot*v.* **magpotpot,** *see:* **potpot.**
upside-down *adj.* **ballusok.**
upstream *n.* **didiya;**
v. **magudek,***s ee:* **udek.**
urinate *v.* **umesbu,** *see:* **esbu.**
us *pron.* **nikami;**
pron. **nikita;**
pron. **nikitam.**

V - v

vagina *n.* **inamakan;**
n. **ubat.**
vanish *v.* **metawag,** *see:* **tawag.**
vegetable *n.* **natang.**
vehicle *n.* **lugen.**
vein *n.* **uget.**
venus *n.* **kaldiwan.**
visit *v.* **dumidug,** *see:* **didug.**
volcano *n.* **bulkan.**
vomit *v.* **magota,** *see:* **ota.**
vulva *n.* **inamakan;**
n. **ubat.**

W - w

wail *v.* **magngoyngoy,** *see:* **ngoyngoy.**
waist *n.* **sappang.**
wait *v.* **maguray,** *see:* **uray.**
wake *v.* **malukag,** *see:* **lukag;**
v. **mumutag,***s ee:* **mutag.**
walk *v.* **maglakad,** *see:* **lakad;**
v. **maglogat,***s ee:* **logat;**
v. **itarang-tarang,***se e:* **tarang-tarang.**
wall *n.* **padding.**
want *v.* **kasur.**
warb *n.* **allatang.**
warm *v.* **dangdangan,***se e:* **dangdang;**
v. **ilinay,***se e:* **linay.**
wash *v.* **maguges,** *see:* **uges.**
wash clothes *v.* **magbalbal,** *see:* **balbal;**
v. **magpokpok,***se e:* **pokpok.**
wash face *v.* **magamuwas,** *see:* **amuwas.**
wasp *n.* **talapatap.**
waste *n.* **bah.**
watch *v.* **amatan,** *see:* **amat;**
v. **bebisan,** *see:* **bebis;**
v. **magdappon,***se e:* **dappon.**

water *n.* **dinom.**
waterfall *n.* **tapaw.**
wave *n.* **aluyu;**
v. **magpayad,** *see:* **payad.**
wax *n.* **lilen.**
we *pron.* **hikami;**
pron. **hikita;**
pron. **hikitam;**
pron. **-kami;**
pron. **-kita;**
pron. **-kitam;**
pron. **-mi;**
pron. **-ta;**
pron. **-tam.**
weak *adj.* **makapoy,** *see:* **kapoy;**
adj. **makatang,***se e:* **katang;**
adj. **marogrog,***se e:* **rogrog;**
v. **maganad-anad,***se e:* **anad-anad.**
wealthy *adj.* **mapilas,** *see:* **pilas.**
weather *n.* **sinag.**
weave *v.* **magladi,***se e:* **ladi.**
weeds *n.* **lamon-lamon;**
n. **rapot-rapot;**
n. **ruot.**
week *n.* **liggu.**
weep *v.* **magsanget,** *see:* **sanget.**
weigh *v.* **bagtinan,***se e:* **bagten.**
well *n.* **poso.**
well-behaved *adj.* **kapeya,** *see:* **peya.**
wet *adj.* **mabesa,** *see:* **besa;**
v. **komsag.**
what *interrog.* **anya;**
interrog. **hadia;**
interrog. **heya.**
whatchamacallit **— kuwan.**
where **— henan,** *see:* **hen;**
interrog. **hadia;**
interrog. **hahe;**
interrog. **henan.**
whirlpool *n.* **alibutag.**
whistle *n.* **magpallos,** *see:* **pallos.**
white *adj.* **maponsak,***se e:* **ponsak;**
adj. **mapongsit,***se e:* **pongsit.**
who *interrog.* **heya.**
whole *adj.* **nagmokal-mokal,** *see:* **mokal-mokal;**
adj. **maputat,** *see:* **putat.**
wide *adj.* **arongan;**
adj. **malampad,** *see:* **lampad;**
adj. **malayat,** *see:* **layat;**
adj. **mapelpel,** *see:* **pelpel.**
widow *n.* **bilu.**
widowed *adj.* **mabilu,** *see:* **bilu.**
wife *n.* **babakat;**
n. **bakas;**
n. **kabanga.**
wilted *adj.* **makatang,***se e:* **katang.**
wind *n.* **paras.**
winding *adj.* **malekwat,** *see:* **lekwat.**
windy *adj.* **maparas,** *see:* **paras.**
wing *n.* **kappeg.**
wink *v.* **magkidat,** *see:* **kidat;**
v. **magkisap,***s ee:* **kisap.**
winnow *v.* **magtap,** *see:* **tap;**
v. **magtar-ap,** *see:* **tar-ap.**
winter *n.* **aridid.**
wipe *v.* **nasnasan,** *see:* **nasnas;**
v. **magtelad,***s ee:* **telad.**
withered *adj.* **makatang,***se e:* **katang.**
woman *n.* **babakat;**
n. **babbey;**
n. **bakas;**
n. **kallopas;**
n. **madiket.**
woodborer *n.* **bukbuk.**
woods *n.* **amogud;**
n. **parabin;**
n. **talon.**
work *v.* **mageryok,** *see:* **eryok.**
worm *n.* **urad.**
worried *adj.* **maburong,***s ee:* **burong.**
wounded *adj.* **matellas,** *see:* **tellas;**
v. **matalingo,** *see:* **talingo.**
wrap *v.* **magbaknag,** *see:* **baknag;**
v. **ikobil,***se e:* **kobil;**
v. **magpusot,** *see:* **pusot;**
v. **irekos,** *see:* **rekos.**
wring *v.* **pakkalan,** *see:* **pakkal;**
v. **paspasan,** *see:* **paspas;**
v. **pesan,** *see:* **pes-an.**
wrinkled *adj.* **kokombat;**
adj. **nakumal-kumal,** *see:* **kumal-kumal;**
adj. **nakupal-kupal,***se e:* **kupal-kupal.**
wrist *n.* **pongotan.**
write *v.* **magkilu-kiluy,** *see:* **kilu-kiluy.**
wrong *adj.* **madukas,** *see:* **dukas.**

Y - y

yam	*n.* **amakay;**	yesterday	*n.* **nakkapon.**
	n. **bey;**	yet	*adv.* **-pala;**
	n. **ilos;**		*adv.* **-pat.**
	n. **inibi;**	you	*pron.* **hikam;**
	n. **mapet;**		*pron.* **hikaw;**
	n. **putalo;**		*pron.* **-ka;**
	n. **sigeg;**		*pron.* **-kam;**
	n. **ubi.**		*pron.* **-mo;**
yard	*n.* **baggaw.**		*pron.* **-moy;**
yawn	*v.* **maguwab,** *see:* **uwab.**		*pron.* **nikam;**
year	*n.* **kemokasan;**		*pron.* **nikaw.**
	n. **kassinag,** *see:* **sinag.**	youngest	*n.* **dilukod.**
yell	*v.* **magkaraw,** *see:* **karaw.**	your	*pron.* **-mo;**
yes	— **oni.**		*pron.* **-moy.**

Z - z

zigzagged	*adj.* **malipodpod,** *see:* **alipodpod.**

Appendix B: Texts

In this section, I have transcribed and interlinearized two texts. The audio for these texts is available from the PARADISEC archive and is also included as .wav files associated with this dissertation. The file for the first text (autobiography) is named LR1-062406-A, whereas the second text (about a woman in a tree) is LR1-062406-02.

In recording both texts, the only instructions to the speaker were to "tell a story" (Dupaningan *mag-buybuy*). The first 'story' is actually an autobiography of an older man. It was recorded where he lived in Bolos Point. In the first few lines the text is scattered, as the speaker appears to be deciding on the topic. After a few lines, he settles on an autobiographical text. The second story is a fictional piece about a woman who gets stuck in a tree.

For both texts, I first recorded the audio. The primary informant for this work was the assistant for transcribing the texts, although he is not the speaker of either text. Since he is not literate, I would play the audio for him, and he would say the Dupaningan back to me very slowly. What I wrote was what he told me rather than what was on the audio. After we finished transcribing the text in that manner, I would have him translate line for line into Ilokano. I then constructed the English translations based on my knowledge of the Dupaningan and his Ilokano translation.

For the first text, the version that appears here is one that I subsequently re-transcribed from the audio. I chose this text because it authentically represents the amount of code-switching and Ilokano borrowing that is usually present in spontaneous Dupaningan speech. To highlight this fact, Ilokano words have been presented in bold face.

For the second text, I present two versions here. The first I re-transcribed myself based on the audio. The second version of this story is the version that my informant had me transcribe. There are a number of differences between the two versions. As one might expect, the audio version contains numerous false starts that are edited out of the other version. The reader will also notice that the audio version contains many instances of the filler *kua* or *kuan* which loosely translates as 'whatchamacallit', but can undergo affixation and can substitute for any part of speech in addition to simply serving as a filler. I have translated it 'you know' in the free translations but as 'whatchamacallit' in the interlinear glossing.

In the fictional story, the reader will notice numerous instances of the hearsay particle *=kan* (see section 4.7.3.3.3), which simply indicates that the speaker does not have direct knowledge of the events taking place. I have glossed this HSY for 'hearsay' in the interlinear glossing, but omitted this information in the free translation rather than using 'they say' or 'it is said' because it would be distracting to the English reader.

It should further be noted that in both texts, the speakers tend to use the unmarked incompletive aspect far more often than the completive, even for events that take place in the past. I have tried to reflect this in the free translations, but in order to preserve the narrative flow, I have occasionally had to use English past tense to reflect a verb that was presented in the incompletive in Dupaningan.

Since these texts are part of an oral tradition, there are references to the environment of the speaker that are lost in text versions. One obvious instance of such problems is in the use of deictics. The autobiographical text contains many instances of 'here' that refer to Bolos Point where it was recorded, and these have generally been noted in parentheses.

Another instance is in the fictional story, where the speaker points to his body, a fact lost in the audio recording. The following two sentences are from the audio transcription of the story.

75. hen he..hen hakuna na he...kua a...laman=a
stay sta...stay 3SG.LFNOM GEN here...whatchamacallit uh...pig=SPC
'The pig was, you know, here.'

76. hen=bi ha...hakuna na he kabanga=na=a
stay=also 3SG.LFNOM GEN here spouse=3SG.GEN=SPC
'His wife was here.'

In order to make sense of the story, the informant helping to transcribe the previous sentences gave the following translations.

61. hen ha addag i kabanga=na
stay OBL back DEF spouse=3SG.GEN
'His wife was on his back.'

62. pag-hen i rakaw=na laman
NLZR-stay DEF chest=3SG.GEN pig
'The pig was on his chest.'

Moreover, Dupaningan speakers use references in their environment to indicate the ages of characters in a story. Since numerical age is not always known to Dupaningan individuals, the age of a young character in a story might be referred to by indicating that the character is the same size as someone who is listening, although there are no instances of such references in the texts provided here.

We can also see in these texts that the address term *agay* 'friend' appears on numerous occasions where it is not referring to any individual in the story. In these cases, *agay* seems to be addressed to the audience.

Finally, it should be noted that the fictional story presented here exemplifies the use, albeit somewhat limited, of the sequential forms which are discussed in section 4.3.5.

Text 1

This transcription is based on an audio file that is available from the PARADISEC archive as file LR1-062406-A. In the first few lines, the speaker appears to be settling on a topic to discuss, but he eventually decides on an autobiography. It was recorded by an older man living in Bolos Point, who speaks a dialect of Dupaningan where /r/ and /h/ have generally merged as /h/. The phone /r/ only appears in this text in Ilokano words, place names, and, oddly, the word *garsat* 'cut', which does not appear to be of Ilokano origin. Ilokano words are in **bold**.

1. ista-**istoria**[1] a **panggep** ha p<in>ag-isan
   REDUP-**story** LK **about** OBL <CMPL>-NLZR-**camp**
   'A story about camping.'

2. **ta** hen=kami heye hikuna hen=kami heye
   because live=1PL.EXC.NOM here 3SG.LFNOM live=1PL.EXC.NOM here
   'We live here; we live here.'

3. no ma-kuwa=mi... mag-ba-buybuy=kami ha apon
   if ACD-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.GEN... AV-MULT-story=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL afternoon
   'If we, you know, we tell stories in the afternoon.'

4. ngay=kami mag-isan
   go=1PL.EXC.NOM AV-camp
   'We go to camp out.'

5. no mag-isan=kitam Ngahotnot kon=di
   if AV-camp=1PL.INC.NOM Ngahotnot say=3PL.GEN
   'If we all go to camp at Ngahotnot, they said.'

6. ha malledum, **ag-rubbuat**=kami
   OBL morning **AV-commence.journey**=1PL.EXC.NOM
   'In the morning, we get ready to leave,'

[1] Spanish *historia* via Ilokano.

7. hen=kami mag-isan ha Ngahotnot
stay=1PL.EXC.NOM AV-camp OBL Ngahotnot
'we stay to camp at Ngahotnot.'

8. ito a Ngahotnot a naden na **karayan**=bi=la=ni Tabugan
it LK Ngahotnot LK name GEN **river**=also=just=GEN.DEF Tabugan
'This Ngahotnot is just the name of a river of Tabugan,'

9. i **napan**-an=mi
DEF **CMPL\go**-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'where we went.'

10. ne-songot-an ni essa a kami=bi ha ngangay
CMPL.ACD.TV-hunger-LV PERS one LK 1PL.EXC.NOM=also OBL long.ago
'One of us was hungry in those days.'

11. **ta** **man-manu**=man i **bagas** hidi a bilun-an=tam
because REDUP-**how.many**=CONTRASTIVE DEF rice PL LK provision=LV=1PL.INC.GEN
'Because there wasn't much rice for us to eat.'

12. **mang-gapu** **ta** awan=kami ha bilun-an
AV-**origin** **because** NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL provision=LV
'Because we didn't have much to eat.'

13. enta=mi (h)a ta-sigeg he talon,
see=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL DIM-yam OBL.DEF forest,
'We see a small yam in the forest,'

14. ito=dala i pang-apon=mi
it=already\just DEF NMLZ-afternoon=1PL.EXC.GEN
'that would just be our lunch.'

15. awan make-kuwa=**gamin** hidi ha ta-laman
NEG ABIL.TV-whatchamacallit=**so** 3PL.NOM OBL DIM-pig
'They can't, you know (catch), a small pig.'

16. ay **ket** **anus**-an=mi a ta-ngalgnal-an to sigeg=aya
? **and** **endure**-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN LK DIM-chew-LV it yam=that
'and so we endure chewing on that yam.'

17. <um>ales=kami=manon hito ha ka-ugma-an=a
<AV>move=1PL.EXC.NOM=again there OBL NMLZ-morning-LV=SPC
'We move again that morning.'

18. **mapan**=kami=manon=dan ha ni Karsok
AV.**go**=1PL.EXC.NOM=again=already OBL PERS Karsok
'We go again to Karsok.'

19. **ma-dan-danon**=mi **inggana** ha **sinungsungan** na Dugmun
ACD-REDUP-**reach**=1PL.EXC.GEN **until** OBL **headwaters** GEN Dugmun
'We get as far as the headwaters of Dugmun,'

20. konna Tanglagan
like Tanglagan
'near Tanglagan.'

21. make-kuwa=kami=n hito ha laman
ABIL.TV-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.NOM=already there OBL pig
'There we, you know (catch), pigs.'

22. no make-kengwa i malupoy=heya hidi ha duwa,
if ABIL.TV-catch DEF old.man=SPC PL OBL two,
'If the old men can catch two,'

23. mag-soli=kami a bilay=mi
AV-return=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL house=1PL.EXC.GEN
'we go back to our house.'

24. **ta** ka-hen-an=mi=bi,
because NLZR-live-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN=also,
'Because our residence,'

25. hen=kami ha ba-bilay-an ha Kalosit
live=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL REDUP-house-LV OBL Kalosit
'We were living at the settlement at Kalosit.'

26. ha kuwan=ayo pag-huweng-an[2] na Dadelugen
OBL whatchamacallit=that NLZR-river.fork-LV GEN Dadelugen
'At you know, the fork in the Dadelugen river.'

[2] The root *huweng* is not in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because its definition could not be confirmed.

27. **gapu ta ma-amit-an**=kami=n a kemokasan
reason because ACD-**overtake-LV**=1PL.EXC.NOM=already OBL new.year
'Because the new year overtook us again,'

28. **mapan**=kami=manon=dan ha kuwa na Baggao=manon=ayo
AV.go=1PL.EXC.NOM=again=already OBL whatchamacallit GEN Baggao=again=that
'We go again to you know, over there to Baggao again,'

29. kuwa na Daligadid
whatchamacallit gen Daligadid
'you know, Daligadid'

30. **na-bayag**=kami=manon (hi)to,
ADJ-long.time=1PL.EXC.NOM=again there
'We were there a long time again.'

31. **siyempre**[3] maka-kassinag maka-ahidid=kami hito hanggan ha kassinag
of.course CONT?-summer CONT?-winter=1PL.EXC.NOM there until OBL summer
'Of course, we summer, we winter there until summer.'

32. <um>abot=kami ha katbigew
<AV>reach=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL fall
'The fall comes (lit., we reach the fall).'

33. mag-silak=kami ha lati
AV-cut=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL rattan
'We cut rattan.'

34. i-sulet=mi ha **bagas**
TV-trade=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL **rice**
'We trade (the rattan) for rice.'

35. **ken** mag-angkat=kami **ta** atoy to **setgan**[4]=dan **idi**
and AV-hunt.without.dogs=1PL.EXC.NOM **because** EXT it **shotgun=already** PST
'And we hunt without dogs because there were shotguns already then.'

36. **setgan** i pag-angkat na kakpal **ispoketa**[5]
shotgun DEF NLZR-hunt GEN group **shotgun**
'Shotgun was the hunting tool of the group, shotgun.'

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[3] Spanish 'always' via Tagalog 'of course' via Ilokano
[4] English 'shotgun', presumably borrowed into Ilokano first
[5] From Spanish, presumably via Ilokano, although it is not in the modern Ilokano dictionary.

37. hikuna ito i i-sulet ha...**comporme**[6]**...bagas, hamet, ulas,**
3SG.LFNOM it DEF TV-trade OBL **whatever rice** clothes blanket
'This (the meat) was traded for, whatever, rice, clothes, blankets,'

38. konna hito, ngamin a **bado,** **pantalon**[7]
like obl.it all LK clothes pants
'like that, all kinds of clothes, pants.'

39. **idi** nangabanga=ak=dan **ne-kamang**=ak=dan ha Peñablanca
PST AV\spouse=1SG.NOM=already ACD.TV-move.to.spouse=1SG.NOM=already OBL Peñablanca
'When I got married, I moved to Peñablanca.'

40. hikuna ito i ka-hen-an ni bakas=ko=a
3SG.LFNOM it DEF NLZR-live-LV PERS wife=1SG.GEN=SPC
'That was where my wife lived.'

41. naka-lima a kassinag=ko ha Peñablanca
CMPL.CONT?-five LK summer=1SG.GEN OBL Peñablanca
'I spent five summers in Peñablanca.'

42. **d<in>an-danon-ø**=ko=pat i dilan a **mapan** ha Dakal a Bulos
<CMPL>REDUP-reach-PV=1SG.GEN=still DEF road LK **AV.go** OBL Large LK Bulos
'I arrived at the road going to Big Bolos.'

43. kuwan a Bayabat a **kona**=n=di didiya=na
whatchamacallit LK Bayabat LK **say**=already=3PL.GEN upstream=3SG.GEN
'You know, upstream at Bayabat, they said (i.e., they suggested going upstream to a place called Bayabat).'

44. ito i nang-kuwan=ko ha kallap
it DEF CMPL.AV-whatchamacallit=1SG.GEN OBL night
'That is where I, you know, at night.'

45. <imm>abot ha **sangagasut**
<AV.CMPL>reach OBL **one.hundred**
'It reached one hundred…'

[6] Spanish via Ilokano
[7] Spanish via Ilokano

46. i na-alap i essa nikami ha pag-a-kallap a mag-**lait**[8] ha iget
DEF ACD.CMPL-get DEF one 1PL.EXC.OBL OBL NLZR-?-night LK AV-**light** OBL eel
'...that one of us would get from going out at night to fish for eels with a flashlight.'

47. hikuna 'to[9] i **i-lako=mi=bi** a **mapan** ha Kamaset ha Tuguegerao
3SG.LFNOM it DEF TV-**sell**=1PL.EXC.GEN=also LK AV.**go** OBL Kamaset[10] OBL Tuguegerao
'That is what we sell going to Kamaset in Tugueguerao.'

48. hakuna[11] (hi)to i **pag-lako-an**
3SG.LFNOM there DEF **NLZR-sell-LV**
'That is the selling place.'

49. no awan, **mapan**=kami ha **minanga**=ay, Dodan
if NEG AV.**go**=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL **river.mouth**=SPC Dodan
'If not, we go to the mouth of the river, Dodan.'

50. ito i **ket** angay-an=mi, hanggan ha **minanga**
it DEF ? go-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN until OBL **river.mouth**
'That is where we go, to the mouth of the river'

51. no ma-segkat=kami **mapan** ha Kaggay ha Tueguegerao
if ADJ-lazy=1PL.EXC.NOM AV.**go** OBL Kaggay[12] OBL Tuguegerao
'If we don't feel like going to...Kaggay in Tuguerao'

52. **ma-gapu ta** na atoy=kami=n ha anak=dan hito
ADJ-reason because because EXT=1PL.EXC.NOM=already OBL child=already there
'Because we had a child already there,'

53. i bakas=ko=a
DEF wife=1SG.GEN=SPC
my wife did'

54. <**imm**>ales=ak=manon, **napan**=ak=manon Malibu
<CMPL.AV>move=1SG.NOM=again AV.**CMPL.go**=1SG.NOM=again Malibu
'I moved again, I went again to Malibu.'

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[8] From English *light*, Dupaningan *mag-la?it* means to fish at night with a flashlight.
[9] A shortened form of the anaphoric pronoun *ito*.
[10] Dupaningan *kamaset* could be a common noun with an unknown definition.
[11] The third person long-form pronoun *hikuna* is occasionally realized as *hakuna*, as in this example.
[12] Dupaningan *kaggay* could be a common noun with an unknown definition.

55. awan=ko=dan a ma-ko-kuwan i s<um>oli ha daddakal=ko
NEG=1SG.GEN=already LK ACD-REDUP-whatchamacallit DEF <AV>return OBL parents=1SG.GEN
'I wasn't, you know (thinking about), returning to my parents'

56. na **manga**[13] na-abot-an=ko=manon=dan
because **approximately** ACD.CMPL-reach-LV=1SG.GEN=again=already

i **uppat** nga ahidid=ko ha Balikog
DEF **four** LK winter=1SG.GEN OBL Valley.Cove

'I reached some four winters again at Valley Cove.'

57. en=mi=bi **pag-lako-an** ha **bagas,**
go=1PL.EXC.GEN=also **NLZR-sell-LV** OBL **rice**
'We would go to sell rice,'

58. **d<um>anon**=kami Maconacon
<AV>reach=1PL.EXC.NOM Maconacon
'We would get to Maconacon, (some 25 miles south of Valley Cove)'

59. **ngem** awan=bi **por**[14] **salup** hito i **pag-lako**=di **bagas**
but NEG=also **by salup** there DEF **NLZR-sell**=3PL.GEN **rice**
'But their sale of rice there isn't by salup (measurement equivalent to three liters)'

60. no awan **por** **kilo**
if NEG **by** **kilo**
'but by kilo.' (sale by kilo is generally assumed to be less advantageous to the seller)

61. **anus**-an=met a awan=kami=man ha ma-bikan a **pag-lako-an**
endure-LV=? LK NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM=CONTRASTIVE OBL ADJ-near LK **NLZR-sell-LV**
'We just endure the fact that we are not near the selling place'

62. lal-lakad-an=mi
REDUP-walk-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'We would walk,'

63. **matdug**[15]=kami=pat dila-dilan=aye a **nag-lako** ha Maconacon
ACD\sleep=1PL.EXC.NOM=still REDUP-road=this LK **CMPL.AV-sell** OBL Maconacon
'we would still sleep here on the roads going to sell in Maconacon.'

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[13] From Tagalog *manga* (written mga), a plural marker which can be used to mark approximate numbers.
[14] From Spanish via Ilokano
[15] Most likely a loan from Pahanan Agta (also known as Palanan Dumagat).

64. **naka-labas** ha....**ma-danun-an** i meka-appat a kassinag
CMPL.CONT-pass OBL **ACD-reach-LV** DEF ORD-five LK summer
'It passed by....the fifth summer came.'

65. nag-soli=ak ha Bulos=aye
CMPL.AV-return=1SG.NOM OBL Bulos=this
'I came back here to Bolos (i.e., Small Bolos, also known as Bolos Point).'

66. **kasdiay=latta,** **han-hanting**[16]...a...mag-**kalap**,
like.that=just **REDUP-hunting**.uh...AV-**fish**
'It's like that, hunting…uh….fishing,'

67. **pasaray** **mapan**=kami ha diget=a
sometimes **AV.go**=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL ocean=SPC
'sometimes we go to the ocean.'

68. no ma-kuwa=kami=manon=dan hito i diget=dan=aye
if ACD-whatchamcallit=1PL.EXC.NOM=again=already there DEF ocean=already=this
'If we, you know (get tired of) the ocean again,'

69. no ahidid **mapan**=kami ha Magi
if winter **AV.go**=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL Magi
'If it's winter, we go to Magi.'

70. Osogen i en=mi pag-isan-an
Osogen DEF go=1PL.EXC.GEN NLZR-camp-LV
'Osogen is where we camp.'

71. **pasaray** maka-kuwa=kami ha lima a laman **wenno** ogsa
sometimes ABIL-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL five LK pig **or** deer
'Sometimes we, you know (catch), five pigs or deer.'

72. no awan ogsa, buhog
if NEG deer monkey
'If not deer, monkey'

73. konna hito i ma-kuwa=mi, hi pag-isan-an=mi
like OBL.it DEF ACD-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL.DEF NLZR-camp-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'Our, you know (work), was like that at our camp.'

[16] From English *hunting*, this means hunting without dogs.

74. i ta-kuwa=la...essa=la a ta-nagngipan[17]
DEF DIM-whatchamacallit=just…one=just LK DIM-piglet
'Just one...small little piglet.'

75. i-kabus=mi=**latta**,
TV-finish=1PL.EXC.GEN=**just**
'We just finish it off,'

76. **manga pasaray sangapulo=kami en d<um>ayo a mag-isan**
approximately sometimes ten=1PL.EXC.NOM go <AV>stay.and.work LK AV-camp
'sometimes there are about ten of us that go to work and camp over.'

77. meka-lima=a i-kabus=mi=la ito i essa=aya a laman
ORD-five=SPC TV-finish=1PL.EXC.GEN=just it DEF one=that LK pig
'The fifth; we finish it off, that one pig.'

78. lima=bi=ay i i-soli=mi
five=also=SPC DEF TV-return=1PL.EXC.GEN
'We bring back five.'

79. **bagas**=mi **idi** mapet, bey,
rice=1PL.EXC.GEN **PST** bitter.yam yam.type
'Yams were our staple food then.'

80. i pang-i-kuwan=**met**
DEF NLZR-TV-whatchamacallit=**though**

ta awan=man hidi ha ug-ogden=pa he
because NEG=CONTRASTIVE PL OBL REDUP-Ilokano=still here
'It was, you know, because there were still no Ilokanos here.'

81. mag-sikaw=kami=bi
AV-swidden.farm=1PL.EXC.NOM=also
'We swidden farm too.'

82. **ta** ta-ballek i ta-ma-sikaw-an=mi
because DIM-small DEF DIM-ACD-swidden-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'Our little swidden farms were very small,'

[17] The form *nagngipan* 'piglet' does not appear in the vocabulary (Appendix A) because while speakers agreed that this referred to a small pig, they did not agree whether the term was referred specifically to female piglets or all piglets in general.

83. **ta**[18] mula-an=mi ha **kahoy,** kamosi
because plant-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL **cassava** sweet.potato
'because we planted cassava and sweet potato.'

84. **na-gapu** **ta** awan=kami ha pang-mula **idi** ha pahay
CMPL.ACD-reason **because** NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL NLZR-plant **PST** OBL rice.plant
'Because we didn't have the tools to plant rice (i.e., rice seeds) then,'

85. **ta** awan=**pay** **idi** ha pahay **idi** ma-mula lampad-an
because NEG=**still** **PST** OBL rice.plant **PST** ACD-plant dry.rice-LV
'There still wasn't rice then to plant dry rice fields.'

86. **ta** **anus**-an=mi **kahoy** a **tay** mula
because **endure**-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN **cassava** LK **that** crop
'We endure having cassava as a crop.'

87. **idi** **na-danun-an**=manon a kuwa
PST **CMPL.ACD-reach-LV**=again LK whatchamacallit
'When the, you know (change of season), came again,'

88. **napan**=kami=manon ha Gonzaga
CMPL.AV.go=1PL.EXC.NOM=again OBL Gonzaga
'We went to Gonzaga again.'

89. **manga** lima=manon (hi)to a kassinag=mi
approximately five=again there LK summer=1PL.EXC.GEN
'We were there about another five summers.'

90. awan=kami=la ha **sabali** a pag-kuwan, awan=bi=la lati
NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM=just OBL **different** LK NLZR-whatchamacallit NEG=also=just rattan
'We didn't have anything else, to you know (sell), except rattan.'

91. **ta** **ado**=bi=la i mag-pa-lati hidi ha ngangay ha Gonzaga
because **many**=also=just DEF AV-CAUS-rattan PL OBL long.ago OBL Gonzaga
'There were many people collecting rattan in the old days in Gonzaga.'

92. **manga** lima **nga** kassinag=mi hito ha Gonzaga
approximately five **LK** summer=1PL.EXC.GEN there OBL Gonzaga
'We were about five summers there in Gonzaga.'

[18] This *ta* could be either be either a complementizer *ta mula-an* 'because we plant' or a diminutive prefix *ta-mula-an* 'we plant a little'.

93. **pagkatapos**[19], mag-**gapu** **ta** atoy=dan
afterwards AV-**reason** **because** EXT=already

i tagi-tag-issa=n ihe=dan a ogden=dan
DEF REDUP-DSTR-one=already here=already LK Ilokano=already

'Then, because there are now just as many Ilokanos here (as Agta),'

94. katandi-an=mi a mag-sikaw=bi=dan ihe, Bulos=aye
know-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN LK AV-swidden=also=already here Bolos=this
'We also understand how to swidden farm here, here in Bolos.'

95. i **ket**... konna=s (hi)to=noman agay,
DEF and like=hopefully OBL.it=ASRT friend
'And hopefully, like that, my friend,'

96. kalan-an=tam=bi=dan hito i mag-sikaw
copy-LV=1PL.INC.GEN=also=already there DEF AV-swidden
'we can all copy the swidden farming (i.e., of the Ilokanos).'

97. **o mesa nga**... na-kuwa=mi=bi=dan i mag-sikaw=bi
or one LK ACD.CMPL-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.GEN=also=already DEF AV-swidden=also
'or one, we can, you know, the swidden farming too.'

98. ay **ke(t)** dinto[20] **nga** ogden nag-gipu hidi (h)a Marag
? **and** those LK Ilokano CMPL.AV-originate 3PL.NOM OBL Marag
'Those Ilokanos, they came from Marag.'

99. didinto i nag-alap-an=mi
those DEF CMPL.AV-get-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN

ha **bin?i**=mi **nga** ni-mula=mi heye
OBL **seed**=1PL.EXC.GEN **LK** CMPL.TV-plant=1PL.EXC.GEN here

'They were the ones who us got the seeds that we planted here.'

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[19] From Tagalog

[20] The expected plural far demonstrative pronoun is *daginto*; this form appears to have been shortened, and the one in the following sentence has *d* instead of the expected *g*.

100. **ma-gapu** **ta** **masansansan**
ACD-reason **because** **frequently**

konna hito a **napintas**=la ito a **ma-apit**=mi
like OBL.it LK **good**=just it LK **ACD-harvest**=1PL.EXC.GEN
'Because our harvests were frequently good like that,'

101. **i-law-lawa-an**=mi=bi=**ngarud**=dan nag-sikaw
TV-REDUP-wide-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN=also=then=already CMPL.AV-swidden
'So we enlarged our swidden farms.'

102. **ta** **imbag**=la kuwan=tam no ahidid
because **good**=just whatchamcacallit=1PL.INC.GEN if winter
'It's good, our, you know, in the winter'

103. mag-biyu=kami **ta** awan=man ha **kiskisan**
AV-mill=1PL.EXC.NOM **because** NEG=CONTRASTIVE OBL **milling.machine**
'We mill the rice by hand because there was no rice milling machine.'

104. **imbag**=dan ayenan **ta** atoy=dan=bas i **kiskisan**
good=already now **because** EXT=already=hopefully DEF **milling.machine**
'It is good now that there is a rice milling machine.'

105. mang-kuwa=kami ha **alsung**=mi pag-biyu-an ha kamat
AV-whatchamcallit=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL **mortar**=1PL.EXC.GEN NLZR-mill-LV OBL hand
'We, you know, a mortar to mill by hand.'

106. **ket** no make-kuwa=kami ha laman ay **ket**
and if ABIL.TV-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL pig ? **so**[21]
'And if we, you know (catch) a pig, well then,'

107. **dakkel** i **pag-yaman-an**=mi **idi** **ta** atoy **ta-bagas**
large DEF **NLZR-thank-LV**=1PL.EXC.GEN **PST** **because** EXT DIM-**rice**
'We were very thankful then because there was a bit of rice.'

108. mag-biyag=kami=bi=dan=bas
AV-full=1PL.EXC.NOM=also=already=hopefully
'We got full then.'

[21] Ilokano *ket* has a variety of meanings, including "and; although; but; resultative conjunction, so" and a marker of an inverted predicate (Rubino 2000).

109. awan konna **idi** **nga** ta-h<um>ama=kami a ta-<um>abbag
NEG like **PST** **LK** DIM-<AV>pass.out=1PL.EXC.NOM LK DIM<AV>lie.down
'Not like before when we would just pass out as soon as we lie down (i.e. because we were weak with hunger),'

110. no awan=kami **idi** make-kuwa ha laman
if NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM **PST** ABIL.TV-whachamacallit OBL pig
'if we didn't, you know (catch), a pig.'

111. **imbag**=dan ayenan
good=already now
'It's good now'

112. **ta** makpal=dan=bas i katandi-an=dan ni agta a **mag-talon**
because much=already=hopefully DEF know-LV=already GEN.DEF agta LK AV-**farm**
'because the Agta have a lot of knowledge about farming,'

113. **mag-ra?ep** **ken** mag-mula ha lampad-an ay **ket**
AV-**transplant** **and** AV-plant OBL dry.rice-LV ? **so**
'transplanting and planting dry rice fields, and..'

114. **dakkel**=dan=bas ayenan i pag-kuwa=mi=a...
large=already=hopefully now DEF NLZR-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.GEN=SPC
'Our, you know, now is huge,'

115. atoy=dan i **nag-baliw-an**=dan a agta=n
EXT=already DEF **CMPL.AV-change-LV**=already LK agta=already
'There's been a change now for the Agta.'

116. awan konna **idi** (h)a ngangay a mag-ke-songot
NEG like **PST** OBL long.ago LK AV-?-hunger
'It's not like in the old days of going hungry.'

117. i **trabaho**[22]=mi=dan ayenan mag-lati
DEF **work**=1PL.EXC.GEN=already now AV-rattan
'Our work now is cutting rattan.'

[22] From Spanish via Tagalog via Ilokano. Ilokano originally borrowed Spanish [trabaxo] as [tarabako] because it does not have an /h/ phoneme, whereas Tagalog borrowed Spanish [trabaxo] with an /h/. Modern Ilokano speakers, especially those familiar with Tagalog, prefer the version with /h/, and the Dupaningan speaker here is drawing on that version.

118. **ta** atoy=man=bi=dan i **mayat=a** hidi a **mang-tulong=bi** ha agta
because EXT=CONTRASTIVE=also DEF **AV.want=SPC** PL LK **AV-help=also** OBL agta
'There are also people who want to help the Agta.'

119. **dakkel** a **pag-yaman-an=mi** ha **apo** **dios**[23]
large LK **NLZR-thank-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN** OBL **sir** **god**
'We are very thankful to God.'

120. **ta** **ma-tulong-an=bi=kami** ayenan
because **ACD-help-LV=also=1PL.EXC.NOM** now
'Because we are being helped now.'

121. hikuna=bi=dan (i)to=dan ayenan i paka-i-lapos=mi=bi ha lati
3SG.LFNOM=also=already it=already now DEF ?-TV-outside=1PL.EXC.GEN=also OBL rattan
'He is the one who brings out the rattan for us'

122. ogden=dan hidi ayenan, kakpal, **pasaray**=dan a maka-ingal hidi
Ilokano=already PL now group **sometimes**=already LK CONT?-angry 3PL.NOM
'The Ilokanos now, some of them, sometimes they get angry.'

123. ay **ket** ma-nakam=mi,
? **and** ACD-think=1PL.EXC.GEN
'And we are thinking,'

124. **medyo**[24] **mayat** i p<in>ag-i-lapos=mi ha lati ay **ket**
somewhat **AV.want** DEF <CMPL>NLZR-TV-out=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL rattan ? **so**
'it would be kind of nice for us to bring out the rattan'

125. **sar-sarili**=mi=bi=dan i mag-i-lapos=dan ayenan ha lati
REDUP-own=1PL.EXC=also=already DEF AV-TV-out=already now OBL rattan
'Now we bring out the rattan by ourselves.'

126. **sa** **ng<um>ina**=bi=dan i balli=na
then **<AV>expensive**=also=already DEF payment=3SG.GEN
'Then the payment is higher.'

127. **ado** i ma-alap=mi diget=a
much DEF ACD-get=1PL.EXC.GEN sea=SPC
'There's a lot we get from the sea.'

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[23] *Dios* 'god' is a Spanish loan into Ilokano, and *apo* is an Ilokano term meaning 'sir' (cf., Dupaningan *hapu*). The phrase *apo dios* is a single item used today in Ilokano to refer to the Christian God.
[24] Spanish *medio* 'half' via Tagalog 'half, somewhat' via Ilokano.

128. **panggep**=dan ha ayenan
plan=already OBL now
'The plan nowadays,'

129. mag-bahot=kami
AV-fish=1PL.EXC.NOM
'We go fishing.'

130. **i-lako**=mi
TV-sell=1PL.EXC.GEN
'We sell (that).'

131. no awan=mi **i-lako** heye[25], lapos[26]=mi ha lapos,
if NEG=1PL.EXC.GEN **TV-sell** here outside=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL outside
'If we don't sell here, we take it out to town'

132. ay **ket dakkel** i **pag-yaman-an**=mi **ta** dakal i balli=na
? **and large** DEF **NLZR-thank-LV**=1PL.EXC.GEN **because** large DEF payment=3SG.GEN
'And we are very thankful because the payment is high.'

133. **iso.nga** awan=kami=n ayenan=dan a **ag-rigat**=dan
so NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM=already now=already LK **AV-difficult**=already
'That's why we aren't suffering now.'

134. ngamin i sulawan hidi **buteng**[27]
all DEF mollusk PL **?**
'All of the mollusks and ?'

135. a... ngamin na kuwa=dan
uh... all GEN whatchamacallit=already

ni diget a...asak=na alap-an=mi
GEN.DEF sea filling=3SG.GEN GET-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'All of the you know, from the sea...things that we get' (lit., 'filling that we get').'

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[25] The expected form for 'here' is *ihe* or *he*. It is not clear if there is a difference in meaning is when the form is *heye*.
[26] This is probably a shortened form of the theme voice verb; that is, the prefix *i-* has been omitted.
[27] The Agta assistant who helped transcribe this story gave *butbuteng* in his Ilokano translation, but I could not find it in a dictionary (Ilokano *buteng* is 'fear'). Tagalog *buteteng laot* is a porcupine fish (Broad, 2003: 371), which seems a more likely candidate.

136. **ta** hikuna ito i i-lapos=mi ha lapos=ayo
because 3SG.LFNOM it DEF TV-outside=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL outside=that
'We take these out to town.'

137. da-dakal=dan i ma-enta=mi a **dakkel** i balli=na
REDUP-large=already DEF ACD-see=1PL.EXC.GEN LK **large** DEF payment=3SG.GEN
'We see a higher payment.'

138. **iso.nga** kay-kayat=mi ni-lapo..**ruar**[28]=dan i **pag-i-lako-an**
SO REDUP-want=1PL.EXC.GEN CMPL-TV-outsid-outside=already DEF NLZR-TV-sell-LV
'This is why we prefer to take things out to market (lit., the selling place).'

139. **ta** **dak-dakkel**=dan i ma-kuwa=mi
because REDUP-**large**=already DEF ACD-whatchamacallit
'Because the you know (payment) is higher,'

140. **ta** atoy=dan i **gatang**=mi ha ta-**kape**[29]=mi,
because EXT=already DEF **purchase**=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL DIM-**coffee**=1PL.EXC.GEN
'so there is payment for a little bit of coffee,'

141. **asukar,** **bagas, asin,** **bichin**
sugar **rice** **salt** **MSG**
'Sugar, rice, salt, MSG'

142. ngamin **nga** ta-bi-**biskwit**[30] a ta-kan-an ni 'anak=a[31] hidi
all LK DIM-REDUP-**cracker** LK DIM-eat-PV GEN.DEF children PL
'All of the little crackers that the children eat'

143. ngamin **nga** **kasapulan**=mi=n **ket**
all LK **need**=1PL.EXC.GEN=already **so**
'Everything we need, so'

144. awan=kami=dan=**unay**=dan ayenan **ma-rigat-an**
NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM=already=**very**=already now **ACD-difficult**-LV
'we don't suffer too much now.'

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[28] In this particular example, the speaker begins with the Dupaningan theme voice prefix *ni-* (cf., Ilokano *in-*), continues with the Dupaningan root *lapos* 'outside', but then stops short, and 'corrects' himself to the Ilokano loan *ruar* 'outside', which, as far as I know, is identical in meaning. He has used the Dupaningan *i-lapos* in many of the previous sentences.

[29] Spanish via Ilokano.

[30] From English *biscuit* via Ilokano.

[31] Dupaningan *anak* is singular with final stress and plural with initial stress.

145. ito=la i **dakkel** a **pag-yaman-an**=mi ni **apo dios**
it=just DEF **large** LK **NLZR-thank**-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN PERS **sir god**
'That's why we are very thankful to God.'

146. **ta** awan=kami=n=**unay**=dan a **permi**[32] na **ag-rigat**=dan
because NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM=already=**very**=already LK **always** GEN AV-**difficult**=already
'Because we aren't always suffering too much now.'

147. **ta** **pan-panunut**-an=mi
because **REDUP-think**-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'We are thinking,'

148. no ogden=la hidi i **kanay** **nga** pag-i-atad-en=mi
if Ilokano=just PL DEF **always** LK NLZR-TV-give-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'if it's just the Ilokanos who we are always giving (rattan) to'

149. **ta** bab-ballek=la i pag-balli=bi heye
because REDUP-small=just DEF NLZR-pay=also here
'The payment is lower here'

150. awan konna no i-lapos=mi
NEG like if TV-outside=1PL.EXC.GEN
'It's not like if we take (it) out (i.e., to town).'

151. **pasaray** mamen-tallo=kami a
sometimes MULT-three=1PL.EXC.NOM LK

ag-i-biyahe[33]=dan ayenan ha lati ha **onos** **maka-lawas**
AV-TV-**travel**=already now OBL rattan OBL **during** **CONT?-week**
'Sometimes we take the rattan out three times in one week.'

152. **ket** **ma-dadun-an** i...make-**sangpet**
and **ACD-reach**-LV DEF....ABIL.TV-**arrive**

i...l<um>apos=a hidi no h<um>uar[34]=kami, **ag-lako**
DEF..<AV>outside=SPC PL if <AV>outside=1PL.EXC.NOM AV-**sell**
'And, if the people who go to town arrive.....if we go to town to sell,'

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[32] From Spanish *firme* 'firm' via Ilokano 'usually, often', which comes to mean 'always' in colloquial Ilokano.
[33] From Spanish 'trip' via Tagalog via Ilokano.
[34] This is the Ilokano r<um>uar 'go out, exit, leave', with the Dupaningan sound change r → h (see section 2.2.1.5).

153. **nag-trabaho**=kami=manon=dan ha lati
CMPL.AV-**work**=1PL.EXC.NOM=again=already OBL rattan
'then we work again at the rattan.'

154. **ket no ma-danun-an**=manon nokkan a **p<in>ag-ga-gapas,**
and if ACD-**arrive**-LV=again FUT LK <CMPL>NLZR-REDUP-**harvest**
'And when the harvest season arrives,'

155. **siyempre sardeng**=mi=manon nokkan i mag-**gap**...ay mag-lati,
of.course stop=1PL.EXC.GEN=again FUT DEF AV-**harv**....oh AV-rattan
'of course, we will stop harv...collecting rattan.'

156. mag-**gapas**=kami=manon nokkan
AV-**harvest**=1PL.EXC.NOM=again FUT
'We will harvest again.'

157. **ket** no ahidid=manon nokkan
and if winter=again FUT
'And when it's winter again,'

158. mag-**talon**=kami=manon nokkan
AV-**farm**=1PL.EXC.NOM=again FUT
'We will farm again.'

159. **iso**[35] **i-sardeng**=mi=manon nokkan i lati
so TV-**stop**-1PL.EXC.GEN=again FUT DEF rattan
'So we will stop (collecting) rattan again'

160. **ta** hikuna=manon nokkan to
because 3SG.LFNOM=again FUT it

pang-alap-an=mi ha ta-kan-an=mi
NLZR-get-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL dim-eat-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'Because that's how we will get our little bit of rice again.'

161. no kemokasan=manon=nin a mag-lati
if new.year=again=FUT LK AV-rattan
'when it's the new year again, it will be collecting rattan'

[35] This may be a translation of Dupaningan into Ilokano. In Dupaningan, the comparable pronoun *ito* can be used as a conjunction 'so, for this reason', whereas Ilokano (at least according to the dictionary), requires the linker *nga* to form the phase *iso nga* 'so, for this reason'.

162. **iso.nga** awan=kami=n=**unay** **ma-rigat-an,**
so NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM=already=**very** **ACD-difficult-LV**
'That's why we are not suffering so much'

163. awan konna ha **idi** **un?unana** **nga** awan=pa ha
NEG like OBL **PST** **long.ago** **LK** NEG=still OBL

mayat a **mang-tulong** nikami ha **gubyierno**[36]
AV.want LK **AV-help** 1PL.EXC.OBL OBL **government**
'It's not like in the old days when there still wasn't anyone from the government who wanted to help us.'

164. ay **ket** **dakkel** i **rigat**=mi **idi**
? **and** **large** DEF difficult=1PL.EXC.GEN **PST**
'And we had a lot of difficulties then.'

165. awan konna ayenan a...
NEG like now LK
'Not like now that…'

166. awan=ko=bi i-peta **nga** hikami **ket** **na-rigat**
NEG=1SG.GEN=also TV-say **LK** 1PL.EXC.LFNOM **INVERSION** **ADJ-difficult**
'I'm not saying that we are the poor ones,'

167. im ta-atoy=dan i ta-ballek i ta-ma-kuwa=mi
but DIM-EXT=already DEF DIM-small DEF DIM-ACD-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.GEN
'but that we have a little bit now;'

168. awan=kami=**unay**=dan **ma-rigat-an**
NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM=**very**=already ACD-difficult-LV
'we aren't suffering too much now.'

169. **pasaray** mag-lati=kami he
sometimes AV-rattan=1PL.EXC.NOM here
'Sometimes we collect rattan here,'

170. im ayenan i ka-assap na dinom=aye
but now DEF NLZR-shallow GEN water=this
'But now this water is very shallow.'

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[36] Spanish via Ilokano.

171. ito i atoy=man i abang=mi=n
so DEF EXT=CONTRASTIVE DEF boat=1PL.EXC.GEN=already
'So, we have a boat now.'

172. **kayat**=mi=manon **mapan**=kami ha **abagatan** ayenan
want=1PL.EXC.GEN=again **AV.go**=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL **south** now

mag-garsat ha lati
AV-cut OBL rattan
'We want to go to the south now to cut rattan,'

173. **ta** awan=bi ito i-**unuy**=pala hi dinom=a
because NEG=also it TV-**drift**=still OBL.DEF water=SPC
'because the rattan still isn't being sent downstream on the currents'

[note: rattan is a very long vine and can be heavy. It is cut upstream and can be carried out to the coast if it is cut in relatively small pieces, or it can be floated downstream on a river whole.]

174. **ta** no mag-garsat=kami i-lapos=mi
because if AV-cut=1PL.EXC.NOM TV-ouside=1PL.EXC.GEN
'If we cut (rattan), we take it out,'

175. p<in>utad-p<in>utad-ø=mo=n
<CMPL>cut-<CMPL>cut-PV=2SG.GEN=already
'you chopped it up already (i.e., in small pieces)'

176. ay no ihe i **mapan**=ka=pala ha didiya
? if here DEF **AV.GO**=2SG.NOM=still OBL upstream
'But here, you go upstream,

177. awan=mo=pala me-demat he **sabang**=aye i lati=a
NEG=2SG.GEN=still ACD.TV-arrive here **river.mouth**=this DEF rattan=SPC
'You still won't be able to get the rattan out here to the mouth of the river'

178. **istambay**[37]-an=mo=pala ha **maka-lawas** didiya
loiter-PV=2SG.GEN=still OBL **CONT?-week** upstream
'You are just leaving it there upstream for a week.'

[37] From Englsh *stand by* via Ilokano.

179. **sakbay** nokkan a.... meka-duwa na **lawas,**
before FUT LK.... ORD-two GEN **week**
'Before the second week,'

180. **sakbay nga maka-danon** ha **sabang**=aye **tay** i-bulod=mo
before LK ABIL-**reach** OBL **river.mouth**=this **that** TV-float=2SG.GEN
'before those floating goods of yours can reach the mouth of the river here (i.e, it may be up to two weeks before your rattan will be floated out to the mouth of the river because the water is shallow).'

181. **iso.nga** maka-demat=la nokkan hidi no **inggan** a **huwebes**
so ABIL-arrive=just FUT 3PL.NOM if **until** LK **Thursday**
'That why, if they arrive by Thursday,'

182. **ta** **ti** **balak**[38]=mi=n ayenan
because **the** **plan**=1PL.EXC.GEN=already now

mapan=kami ha **abagatan**=aye a mag-lati
AV.**go**=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL **south**=this LK AV-rattan
'Our plan now is that we will go to the south to collect rattan'

183. **ta** awan=mi to a i-bulu-bulod, awan konna=he **nga**
because NEG=1PL.EXC.GEN it LK TV-REDUP-float NEG like=here LK
'Because if we don't send it downriver, it's not like here where...'

184. **maka-danon**=ka ha apon,
ABIL-**arrive**=2SG.NOM OBL afternoon

awan=ka=pala maka-pag-garsat ha ka-ka-adiyu-an na heye
NEG=2SG.NOM=still ABIL-NLZR-cut OBL NLZR-NLZR-far-LV GEN here
'You can go all day and you still won't be able to cut rattan because it's so far'

185. **iso.nga** atoy n<in>akam-ø=mi
so EXT <CMPL>-think-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'That's why we were thinking...'

186. **mapan**=kitam=pala **abagatan**=ayo
AV.**go**=1PL.INC.NOM=still **south**=that
'We'll all go south first,'

[38] From Tagalog

187. **ta** nokkan=manon nokkan no d<um>akal i dinom=aye no ahidid
because FUT=again FUT if <AV>large DEF water=this if winter
'then in the winter, the water will rise here'

188. ide=kitam=manon nokkan mag-garsat ha lati **kuna-kuna**=mi
this=1PL.INC.NOM=again FUT AV-cut OBL rattan **say-say**=1PL.EXC.GEN
'(and) we will cut this (rattan) again, we are saying.'

189. oni=ay **kuna** i agom=mi=a hidi
yes=? **say** DEF companion=1PL.EXC.GEN=SPC PL
'Our companions agree'

190. **ket** no... ayenan=la i pag-kuwa=tam he **ta**
and if now=just DEF NLZR-whatchamacallit=1PL.INC.GEN here **because**

pang-alap-an=tam ha bilun-an=tam
NLZR-get-LV=1PL.INC.GEN OBL provision-LV=1PL.INC.GEN

kon=mi=man he i agom=mi hidi, oni ay
say=1PL.EXC.GEN=CONTRASTIVE here DEF companion=1PL.INC.GEN PL yes ?
'Right now, our, you know (work), is here because we are getting our food, we said, here; our companions agree.'

191. **ta** **mahal**[39] ito **ta** awan=tam=bi i-bulu-bulod kon=di
because good it **because** NEG=1PL.INC.GEN=also TV-REDUP-float say=3PL.GEN
'This is good because we are not sending (rattan) downriver by the current, they said.'

192. pag-bahut-an=tam ha kuwa
NLZR-fish-LV=1PL.INC.GEN OBL whatchamcallit

ta **imbag nga** i-lapos=tam **dalangdangang**=tam
because good LK TV-outside=1PL.INC.GEN **snapper**=1PL.INC.GEN
'Whatever we catch fishing, it's good that we can take our snappers out (to market),'

193. no make-bahot=kitam ha iget
if ABIL.TV-fish=1PL.INC.NOM OBL eel
'if we are able to catch eel,'

[39] This is either 'expensive' from Tagalog or 'beautiful, good' from Pahanan Agta (aka Palanan Dumagat). The Dupaningan assistant who helped transcribe the story gave the meaning 'good'.

194. **wenno** buha-buhasi **kona** agom=mi=a hidi=ay
or REDUP-mullet **say** companion=1PL.EXC.GEN=SPC PL=SPC
'Or some mullet fish, say our companions.'

195. oni ay **kona** i agom=mi=ay hidi
yes ? **say** DEF companion=1PL.EXC.GEN=SPC PL
'Yes, our companions say'

196. **ta** no **dalangdang** da-dakal i balli=na ta[40] lapos
because if **snapper** REDUP-large DEF pay=3SG.GEN ? outside
'If we catch snappers, the payment is higher in town.'

197. **iso.nga** atoy n<in>akam-ø=mi ha ayenan=dan
so EXT <CMPL>-think-PV=1PL.EXC.GEN OBL now=already
'That's why we are thinking nowadays'

198. awan=kami=**unay** **ma-rigat-an**
NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM=**very** **ACD-difficult-LV**
'We aren't suffering too much.'

199. **ta** no ogden hidi heye **pag-i-lako-an**=mi **sabang**=aye, e..**bario**=aye
because if Ilokano PL here **NLZR-TV-sell-LV**=1PL.EXC.GEN **river.mouth**=this uh..barrio=this
'If we sell to the Ilokanos here at the mouth of the river, here in the barrio,'

200. **minos**[41]-an=di=la i ta-kalbo **wenno** ta-igi-iget
undervalue-PV=3PL.GEN=just DEF DIM-mullet **or** DIM-REDUP-eel
'they pay too little for a small mullet fish or some small eels.'

201. **iso.nga** **kay-kayat**=mi=dan i-lapos=dan
so **REDUP-want**=1PL.EXC.GEN=already TV-outside=already
'That's why we prefer to take them out (to town) now,'

202. **ta** da-dakal=bi=la i balli=na
because REDUP-large=also=just DEF pay=3SG.GEN
because the payment is higher'

203. **uray**=la no awan=kami mag-lati, pag-uray-an=mi
even=just if NEG=1PL.EXC.NOM AV-rattan NLZR-wait-LV=1PL.EXC.GEN
'Even if we don't cut rattan, while we are waiting,'

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[40] The oblique marker *ha* is expected here.
[41] From Spanish *menos* 'less' via Ilokano.

204. **mag-banni?it**=kami he kuwa... **mag-pa-uyas**=kami
AV-**fish.hook**=1PL.EXC.NOM here whatchamacallit...AV-CAUS-**haul**=1PL.EXC.NOM
'We fish (with hooks) here, we haul'

205. ay **ket** da-dakal **nag-lalo**
? **and** REDUP-large **CMPL.AV-especially**

no maka-kuwa=kami ha duwa a **susay**
if ABIL-whatchamacallit=1PL.EXC.NOM OBL two LK **marlin**
'and it's bigger (the payments), especially if we get two marlins,'

206. **sa** duwa **nga** **dorado**
then two LK **tuna**
'then two tuna fish.'

207. ay **ke(t)** da-dakal=dan to, da-dakal=dan i balli=na
? **and** REDUP-large=already it REDUP-large=already DEF pay=3SG.GEN
'It's bigger, the payment is bigger.'

208. **manga** **nag-laku-an**=mi he ha kassinag=heya
approximately **CMPL.AV-sell-LV**=1PL.EXC.GEN here OBL summer=SPC
'This summer, we sold about..'

209. **manga** ta-**u-uppat**=la a ta-duwa ta-susay, essa **dorado** ay..essa **tanggigi,**
approximately DIM-REDUP-four=just LK DIM-two DIM-**marlin** one **tuna** uh.. one mackerel
'About four little ones, just two little marlins, one small tuna, one mackerel,'

210. **manga** **tri-paiv**[42] i balli=na
approximately **three-five** DEF pay=3SG.GEN
'the payment was about 3,500 pesos.'

211. **iso.nga** **kay-kayat**=mi lapos **pag-i-lako-an** ha lutam[43]=a hidi
so **REDUP-want**=1PL.EXC.GEN outside **NLZR-TV-sell-LV** OBL ?=SPC PL
'that's why we prefer to take our goods out (to town) to the *lutam*.'

[42] From English via Ilokano.
[43] When the Dupaningan assistant helped transcribe this story originally, he gave the word *iyu* 'shark' instead of *lutam*, which is what was transcribed from the audio. *Lutam* is not a Dupaningan word I am familiar with, nor is it in the Ilokano or Tagalog dictionaries.

Text 2-A

This is a story about a woman who gets stuck in a tree. The version presented here is based on the recorded audio of the story. The audio is available from the PARADISEC archive as file LR1-063006-02. Ilokano borrowings are indicated in **bold**.

1. kona kan ayun[1]
   say HSY STORY.PARTICLE
   'They say…'

2. mag-kabanga=kan
   AV-spouse=HSY
   'They say (they) got married'

3. ka-kab-kabanga=di=kan duwa
   NLZR-REDUP-spouse=3PL.GEN=HSY two
   'They say the two had just gotten married.'

4. i ulitaw **ken** madiket
   DEF young.man **and** young.woman
   'the young man and young woman.'

5. awan=pala ha ana-anak=di=ay
   NEG=still OBL REDUP-child=3PL.GEN=SPC
   'They didn't have any children yet.'

6. **tatta**
   now
   'now'

7. hen=kitam mag-kuwa…. mag-ilap ha malinganay[2]
   stay=1PL.INC.NOM AV-whatchamacallit AV-get OBL malinganay
   'Let's go uh…get some *malinganay* fruits'

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[1] The phrase *kona kan oyun* (or *kona kan ayun*)is a common way to begin a story, and is as conventionalized as *once upon a time* in English.

[2] A kind of dark-colored edible fruit that grows on trees. Unfortunately, I was never able to see a *malinganay* fruit and my Dupaningan informants claimed that there was no word for this fruit in either Ilokano or Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta, so I have not been able to identify the species.

8. kon=di=kan agom=na hidi a madiket
say=3PL.GEN=HSY companion=3SG.GEN PL LK young.woman
'said the young female companions.'

9. awan=pala i kabanga=di[3] dagintoy[4]
NEG=still DEF spouse=3PL.GEN those
'They didn't have husbands yet.'

10. madiket hidi
young.woman PL
'the young women'

11. ay **ket** **napan**=dan hidi
? **and** **CMPL.AV.go**=already 3PL.NOM
'and they went'

12. k<in>on.....hen=dan=di nag-taggad=kan malinganay
<CMPL>say....stay=already=3PL.GEN CMPL.AV-pick=HSY malinganay
'They say....they went to pick the *malinganay* tree.'

13. **di** **kuwan**[5]=kan oyun
PST **whatchamacallit**=HSY STORY.PARTICLE
'then...'

14. hi kuwa=kan=bas ha=dan to
OBL.DEF whatchamacallit=HSY=hopefully OBL=already it
'at the, you know, already'

15. madiket=kan=pala hidi nag-taggad
young.woman=HSY=still PL CMPL.AV-pick
'The women who were doing the picking were still unmarried.'

16. **madi** awan=kan maki-kabanga malinganay=a
NEG NEG=HSY SOC-spouse malinganay=SPC
'They say the fruits hadn't germinated yet.'

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[3] Strictly speaking, this line is redundant because *madiket* 'young woman' implies unmarried.
[4] This is a hybrid demonstrative pronoun. The Dupaningan distal (far) demonstrative pronoun is *daginto* and the Ilokano proximal (near) deictics are created from the formative *-toy*. It is unclear whether a near or far interpretation is intended here.
[5] The phrase *idi kuwan* is used in Ilokano narrative for 'then'. This sentence has a combination of Ilokano and Dupaningan markers for passage of time in stories.

17. **di** **kuwa**
PST **whatchamacallit**
'then..'

18. hikaw=pas agay ilay kon=di=kan=bi hek-kabanga
2SG.LFNOM=? friend friend[6] say=3PL.GEN=HSY=also GROUP[7]-spouse
'you go pick the fruits, friend, said the women.'

19. oni ay hek-kabanga=kan=pas=a
yes ? GROUP-spouse=HSY=?=SPC
'yes, the group (said?)'

20. takad=kalla hikuna malinganay agay
climb=HSY\just 3SG.LFNOM malinganay friend
'She just climbed the *malinganay* tree, my friend'

21. e-ennam-an=na=kan
REDUP-taste-PV=3SG.GEN=HSY
'She tried them.'

22. mag..a...ka...kagita... ma-sa-singgat=kan
AV....?....?....bite?.....ADJ-REDUP-sweet=HSY
'She uh…bit….they were sweet.'

23. a... taggad-an=mo **amin** ilay kona=k **madi**=kan
uh..pick-PV=2SG.GEN **all** friend say=1SG.GEN NEG=HSY
'Pick them all, friend, (…?)'

24. ni-dagadag=na=kan ngamin
CMPL.TV-drop=3SG.GEN=HSY all
'She dropped them all down.'

25. oni
yes
'yes'

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[6] The term *agay* is an address term meaning 'friend' that has certain social restrictions, whereas *ilay* is the neutral term (usually reference, but also address).
[7] There are only a handful of instances of a *hek-* or *hek-REDUP* or *sek-* or *sek-REDUP* prefix in the data, but they seem to be indicative of groups of objects.

26. **amin** na tingi-tingi=na=kan
all GEN REDUP-branch=3SG.GEN=HSY
'They say it was all the branches'

27. ta-is-essa=kan=on=la tingi na-kuwa...na-tirak
DIM-REDUP-one=HSY=already=just branch ACD.CMPL-whatchamacallit... ACD.CMPL-remain
'Just one small branch was uh…left.'

28. **idi** **kuwan**=kan=on
PST **whatchamacallit**=HSY=already
'then...'

29. idi katt-is-essa=dan a tingi=na na-tirak=dan
PST HSY?\DIM?-REDUP-one=already LK branch=3SG.GEN ACD.CMPL-remain=already
'Then they say just one small branch was left.'

30. g<in>arsat-ø=di=bi=dan ni-batak=di
<CMPL>cut-PV=3SG.GEN=also=already CMPL.TV-make.stairs=3PL.GEN

a kuwa... usakk-an=na
LK whatchamacallit…. descend-LV=3SG.GEN
'They cut down their ladder, her device for getting down.'

31. anya=moy a g<in>ar-garsat-ø ilay, **kona**=kan=bi
what=2PL.GEN LK <CMPL>REDUP-cut-PV friend say=HSY=also
'"Why did you cut down the ladder, friends?" she asked.'

32. awan=dan ha usakk-an=ko=ay
NEG=already OBL climb-LV=1SG.GEN=SPC
'Now I don't have any way to get down.'

33. hen=ka=n hay agay ilay, kon=di kan=bi
stay=2SG.NOM=already there friend friend say=3PL.GEN HSY=also
'"Stay there, friend," they said'

34. la-lakad-en=di=kan=on
REDUP-walk-LV=3PL.GEN=HSY=already
'They walked away (from her).'

35. **kakaasi**=kan=on to kuwa=na
pitiful=HSY=already it whatchamacallit=3SG.GEN
'She was worthy of pity'

36. kagbi=kan=on to...kuwa a....essa a madiket
pitiful=HSY=already it…whatchamacallit uh…one LK young.woman
'One young woman was worth of pity.'

37. ta=mo=kan a ma-ari-aridid=dan
see?=2SG.GEN=HSY LK ACD-REDUP-winter=already

dan i hikuna=n a ma-ka-kassinag
already DEF 3SG.LFNOm=already LK ACD-REDUP-summer
'You see, she stayed through the winter until the summer'

38. hen=kan=pala hikuna hito agay
stay=HSY=still 3SG.LFNOM there friend
'She just stayed there, my friend.'

39. na..na-dakal=kan=on tubu na kuwa hidi....
ACD…ACD-large=HSY=already sprout GEN whatchamacallit PL

malinganay a nag-tubu ha **sirok**=na
malinganay LK CMPL.AV-sprout OBL **under**=3SG.GEN
'The shoots of the you know, *malinganay* tree sprouting under her were large already.'

40. hen=kalla eryok=kalla eryok kabanga=na a eryok eryok
stay=HSY\just search=HSY\just search spouse=3SG.GEN LK search search
'Her husband was just searching and searching and searching and searching.'

41. awan
NEG
'She wasn't there.'

42. hen=na=kan hikuna pag..pag-tat-taggad-an=di
stay=3SG.GEN=HSY 3SG.LFNOM NZLR…NLZR-REDUP-pick-LV=3PL.GEN
'He went to the place where they had been picking.'

43. **ket** mag-hanga-hangabal=kan=on
and AV-REDUP-hoarse?[8]=HSY=already
'And she was hoarse already.'

[8] This was transcribed by the Dupaningan assistant as *hamakel*, but the audio sounds more like *hangabal*.

44. "atoy=ak he"[9] kona=kan kabanga=na
EXT=1SG.NOM here say=HSY spouse=3SG.GEN
'"I'm here" his wife said.'

45. **t<imm>iru=kan** hikuna laman lallaki=ay
<CMPL.AV>shoot=HSY 3SG.LFNOM pig man=spc
'The man shot a pig.'

46. **sirok**
under
'underneath (the tree)'

47. s<um>akal laman **ngarud** hidi
<AV>root pig **so** PL
'The pigs were rooting for food.'

48. awan=kan=pa **uni-uni**
NEG=HSY=still **REDUP-noise**
'He still didn't make any noise.'

49. **t<imm>iru** hikuna **bakat..baket..**
<AV.CMPL>shoot 3SG.LFNOM **old.woman…old.woman…**

kuwa=kan agay...bakas=kan[10]
whachamacallit=HSY friend…old.woman=HSY
'He shot an old female, you know, my friend, an old female (i.e., pig).'

50. **namensan** kaw nag-enak
CMPL.once ? CMPL.AV-birth
'She had given birth once.'

51. ay **ke(t)** na-teman=na to kagi na kabanga=na
? **and** CMPL.ACD-hear=3SG.GEN it speak GEN spouse=3SG.GEN
'and he heard the voice of his wife.'

52. p<in>ang-i-batak=na p<in>ang-unek=na kayu=a
<CMPL>SEQ-TV-ladder=3SG.GEN <CMPL>SEQ-climb=3SG.GEN tree=SPC
'He made a ladder, and he climbed the tree.'

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[9] Spoken in a mumbled voice (because the woman has lost her voice).
[10] The speaker here is trying to get the Dupaningan form for 'old female'. He starts with the form *bakat* (intermediate between Dupaningan and Ilokano), then goes to the Ilokano *baket* and finally gets the Dupaningan *bakas*.

53. hen=na p<in>a-abben ni-usak=na
stay=3SG.GEN <CMPL>CAUS-carry.on.back CMPL.TV-descend=3SG.GEN
'She held on to him as he brought her down on his back'

54. hito=kan=bi=la p<in>a...nag-kuwan...na...
there=HSY=also=just <CMPL>CAUS...CMPL.AV-whachamacallit...GEN
'There is where he…'

55. **ta** nang-sakmang=kan hikuna=n toklong=kan a sakon
because CMPL.AV-lean.to[11]=HSY 3SG.LFNOM=already hut=HSY LK palm
'He made a lean-to, a hut made from palm fronds.'

56. pag-gara-**garaw**=na=kala ni **baro**
SEQ-REDUP-**move**=3SG.GEN=HSY\just PERS **young.man**
'The young man moved.'

57. laktit[12]=kala hikuna agay
commence.journey=HSY\just 3SG.LFNOM friend
'He got ready to leave, my friend.'

58. pag-i-apoy=na
SEQ-TV-dead.tree=3SG.GEN
'He got a tree'

59. **pamasgid**=na
light.fire=3SG.GEN
'He lit a fire.'

60. pang-i-pa-abbag=na=kan to kabanga=na=a
SEQ-TV-CAUS-lie.down=3SG.GEN=HSY it spouse=3SG.GEN=SPC
'He laid his wife down.'

61. ni-kilap=na=kan=on
CMPL.TV-sleep=3SG.GEN=HSY=already
'He put her to sleep. '

[11] The word *sakmang* 'simple lean-to shelter made of *sakon* fronds' does not appear in the dictionary, and the definition here comes from Nickell and Nickell (1987).
[12] The form of this word that appears in the dictionary is *lakset* or *laksep*.

62. pag-sogbi=na=kalla
SEQ-char=3SG.GEN=HSY\just
'Then he charred (the pig).'

63. **ta** **nalpas** pag-sogbi, pag-galgal=na=kan
because **finished** SEQ-char SEQ-slice=3SG.GEN=HSY
'After he charred (the pig), he butchered (it).'

64. naka-galgal=kan=on hikuna
CMPL.ABIL-slice=HSY=already 3SG.LFNOM
'He sliced it up.'

65. ni-lukag=na=kan kabanga=na
CMPL.TV-wake=3SG.GEN=HSY spouse=3SG.GEN
'He woke his wife up.'

66. ito mag-**pulutan** kabanga,
it AV-**snack**[13] spouse
'So the wife ate (meat).'

67. mag-**pulutan**=ka kona=kan=bi
AV-**snack**=2SG.NOM say=HSY=also
'"Eat (meat)!' he said.'

68. ta m<um>utag=kan kabanga=na
then? <AV>open.eyes=HSY spouse=3SG.GEN
'His wife opened her eyes wide.'

69. sa-sobu-**sobu**-an=na=kan agay
REDUP-REDUP-**feed**-LV=3SG.GEN=HSY friend
'He fed her, my friend.'

70. sa-sobu-subu-an=na=kan
REDUP-REDUP-feed-LV=3SG.GEN=HSY
'He fed her.'

[13] A Tagalog loan via Ilokano. *Pulutan* in those languages usually refers to food eaten with beer. In Dupaningan, it most often refers to eating something without rice. In this case, the woman is eating the cooked pig, but there is no rice to eat with it.

71. hanggan napa-so-soli=na=kaw[14] i naka-nakam=na so[15]
until CMPL.ABIL.CAUS-REDUP-return=3SG.GEN=HSY? DEF REDUP-mind=3SG.GEN so
'Until her wits came back to her, so..'

72. kad=ta=n
go=1du.inc.gen=already
'Let's go.'

73. nag-soli=kan=on (hi)di ha bilay=di
CMPL.AV-return=HSY=already 3PL.NOM OBL house=3PL.GEN
'They went back to their house.'

74. na-abben=na=dan
ACD.CMPL.carry.on.back=3SG.GEN=already
'He was carrying her on his back. '

75. hen he..hen hakuna na he...kuwa a...laman=a
stay sta...stay 3SG.LFNOM GEN here...whatchamacallit uh...pig=SPC
'The pig was, you know, here.'

76. hen=bi ha...hakuna na he kabanga=na=a
stay=also 3SG.LFNOM GEN here spouse=3SG.GEN=SPC
'His wife was here.'

77. abben=na=dan ni-soli
carry.on.back=3SG.GEN=already CMPL.TV-return
'He carried her on his back while he took her home.'

78. e ta awan=na=man=**ke(t)**=bi=la mag-kuwa...l<um>akad
? **because** NEG=3SG.GEN=CONTRASTIVE=**although**=also=just AV-whatchamacallit....<AV>walk
'Because she couldn't...uh...walk.'

79. **na-kap...na-kapsut**=man
ADJ-wea...ADJ-weak=CONTRASTIVE
'She was weak.'

80. **iso,** pag-**danan**[16]=di=kan ha bilay=di
so SEQ-**arrive**=3PL.GEN=HSY OBL house=3PL.GEN
'They got home.'

---

[14] Most likely intended to be the hearsay particle =*kan*, which is how it was interpreted by the Dupaningan assistant who helped transcribe the story.
[15] Short for Ilokano *iso nga* 'so, that's why'.
[16] This seems to be Ilokano *danon* 'arrive', even though the final vowel is clearly /a/ in the audio.

81. ito=dan
it-already
'It was…'

82. ito=kan=on=bas ag-pa-kuwa...ma-**laing**=dan...
it=HSY=already=hopefully MPL.AV-CAUS-whachamacallit…ADJ-**good**=already…

nag-pa-**pigsa**-an=na a na-laing
CMPL.AV-CAUS-**strong**-LV=3SG.GEN LK ADJ-good
'There was where he got her well…strong'

Text 2-B

This is a story about a woman who gets stuck in a tree. The version presented here is the transcription presented by the language consultant. The consultant has 'cleaned up' the story by removing the false starts, eliminating redundancies, and removing Ilokano borrowings. The borrowings that remain are in **bold**.

1. kona kan oyun[1]
   say HSY STORY.PARTICLE
   'They say…'

2. ka-kab-kabanga=di=kan i ulitaw=a **ken** madiket=a
   NLZR-REDUP-spouse=3PL.GEN=HSY DEF young.man=SPC **and** young.woman=SPC
   'They say the young man and young woman had just gotten married.'

3. awan=pala ha ana-anak=di=ay
   NEG=still OBL REDUP-child=3PL.GEN=SPC
   'They didn't have any children yet.'

4. hen=kitam mag-ilap ha malinganay[2]
   stay=1PL.INC.NOM AV-get OBL malinganay
   'Let's get some *malinganay* fruits'

5. kon=di=kan agom=na hidi=a a madiket
   say=3PL.GEN=HSY companion=3SG.GEN PL=SPC LK young.woman
   'said the young female companions.'

6. awan=pala i kabanga=di[3] daginto
   NEG=still DEF spouse=3PL.GEN those
   'They didn't have husbands yet.'

7. <in><um>angay=dan hidi nag-taggad ha malinganay
   <CMPL><AV>go=already 3PL.NOM CMPL.AV-pick OBL malinganay
   'They went to pick a *malinganay* tree (to get its fruits).'

---

[1] The phrase *kona kan oyun* (or *kona kan ayun*)is a common way to begin a story, and is as conventionalized as *once upon a time* in English.

[2] A kind of dark-colored edible fruit that grows on trees. Unfortunately, I was never able to see a *malinganay* fruit and my Dupaningan informants claimed that there was no word for this fruit in either Ilokano or Central Cagayan (Labin) Agta, so I have not been able to identify the species.

[3] Strictly speaking, this line is redundant because *madiket* 'young woman' implies unmarried.

8. **di** **kuwan**[4]=dan oyun
PST **whatchamacallit**=already STORY.PARTICLE
'then...'

9. madiket=kan=pala hidi i mag-taggad
young.woman=HSY=still PL DEF AV-pick
'The women who were doing the picking were still unmarried.'

10. **madi** awan=kan=bi maki-kabanga malinganay=a
NEG NEG=HSY=also SOC-spouse malinganay=SPC
'They say the fruits hadn't germinated yet.'

11. hikaw=pas agay ilay ha hek-kabanga
2SG.LFNOM=? friend friend[5] OBL GROUP[6]-spouse
'you go pick the fruits, friend, from the women.'

12. oni ay hek-kabanga=kan=pas=a
yes ? GROUP-spouse=HSY=?=SPC
'yes, the group (said?)'

13. takad=kalla hikuna ha malinganay=a agay
climb=HSY\just 3SG.LFNOM OBL malinganay=SPC friend
'She just climbed the *malinganay* tree, my friend'

14. e-ennam-an=na=kan
REDUP-taste-PV=3SG.GEN=HSY
'She tried them.'

15. ma-sa-singgat=kan
ADJ-REDUP-sweet=HSY
'They were sweet.'

16. taggad-an=mo **amin** ilay
pick-PV=2SG.GEN **all** friend
'Pick them all, friend.'

---

[4] The phrase *idi kuwan* is used in Ilokano narrative for 'then'. This sentence has a combination of Ilokano and Dupaningan markers for passage of time in stories.
[5] The term *agay* is an address term meaning 'friend' with certain social restrictions, whereas *ilay* is the neutral term (usually reference, but also address). In this particular instance, *agay* may be addressed to the listener of the story, whereas *ilay* is addressed to the woman in the story.
[6] There are only a handful of instances of a *hek-* or *hek-REDUP* or *sek-* or *sek-REDUP* prefix in the data, but they seem to be indicative of groups of objects.

17. ni-dagadag=na=kan ngamin i tingi=na
CMPL.TV-drop=3SG.GEN=HSY all DEF branch=3SG.GEN
'She dropped all the branches down.'

18. is-essa=kan=on=la a tingi=na a na-tirak
REDUP-one=HSY=already=just LK branch=3SG.GEN L ACD.CMPL-remain
'Just one of its branches was left.'

19. **idi kuwan**=kan=on
PST whatchamacallit=HSY=already
'then...'

20. is-essa=dan i tingi=na
REDUP-one=already DEF branch=3SG.GEN
'Then they say just one small branch was left.'

21. g<in>arsat-ø=di =dan i im-batak=di=a a usakk-an
<CMPL>cut-PV=3SG.GEN=already DEF CMPL.TV-make.stairs=3PL.GEN LK descend-LV
'They cut down their ladder for getting down.'

22. anya=moy a g<in>ar-garsat-ø ilay, **kona**=kan
what=2PL.GEN LK <CMPL>REDUP-cut-PV friend **say**=HSY
'"Why did you cut down the ladder, friends?" she asked.'

23. awan=dan ha usakk-an=ko
NEG=already OBL climb-LV=1SG.GEN
'Now I don't have any way to get down.'

24. hen=ka=n ha ilay
stay=2SG.NOM=already there friend
'"Stay there, friend,"'

25. la-lakad-en=hidi=kan=on
REDUP-walk-LV=3PL.NOM=HSY=already
'They walked away (from her).'

26. kagbi=kan=on hikuna
pitiful=HSY=already 3SG.LFNOM
'She was worthy of pity.'

27. kagbi=kan=on i madiket=a
pitiful=HSY=already DEF young.woman=SPC
'The young woman was worth of pity.'

28. ma-ari-aridid=dan hanggan ha kassinag
ACD-REDUP-winter=already until OBL summer
'She stayed through the winter until the summer.'

29. hen=kan=pala hito agay
stay=HSY=still there friend
'She just stayed there, my friend.'

30. da-dakal=dan i tubu na malinganay=a
REDUP-large=already DEF sprout GEN malinganay=SPC
'The shoots of the *malinganay* tree were already large.'

31. nag-tubu ha sidung na kayu
CMPL.AV-sprout OBL under GEN tree
'They were sprouting under the tree.'

32. eryok=la **nga** eryok i kabanga=na=a
search= just **LK** search DEF spouse=3SG.GEN=SPC
'Her husband was just searching and searching.'

33. awan
NEG
'She wasn't there.'

34. ngay na-enta ha nag-taggad-an
go CMPL.ACD-see OBL CMPL.AV-pick-LV
'He went to the place where they had been pick.'

35. mag-hama-hamakel=kan=on babbey=a
av-redup-hoarse=HSY=already woman=SPC
'The woman was hoarse already.'

36. "atoy=ak he" kona=kan
EXT=1SG.NOM here say=HSY
'"I'm here" she said.'

37. namangal=kan hikuna ha laman, lallaki=ay
CMPL.AV\shoot=HSY 3SG.LFNOM OBL pig man=spc
'The man shot a pig.'

38. s<um>akal i laman hidi
<AV>root DEF pig PL
'The pigs were rooting for food.'

39. awan=kalla **nag-uni**
NEG=HSY=just **CMPL.AV-noise**
'He still didn't make any noise.'

40. nangwa=kan hikuna a bakas a laman
AV.CMPL\catch 3SG.LFNOM LK old.woman LK pig
'He caught an old female pig.'

41. na-teman=na ito i kagi na kabanga=na=a
CMPL.ACD-hear=3SG.GEN it DEF speak GEN spouse=3SG.GEN=SPC
'He heard the voice of his wife.'

42. p<in>ang-i-batak=na p<in>ang-unek=na kayu=a
<CMPL>SEQ-TV-ladder=3SG.GEN <CMPL>SEQ-climb=3SG.GEN tree=SPC
'He made a ladder, and he climbed the tree.'

43. hen=na a-abben=na a **iny**-usak=na
stay=3SG.GEN REDUP-carry.on.back=3SG.GEN LK **CMPL.TV**-descend=3SG.GEN
'She held on to him as he brought her down on his back'

44. hito=kan=bi=la i nang-pa-kan-an=na ha toklong=na
there=HSY=also=just DEF <CMPL.AV>CAUS-eat-LV=3SG.GEN OBL hut=3SG.GEN
'There is where he fed her at his hut.'

45. ka-lakset=na=kan i ulitaw=a
RECCMPL-commence.journey==3SG.GEN=HSY DEF young.man=SPC
'The young man had just gotten ready to leave.'

46. pag-i-apoy=na
SEQ-TV-dead.tree=3SG.GEN
'He got a tree'

47. nag-dukot=dan hikuna
light.fire=already 3SG.LFNOM
'He built a fire.'

48. pang-i-pa-abbag=na=kan=on i kabanga=na=a
SEQ-TV-CAUS-lie.down=3SG.GEN=HSY=already DEF spouse=3SG.GEN=SPC
'He laid his wife down.'

49. ni-kalap[7]=na=kan=on
CMPL.TV-sleep=3SG.GEN=HSY=already
'He put her to sleep. '

50. pag-sogbi=na=kalla
SEQ-char=3SG.GEN=HSY\just
'Then he charred (the pig).'

51. nobus=dan hikuna pag-sogbi, pag-galgal=na=kan
after=already 3SG.LFNOM SEQ-char SEQ-slice=3SG.GEN=HSY
'After he charred (the pig), he butchered (it).'

52. naka-galgal=kan=on hikuna
CMPL.ABIL-slice=HSY=already 3SG.LFNOM
'He sliced it up.'

53. ni-lukag=na=kan i kabanga=na
CMPL.TV-wake=3SG.GEN=HSY DEF spouse=3SG.GEN
'He woke his wife up.'

54. mag-hida=ka kona=kan=bi
AV-eat.main.course=2SG.NOM say=HSY=also
'"Eat (meat)!' he said.'

55. m<in><um>utag=kan kabanga=na
<CMPL><AV>open.eyes=HSY spouse=3SG.GEN
'His wife opened her eyes wide.'

56. sa-sobu-**sobu**-an=na=kan agay
REDUP-REDUP-**feed**-LV=3SG.GEN=HSY friend
'He fed her, my friend.'

[7] In the version transcribed from the audio (Text 2-A), this is *ni-kilap*. The *a* vowel in this transcribed version is likely a mis-transcription.

57. napa-so-soli=na=kan i nakam=na agay
CMPL.ABIL.CAUS-REDUP-return=3SG.GEN=HSY DEF mind=3SG.GEN friend
'Her wits came back to her, my friend.'

58. kad=ta=n
go=1du.inc.gen=already
'Let's go.'

59. mag-soli=kan=on hidi ha bilay=di
AV-return=HSY=already 3PL.NOM OBL house=3PL.GEN
'They went back to their house.'

60. <in>a-abben-ø=na=dan
CMPL-REDUP-carry.on.back-PV=3SG.GEN=already
'He was carrying her on his back. '

61. hen ha addag i kabanga=na
stay OBL back DEF spouse=3SG.GEN
'His wife was on his back.'

62. pag-hen i rakaw=na laman
NLZR-stay DEF chest=3SG.GEN pig
'The pig was on his chest.'

63. abben=na=dan a ni-soli
carry.on.back=3SG.GEN=already LK CMPL.TV-return
'He carried her on his back while he took her home.'

64. awan=man hikuna maka-lakad
NEG=CONTRASTIVE 3SG.LFNOM ABIL-walk
'She couldn't walk.'

65. **na-kapsut**=man
ADJ-weak =CONTRASTIVE
'She was weak.'

66. ka-demat=di ha bilay=di
NLZR-arrive=3PL.GEN OBL house=3PL.GEN
'They got home.'

67. ito=dan i pag-pa-binag-an=na
it-already DEF NLZR-CAUSE-strong-LV=3SG.GEN
'That was where he got her strong.'

Appendix C: List of data items

The following is a list of the items archived with PARADISEC. The items are grouped by date of recording and each 'item' may actually include multiple audio files or may include photographs in addition to audio and/or video.

Item ID	Description	Notes
LR1-020706	Basic Wordlist, Palaui Island	This is a basic wordlist taken on Palaui Island. The speakers do not call themselves 'Dupaninan' or 'Dupaningan' but the dialect is very similar.
LR1-021006	Wordlist & phrases, Palaui Island	A wordlist and short, elicited phrases.
LR1-021506	Wordlist & phrases & photos, Nangaramuan	Taken in Nangaramuan, Santa Ana, Cagayan. Wordlist & short, elicited phrases.
LR1-022006	Wordlist & photos of Nangaramuan	
LR1-030106	Wordlist & phrases, Santa Clara	Taken in Santa Clara, Santa Ana, Cagayan.
LR1-030306	Phrases & wordlist, Santa Clara	
LR1-030406	Wordlist, Santa Clara	
LR1-030506	Wordlist	A very short wordlist taken in the Santa Ana town market from speakers from Kabadeko, Kabirawan, Gonzaga, Cagayan
LR1-030906	Sentences & wordlist, Santa Clara	
LR1-031006	Sentences & wordlist, & photos Santa Clara	Contains the numbers of the language, some items from an extended vocabulary list, and a set of basic sentences intended to elicit pronouns and verbal tenses. Extensive photographs of hut-building.

LR1-031106	Phrases, sentences, & wordlist, Santa Clara	
LR1-031306	Wordlist & photos, Kabadeko	Taken in Kabadeko, Kabirawan, Gonzaga, Cagayan.
LR1-031506	Elicited phrases & sentences, Santa Clara	
LR1-031606	Stories	Stories about Agta life in the forest. One story includes a ghost.
LR1-040506	Photographs, video, & sentences	The language material consists of sentences, mostly including proper names. The photographs are primarily of Agta dwellings. The video depicts the Agta camp while the Agta have left for the day.
LR1-040606	Sentences & vocabulary	
LR1-040706	Sentences, vocabulary & photographs	The photographs are all of a single species of dangerous lizard.
LR1-040806	Stories, photographs, wordlist	Photographs of plants, people, dwellings, fish, honey collection. Stories about Agta life.
LR1-041806	Sentences, stories & *gisaden* song	Elicited sentences. Stories about Agta life. *Gisaden* song reportedly about fishing in a very old or unusual vocabulary that was difficult for others to understand &/or translate.
LR1-041906	Elicited sentences & photos	Elicited sentences & photos, including some of swidden agriculture plots.
LR1-051006	Elicited sentences	
LR1-051206	Elicited sentences & photos	Photographs are of people & swidden agriculture
LR1-052306	Elicited sentences & vocabulary	

LR1-052406	Elicited sentences & photos	Photographs are of people & fish.
LR1-060506	Elicited sentences	
LR1-060606	Elicited sentences & photos	Photos of people.
LR1-062206	Wordlist, Malayug	Taken in Malayug, Santa Ana, Cagayan. Photos of people, including the pounding of rice with a mortar and pestle.
LR1-062306	Wordlist & photos, Bolos	Taken in Bolos point, Cagayan. Photographs are of people and dwellings in Bolos Point, except one from Malayug.
LR1-062406	Biographical story & photos, Bolos Point	Speaker tells the story of his life (Appendix B, Text 1). Photos of people, dwellings, and boat.
LR1-063006	Wordlist, stories, songs, photos & videos, Limbus	Taken in Limbus, Santa Ana, Cagayan. Photos of people. Audio of a Christian song translated into Agta. Video depicting Agta people hanging out, learning to drive a motorcycle, & visiting a waterfall. Video (with corresponding audio and text) of a ghost story. Video (with corresponding audio and text) of a story about a woman who gets stuck in a tree (Appendix B, Text 2). Video (with corresponding audio and texts) of a song about Agta life. Video (with corresponding audio and texts) of an elicited wordlist.
LR1-070706	Elicited sentences & stories	
LR1-071406	Elicited sentences	
LR1-072706	Wordlist, Balicob	Taken in Valley Cove (Balicob), Baggao, Cagayan
LR1-072806	Story and wordlists	Wordlists from Linawan, Baggao, Cagayan; Kaneyan, Baggao, Cagayan, and Macarabor, Gattaran, Cagayan.
LR1-072906	Wordlist, Nangayangan	Wordlist from Nangayangan, Gattaran, Cagayan
LR1-081006	Story	Photographs of people, including several of Ronald Agcaoili in a traditional g-string going hunting.

LR1-081106	Elicited sentences & photos, Santa Clara	Photos are of children collecting seafood and the of traditional method of fire-making.
LR1-081206	Elicited sentences & photo, Santa Clara	Photo of Ronald & Manet Agcaoili.
LR1-081706	Wordlist & photos, Bolos (Maconacon)	Taken in Bolos, Maconacon, Isabela. Photos of people, dwellings, climbing coconut trees, arrows, fishing at the river.
LR1-081806	Wordlists, photos & video, Dianggo & Malibu	Audio of wordlist taken at Malibu, Isabela, Cagayan. Photos of people, dwellings and boats. Video of elicitation in Dianggo. Video of boat ride. Video of Ronald Agcaoili demonstrating traditional fire-making techniques. Photographs of both Dianggo and Malibu.
LR1-091206	Elicited sentences	Elicited in Santa Ana, Cagayan of speaker from Bolos, Maconacon, Isabela.
LR1-091306	Wordlist	Short audio file showing the contrast between two phonologically similar words. Recorded in Santa Ana Cagayan of speaker from Bolos, Maconacon, Isabela.
LR1-091506	Elicited sentences	Elicited sentences in Santa Ana Cagayan of speaker from Bolos, Maconacon, Isabela.
LR1-091606	Photos of Agta village, Aridowen, Santa Teresita, Cagayan	
LR1-091806	Elicited sentences	
LR1-110506	Elicited sentences	
LR1-111406	Spontaneous sentences	Unelicited sentences
LR1-111506	Stories	Recorded in Dumasag, Limbus, Santa Ana, Cagayan of speaker from Apulagan, Santa Ana, Cagayan.
LR1-111606	Song	Recorded in Dumasag, Limbus, Santa Ana, Cagayan of speaker from Apulagan, Santa Ana, Cagayan.
LR1-112006	Elicited sentences	

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