

## **Contents**

Chapter 6	Privileged Syntactic Arguments .....	198
Introduction .....		198
6.1	The privileged syntactic argument of the clause .....	198
6.1.1	Assigning macrorole status and the PSA of the clause.....	199
6.1.2	PSA case coding .....	200
6.1.3	Ordering in basic clauses .....	202
6.1.4	PSA indexing on the predicate.....	203
6.2	PSA of other constructions .....	230
6.2.1	Control of reflexive antecedence.....	231
6.2.2	Pivot with left-displaced pronominal arguments .....	231
6.2.3	Controller and pivot interpretation in core junctures.....	232
6.2.4	Pivot in nominalization .....	234
6.2.5	Pivot interpretation in relativization .....	238
6.2.6	Summary of PSA codings and behaviors in Kankanaey.....	239
6.3	Non-PSA functions .....	240
6.3.1	Co-reference across clause boundaries.....	240
6.3.2	Flagging non-PSA arguments in a clause.....	242
Conclusion.....		244

## **Chapter 6 Privileged Syntactic Arguments**

### **Introduction**

The syntactic status of arguments in RRG is characterized in terms of the privileges given to one constituent, the privileged syntactic argument (hereafter PSA) of a given construction. This chapter will first look in depth at the functions that are the province of the PSA of the clause. Then in §6.2 the PSAs of several other key constructions are detailed. §6.3 explains the functions that are covered by non-PSA constituents.

### **6.1 The privileged syntactic argument of the clause**

In constructing a grammatical clause in Kankanaey, the first step is to determine the semantic representation—the ‘logical structure’ (LS) of the predicate. This process was

detailed in Chapter 2, where it was seen that each *Aktionsart* classification has a unique logical structure that includes the salient argument positions.

### 6.1.1 Assigning macrorole status and the PSA of the clause

The possible assignment of macrorole status is represented by the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy, adapted for Kankanaey from VanValin (2005:126). The arrows indicate the possible range of assignment. The principles that guide macrorole assignment are listed under the hierarchy diagram in Figure 6.1.

**Figure 6.1. Actor-Undergoer hierarchy and assignment principles**

assigned the Undergoer macrorole. In Kankanaey, as was seen in Chapter 2, the predicate affix indicates whether the single argument is Actor or Undergoer, and thus indicates the type of predicate, i.e. *Aktionsart* classification.

When there is more than one argument in a predicate's logical structure, there is the possibility of a second macrorole. The selection principles are shown in Figure 6.1. Assigning the Actor macrorole is a rather straightforward process, the Actor being the left-most in the LS. Some restrictions apply to the assignment of the Undergoer macrorole as the second argument—the argument must be referential and wholly included in any effect specified by the predicate. Thus Activity predicates with non-referential arguments have only one macrorole; they are macrorole-intransitive.

With a complex predicate whose LS consists of a combination of logical structures, such as a causative predicate, there may be more than two argument positions shown in the LS. Figure 6.1 shows the two possible strategies for selecting one of the non-Actor arguments for Undergoer macrorole assignment. With Principle A the right-most argument in the LS is given Undergoer assignment. With Principle B the next-to-right-most argument is selected. The factors governing the choice between Principle A and Principle B are discourse-pragmatic.

Once the macrorole assignment is clear, one of the macrorole-assigned arguments is selected to bear the privileged relation to the predicate. This relation (PSA) is privileged syntactically in that it is signalled by coding properties and by behavioral properties, a distinction suggested by Keenan (1976). The PSA is coded by absolutive case marking and the indexing on the verb; the form of the predicating affixation indicates that argument's semantic function. Historically, this function has been called “focus” marking in Philippine linguistics.

### **6.1.2 PSA case coding**

The PSA of any clause is given absolutive case marking. For reference phrases this is expressed by the unbound reference phrase marker (RM) or the proper name reference marker (PRM). For pronouns, class I is used for single arguments and class III for the PSA of transitive clauses. Only one absolutive-marked participant is possible in a clause. (§6.3.2 will show that in a syntactically transitive clause, the Actor argument is given ergative case marking. All other arguments and adjuncts are given oblique marking.)

In basic two-argument Kankanaey clauses both the Actor and Undergoer may be topical and relevant, but an Undergoer is the default choice for PSA, an ergative pattern reflected in the absolutive marking on the PSA. In 1) the Undergoer argument takes the same RM as the single argument in 2).

1) *I-ali =n din babai din anak.*

UNDt-come =BRMd woman RMd child

‘The woman brings the child.’

2) *<Om> ali din anak.*

ACT-come RMd child

‘The child comes.’

In examples 3) and 4) the same ergative pattern holds with proper names.

3) *I-agadang =na si Romy.*

UNDt-cross.river = 3sII PRM Romy

‘He takes Romy across the river.’

4) *Man-agadang si Romy.*

ACT-cross.river PRM Romy

‘Romy crosses the river.’

Table 6.1, repeated from Table 3.6, displays the personal pronouns of Kankanaey.

**Table 6.1. Personal pronoun patterns**

pronoun class	I	II	III
	Single	Trans.Actor	Trans.Undergoer
1s	= <i>ak</i>	= <i>ko</i>	( <i>PRM +</i> ) <i>sak?en</i>
1p	= <i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	<i>PRM + dakami</i>
2s	= <i>ka</i>	= <i>mo</i>	( <i>PRM +</i> ) <i>sik?a</i>
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	= <i>yo</i>	<i>PRM + dakayo</i>
1 + 2	= <i>ta</i>		<i>PRM + daita</i>
1 + 2p	= <i>tako</i>		<i>PRM + datako</i>
3p	= <i>da</i>		<i>PRM + daida</i>
3s	<i>Ø /sisya</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>Ø /sisya</i>
4(impersonal s/p)	<i>Ø</i>	= <i>na</i>	<i>Ø</i>

Except for 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular and the impersonal 4<sup>th</sup> person, absolutive (PSA) pronouns have two different forms that indicate their relation as the single argument

(class I) or as the transitive-Undergoer argument (class III). In example 5), two clauses have the same predicate *na-ila* and same participant ('you') selected as PSA. The first clause is transitive, with a Class III Undergoer PSA; the second clause is intransitive with a Class I Undergoer PSA. One could hypothesize that the conditioning factor for this split of pronoun form is phonological and posit bound vs. unbound allomorphs of the privileged pronoun, but example 6) disproves this hypothesis. In this example the process that displaces the Actor to a pre-predicate position has left the privileged Undergoer argument phonologically next to the predicate, yet it retains its Class III form.

- 5) *Na-ila = k                      sik?a. Na-ila = ka.*  
 UND.P-see = 1sII    2sIII    UND.P-see = 2sI  
 'I chanced to see you.'    'You were seen.'
- 6) *En = kami    i-ponpon    sik?a    tan                      na-tey = ka.*  
 go = 1pI    UND-bury    2sIII    because    UND.P-die = 2sI  
 'We were going to bury you because you died.'

### 6.1.3 Ordering in basic clauses

Argument-ordering codes the syntactic functions of RPs within a clause. Single or Actor arguments occupy the first post-predicate position as in 7). This is an accusative pattern of semantic role neutralization. The only possible intervening elements are a small group of semantic particles. Rigid argument order serves to disambiguate ergative and absolutive reference phrases whose markers are homophonous following a consonant-final word. This is demonstrated in 8), where a. shows the homophonous forms, and b. shows the forms distinguished; in both cases the argument ordering is Actor-Undergoer.

- 7) *Na-ek                      din    moyang.*  
 UNDS-sleep    RMd baby  
 'The baby fell asleep.'
- 8) a. *Kat-en    din    aso    din    posa.* b. *I-adawa = n    din                      anak    din    kawayan.*  
 bite-UND    BRMd dog    RMd cat                      UND<sub>t</sub>-hand = BRMd    child    RMd bamboo  
 'The dog bites the cat.'                      'The child hands over the bamboo.'

Because the reference phrase markers distinguish a three-way ergative-absolutive-oblique distinction, the order of the absolutive Undergoer and any oblique argument may be pragmatically determined. Thus in 9), the oblique argument 'stone' may precede

the absolutive argument, because it is semantically needed to understand the precise meaning of *adosog* ‘pound’, or perhaps it is positioned as part of the predicate-focus structure, preceding the very topical ‘vehicle’ argument (see Chapter 7 for more about topic and focus structure). In 10) the oblique recipient argument precedes the lengthy absolutive phrase (bracketed), avoiding the awkwardness that would result from placing ‘to your care’ after ‘your spouse’.

9) *Adosog-a(n)=k si bato din logan.*

pound-UNDI=1sII ORMi stone RMd vehicle

‘I pounded on the vehicle with a stone.’

10) *Enggay in-polang=da en sik?a [nan babai ay asawa=m].*

already UNDTs.P-hand.over=3pII OPRM 2sIII DRM1 female LK spouse=2sII

‘They have now transferred to your care this woman who is your wife.’

Although oblique marking is the same for peripheral and core argument phrases, the order of the phrases differentiates them. Peripheral adjuncts such as time phrases must follow any oblique arguments, which belong to the core of the clause. Thus in 11), the locative phrase required by the motion predicate must precede the peripheral time phrase.

11) *S<om>aa=ak ed Acop si bigat.*

ACTm-go.home=1sI LOC Acop ORMi next.day

‘I’m going home to Acop tomorrow.’

#### 6.1.4 PSA indexing on the predicate

The Kankanaey clause consists minimally of a predicate. Nature predicates have no overt argument and are macrorole atransitive. (The null 4<sup>th</sup>-person absolutive ‘it’ cannot be posited here as a single argument because of its inability to be nominalized from such predicates.) Unaffixed and frozen-form predicates take one absolutive argument, but there is no PSA indexing on the predicate.

##### 6.1.4.1 Indexing with unaffixed and frozen-form predicates

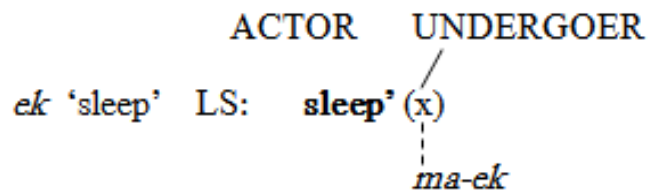
In clauses that identify a referent by class, or indicate attributes of a single participant, this single argument is semantically correlated with its predicate. Class roots take no indexing affixation, but the single argument is flagged as PSA (§6.1.2) by the RM or a Class I pronoun. A small class of attribute predicates are formed with

12) *Doktor din anak = yo. Ando = kayo ya ando din anak = yo.*  
 doctor RMd child = 2pII tall = 2pI and tall RMd child = 2pII  
 ‘Your child is a doctor. You guys are tall and your child is tall.’

13) *Man-kilat di esa yan na-toling din odom.*  
 ATT-white RMi one and ATT-black RMd other  
 'One is white and the others are black.'

Indexing affixes on all other roots indicate the generalized thematic relation and macrorole of the privileged argument. Regardless of role, the single argument is the PSA of the clause, signalled by the affix agreement of the predicate.

With predicates that have the LS **pred'** (x) , the Undergoer macrorole is assigned to the single argument, as the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy predicts. As the PSA, the argument is indexed with the *ma-* prefix. In Figure 6.2 the assignment of the macrorole and the subsequent indexing with the prefix are shown for the simple example. The logical structure indicates a thematic role of PATIENT as the single argument of the stative root and the affix *ma-* (tagged UND(ergoer-)s(tate)) indexes this role as a type of Undergoer. Macrorole assignment of the argument is shown with a solid line, while the indexing for the PSA is represented by a broken line.



204

- 14) *Ma-ek si Kindi.*  
 UNDS-sleep PRM Kindi  
 ‘Kindi is asleep.’

Single-argument change-of state predicates with the LS INGR **pred'** (x) or PROC **pred'** (x) are indexed with the infix *<om>* (tagged CHANGE) on a stative root, as in 15). The change may be punctual or not, depending on the meaning of the root.

- 15) *Ng<om>ato din blood pressure = ko.*  
 CHANGE-high RMD blood pressure = 1sII  
 ‘My blood pressure is rising.’

#### 6.1.4.2.2 Single-argument activity predicates

Single-argument predicates with the LS **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x)]) are indexed with one of the four Actor-indexing affixes in Table 6.2, where it is seen that the Actor-indexing affixes in Kankanaey have distinctive semantic implications regarding agentivity.

**Table 6.2. Actor-indexing affixation**

Affix (and tag)	Agency implications
<i>maN-</i> (for a few roots) <i>man-</i> (ACT)	agency assumed but not required
<i>maka-</i> (ACT.ABIL)	abilitative, agency blocked
<i>&lt;om&gt;</i> (ACTm)	movement, no agency implicature

In 16), the single argument is an EFFECTOR and is indexed as a type of Actor with the prefix *man-* (ACT(or)) on the root.

- 16) **do'** (x, [**hop'** (x)])  
*Man-lakik?i si Langdew.*  
 ACT-hop.one.foot PRM Langdew  
 ‘Langdew hops on one foot.’

Note in example 17) that although the two sets of predicates have the same affixes as in 13), the roots that take the affixes are very different. In 13) both are inherent color attributes. In 17) the first predicate indicates a dynamic situation (crying) and shows agreement with the privileged argument as an Actor while the second predicate describes a situation affecting the same entity (the children) but this time as Undergoers.



- 17) *Man-?oga din anan?ak tan na-kibtot = da.*  
 ACT-cry RMd children because UNDS.P-startle = 3pI  
 ‘The children cry because they were startled.’

The affixes *man-* and the less-common *maN-* are used to form intransitive predicates of agentive activity; the choice of affix is arbitrarily required by the root.

- 18) *Man-golo din manbonong.*  
 ACT-create.disturbance RMd pray-er  
 ‘The one who prays (traditional religious leader) will make a fuss.’

The ‘abilitative’ Actor-indexing prefix *maka-* (*naka-* with perfective aspect) blocks agentivity in the Actor argument. Figure 6.3 shows two possible affixations for the Actor argument of the movement predicate *ali* ‘come’. The abilitative indicates potential for action when imperfective. With perfective aspect it indicates fortuitous success in a situation. In 19) the writer politely implies that only inability would keep the reader from attending the next day’s event, while in 20) the packing activity took some time or effort to complete.

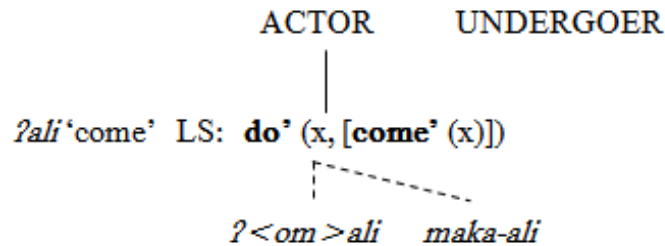


Figure 6.3. Macrorole assignment and affix indexing  
 for two Actor roles

- 19) *Sapay.koma.ta maka-ali = kayo = s bigat.*  
 hopefully ACT.ABIL-come = 2sI = ORMi next.day  
 ‘I hope you guys will be able to come tomorrow.’
- 20) *Idi naka-balkot = ak, na-ek = ak.*  
 when ACT.ABIL.P-pack = 1sI UNDS-sleep = 1sI  
 ‘When I had managed to pack up, I slept.’

Predicates of physical movement are formed with movement or position roots and the infix *<om>*. These predicates may involve volition when the Actor is animate, as in 21), but also index inanimate MOVER Actors (thus the added tag ‘m(over)’), as in 22).

(§6.1.4.6.3 will present a small class of movement roots that index the MOVER as Undergoer.)

21) *Ay <om> ali = ka?*

Q ACTm-come = 2sI

‘Are you coming?’

22) *L <inm> osop din lobid.*

ACTm.P-untied RMd rope

‘The rope came untied.’

Physical movement predicates may take *<om>* when the action is natural, unmotivated or unintentional, such as pawing the ground as in 23). More intentional movements are affixed with *man-*, as in 24).

23) *K <om> od~kodkod din kabayo.*

ACTm-PROG-paw.ground RMd horse

‘The horse is pawing the ground.’

24) *Peteg di layad = ko, man-tal~talok = ak.*

extreme RMI enjoy = 1sII ACT-CVC-jump = 1sI

‘I was so happy, I was jumping up and down.’

#### 6.1.4.2.3 Two-argument activity predicates

Many activity predicates have two arguments in the logical structure, which is represented as **do'** (x, [**pred'** (x,y)]) . The second argument may be non-referential, or incompletely affected, or not specifically identified. In such a case the second argument cannot be linked to the Undergoer macrorole, and the clause has only one macrorole assigned, the Actor. In Kankanaey the Actor is assigned as PSA, and an Actor-referencing affix is used to form the predicate of an intransitive clause. The second argument is given oblique marking.

The linking between the Actor argument in the logical structure and the affixation used is shown in Figure 6.4. The predicate ‘eat’ with the Actor-referencing affix does not require mention of the unspecified food that is eaten, but it is clearly implied, as the second clause proves. In 25), the second participant is non-referential and the clause is intransitive, with an oblique second argument.

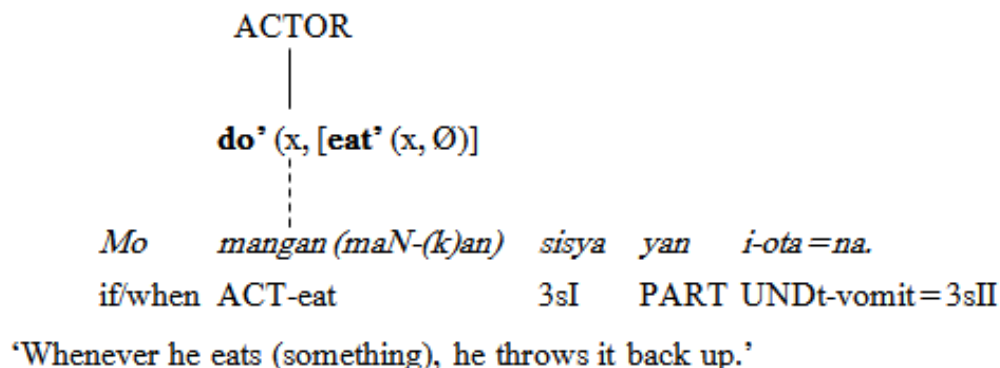


Figure 6.4.      Macrorole assignment and affix linking  
with a one-macrorole activity predicate

- 25) *Man-lako = kayo abe si      sin-asawa    ay manok.*  
 ACT-buy = 2pI    also ORMi unit-spouse    LK chicken  
 ‘Also buy a pair of chickens.’

#### 6.1.4.3 Indexing with multiple-argument clauses

If more than one participant is referential in the state of affairs, the Actor macrorole assignment is very straightforward—it is left-most in the LS, as seen in Figure 6.1. More variable is the Undergoer assignment; it is available to many participants, as specifically licensed by each root. Selection may follow Principle A or Principle B in Figure 6.1.

If there are both Actor and Undergoer macroroles assigned from the logical structure, the Undergoer participant is the required default choice for PSA. This is an ergative pattern, assigning to the Undergoer argument the same privilege as the single argument of an intransitive predicate. The predicate affix will index the non-Actor argument that has been given Undergoer macrorole assignment.

There are some exceptions to the Undergoer-as-PSA requirement. §6.1.4.6 will look at situations when a predicate meets the conditions for having both an Actor and an Undergoer, but because of specific semantic conditions the Undergoer is not selected as PSA. This is a PSA modulation construction in that the Actor macrorole in such a situation is chosen as PSA, forming a marked antipassive-voice predicate.

In most situations, though, predicates with two macroroles will be formed with Undergoer-indexing affixes. Table 6.3 lists these affixes and suggests a common thematic role that an Undergoer so indexed would fill.

#### 6.1.4.3.1 Transitive Undergoer-indexing affixes

**Table 6.3. Undergoer-indexing affixation**

Affix (and tag) <sup>20</sup>	Position of PSA(x) in LS	Likely thematic role
<i>-en</i> (UND)	<b>do'.....pred'</b> (x)	PATIENT
<i>i-</i> (UNDi)	<b>do'...be-LOC'</b> (y, x) <b>use'</b> (y, x)	THEME INSTRUMENT
<i>ma-</i> (UNDS)	<b>pred'</b> (y, x)	STIMULUS (with nonagentive PERCEIVER)
<i>-an</i> (UNDl)	<b>do'...be-LOC'</b> (x, y)	STATIC LOCUS
<i>i...an</i> (UNDd)	<b>do'...be-LOC'</b> (x, y)	DIRECTIONAL LOCUS

An Undergoer PSA will be indexed by a predicate affix from Table 6.3, and that PSA will be marked with absolutive case, demonstrative class I or pronoun class III. Table 6.3 indicates for each indexing affix the likely argument position where the PSA so indexed would be found. Also included is a typical thematic role that an argument might have in that position.

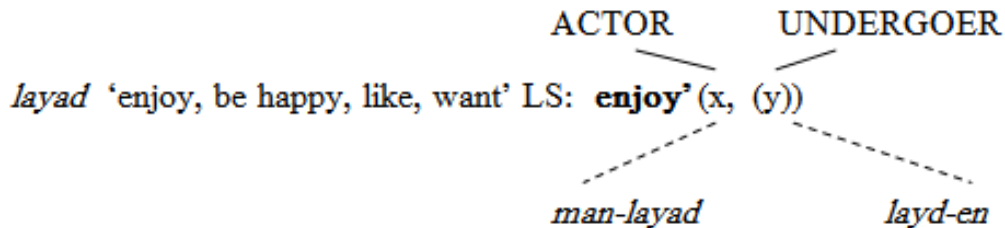
Principle A for Undergoer macrorole assignment (see Figure 6.1) yields predicates affixed with *-en* or *i-*. With most predicates *-en* indexes the most PATIENT-like argument. The affix *i-* generally indexes a THEME, the right-most argument (y) in LSs that have locative predicates such as **be-at'** (x,y) or **be-with'** (x,y). The second (INSTRUMENT) argument of **use'** (x,y) is also indexed by *i-*. The prefix *ma-* usually occurs with intransitive predicates but is also allowed with transitive perception predicates. Principle B assigns Undergoer macrorole status to the first argument of locative predicates, a static LOCATION or GOAL indexed by *-an*, while RECIPIENTS and BENEFICIARIES use *i...an* which indexes arguments toward which or away from which the activity moves.

The following examples show the possible linking of Macroroles to the argument structure, and the affixation that results. The logical structures of these predicates is shown, with macrorole possibilities and the linking from PSA (x, y, z, or w) to affixation.

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<sup>20</sup>The abbreviations for the indexing affixes are as follows: ACTor, ACTor-m(over), Th(eme), UNDergoer-s(tate), UNDergoer(patient), UNDergoer-t(heme), UNDergoer-l(ocus), UNDergoer-d(irection), UNDergoer-m(over).

Figure 6.5 shows the two affixations possible with the stative root *layad* ‘enjoy’, as seen in example 26). With only the Actor macrorole assigned, the *man-* indexing shows that the PSA is the Actor and the predicate is intransitive. When both macroroles are assigned, the Undergoer macrorole is selected as PSA. The *-en* affixed predicate is macrorole-transitive and syntactically transitive.



**Figure 6.5.      Macrorole assignment and affix linking  
with a two-argument state predicate**

- 26) *Man-layad si Bitmar. Layd=ena din mangga.*  
 ACT-enjoy PRM Bitmar enjoy=UND.3sII RMd mango  
 ‘Bitmar is happy. She likes/wants the mango.’

Perception-state predicates generally have arguments that indicate CONTENT of the perception by a conscious PERCEIVER. Both arguments are given macrorole assignment, the Undergoer macrorole is the PSA, and the predicate is transitive. When the Actor of such predicates is consciously experiencing her perception, an Activity component **do'** could reasonably be posited in the logical structure. The first display in Figure 6.6 for the predicate ‘see’ shows the Actor macrorole assigned to the left-most argument. If the right-most argument is not given macrorole status due to indefinite reference, the Actor is assigned as PSA with the affix *man-*, forming an intransitive Activity predicate ‘look for’, as in 27). If the Undergoer macrorole is assigned to the CONTENT argument, it must be assigned as PSA, indexed by *-en*. The second display in Figure 6.6 does not have the **do'** predicate. The PERCEIVER is assigned the Actor macrorole, but such an Actor is specifically fortuitous, non-agentive, non-directive of the perception, as reflected in the free translation of 28). The PERCEIVER maintains its canonical syntactic status as ergative Actor. This transitive use of *ma-* is only possible with perception predicates. If the Actor is not specified, it will not receive macrorole assignment and the *ma-* indexed predicate will be intransitive.

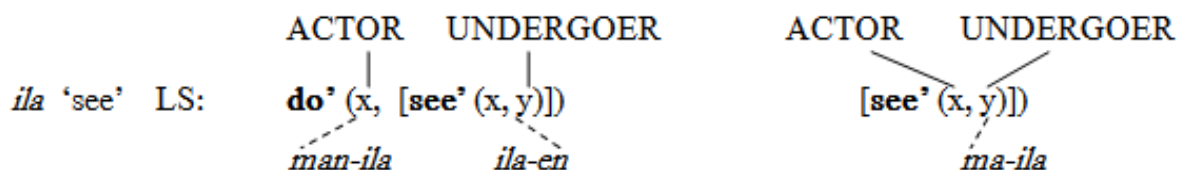


Figure 6.6. Macrorole assignment and affix linking  
with a perception-state predicate

- 27) *Man-ila = ka = s asawa = m.*  
 ACT-see = 2sI = OPRM spouse = 2sII  
 ‘Keep an eye out/Look for a wife (for yourself)!’
- 28) *Ed England na-ila = k di snow.*  
 LOC England UNDs.P-see = 1sII RMI snow  
 ‘In England I had the chance to see snow.’

The diagram in Figure 6.7 shows a complex causative logical structure and the various options for Undergoer assignment. Four affixations are possible with the action root *pespes* ‘squeeze’. Note that *-en* is used for a more PATIENT-like Undergoer, one that is bodily affected. The Actor macrorole is only given PSA status and indexing affixation on the predicate when there is no specific, fully affected argument that qualifies for Undergoer assignment, as is the case in 29).

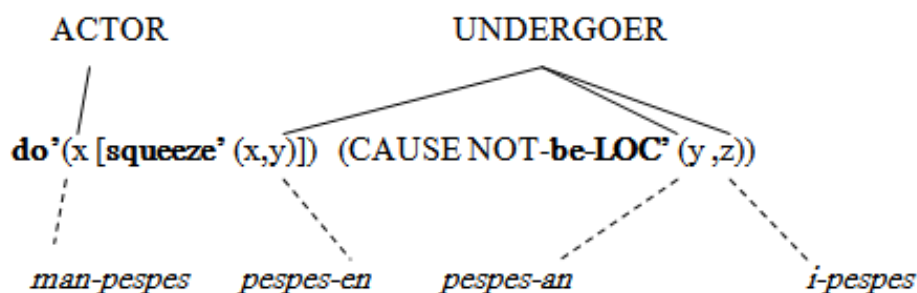


Figure 6.7. Macrorole assignment and affixation  
with a causative option

- 29) *Man-pespes = ka si kalamansi.*  
 ACT-squeeze = 2sI ORMi calamansi  
 ‘Squeeze some calamansi (citrus fruits).’
- 30) *Pespes-e(n) = naka.*  
 squeeze-UND = 1sII + 2sI  
 ‘I’m going to give you a hug!’

- 31) *P<in>espes-an Marta din kalamansi.*  
 UNDI.P-squeeze< Marta RMd calamansi  
 ‘Marta squeezed the calamansis.’
- 32) *I-pespes=mo din danom=na sin tasa.*  
 UNDt-squeeze=2sII RMd water=4II ORMd cup  
 ‘Squeeze the juice into the cup.’

In Figure 6.8 the display shows predicates formed with the action root *ponas* ‘wipe’ with a full range of participants. Note that in the absence of any PATIENT argument, the THEME indexing is *-en*. This action (‘wipe’) most typically is performed for the purpose expressed in the CAUSE part of the logical structure, but the **use**’ predicate is a credible addition to the root meaning. Examples 33) and 34) show the indexing for each different PSA possibility.

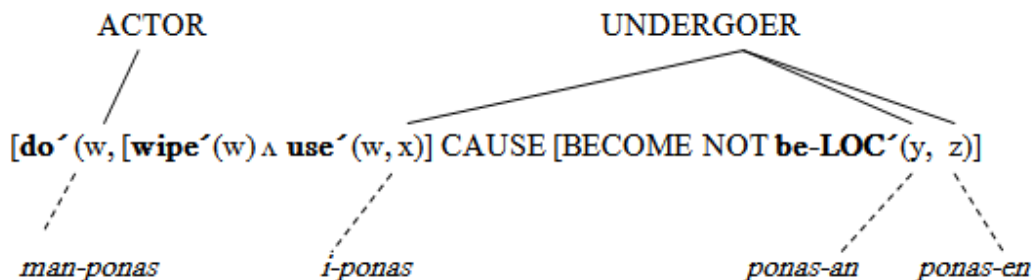


Figure 6.8. Macrorole status and affixation  
 with no PATIENT in the LS

- 33) *Man-pon~ponas din katolong. Ponas-a(n)=na din lamisaan.*  
 ACT-CVC-wipe RMd helper wipe-UNDI=3sII RMd table  
 ‘The helper is wiping. She’s wiping the table.’
- 34) *I-ponas=mo nan kalaley. Ponas-e(n)=m din kaloloya.*  
 UNDt-wipe=2sII D1RM rag wipe-UND=2sII RMd dirt  
 ‘Wipe with this rag. Wipe away the dirt.’

Predicates that denote a change of location for a THEME Undergoer caused by an Actor have the logical structure:

[do' (x, [root' (x,(z))])] CAUSE [INGR/BECOME **be-LOC'** (y, z)].

All three arguments (x, y, z) are required by the predicate. The z-argument THEME PSA is typically indexed with *i-*. When such predicates index the Actor, the affixes *man-* and *i-* very often occur together for this function as *man?i-*, tagged ACT.Th, to indicate

that the activity includes the movement of a THEME. Some examples of Actor-indexed location-change predicates are listed in 35).

Figure 6.9 shows the typical ditransitive root *todo* ‘teach: cause someone to come to know something’, a transfer of information. If there is no Undergoer-macrorole assignment, the Actor is indexed with *man-* or *manʔi-* and given PSA status, as in examples a) and b) following Figure 6.9. With transfer predicates, *i-...-an* indexes a RECIPIENT, as in c), and *i-* indexes the THEME, as in d). Although either argument may be given macrorole assignment as being more salient, the THEME argument takes precedence over the RECIPIENT if both are specific entities. The reason for this is that the non-macrorole third argument is given oblique marking, and a THEME with definite oblique marking will be interpreted as partially affected. A RECIPIENT, which is likely to be a person, can maintain its specific reference using the oblique reference marker. Therefore if both RECIPIENT and THEME participants are specific and salient, the THEME will be the PSA. There is no evidence of ditransitivity on the syntactic level, i.e. there are no predicates that take three direct core arguments.

**Figure 6.9. Macrorole assignment and affixation with a three-place predicate of transfer**



- a. *Nan-todo = ak                      si                      Day Care children*  
 ACT.P- teach = 1sI    ORMi    Day Care children  
 ‘I taught day-care children.’
- b. *Man-it~i-tdo = ak                      si                      Sunday School.*  
 ACT-CVC-Th-teach = 1sI    ORMi    Sunday School.  
 ‘I am teaching Sunday School.’
- c. *It~i-tdo-an = yo = s    sisya sin                      iyat = na    ay    man-obl.*  
 CVC-UNDD-teach < = 2pII = PRM    3sIII    ORMd way = 3sII LK    ACT-work  
 ‘(You guys) be teaching her about how to work.’
- d. *Ini-tdo = n                                      Todyak    din                      danan sin                      pamilya = na.*  
 UNDT.P-teach = BPRM    Todyak    RMd    path    ORMd    family = 3sII  
 ‘Todyak showed/pointed out the path to his family.’

#### 6.1.4.4 Indexing with valency-augmenting affixation

Three constructions in Kankanaey increase the options for macrorole assignment. The first is the presentation of a self-affecting motion as reflexive, having an Undergoer that is co-referential with the Actor. A second is the introduction of a second argument such as a comitative or instrument with intransitive roots. The third is the overt introduction of a causing AGENT to the logical structure of a predicate.

##### 6.1.4.4.1 Self-affecting movements and activities

As seen in Chapter 2, physical roots may form an activity predicate of self-movement or state predicates of position. Both may be formed with *<om>* indexing the single argument, as seen in Figure 6.10, where the Actor macrorole is posited for movement, and Undergoer macrorole for position states. Physical-position roots may also present the single argument as a THEME Undergoer, using the prefix *i-*, as in 37) b. The second form is less formal, and is often used for commands. The PSA linked to the Undergoer macrorole is co-referential with the overt Actor and can not be given expression in the clause (thus the ? in example 37. b).



The *i-...an* (directional) circumfix indexes the SOURCE in 39) and creates a transitive predicate.

- 39) *I-layaw-a(n)=m*                      *Ø*      *mo*      *seppat-en=daka*.  
 UNDD-run.away < = 2sII    3sIII    if      beat-UND = 3sII.2sI  
 ‘Run away from him if he beats you.’

Conveyance predicates are regularly formed with the *i-* applicative affixed to motion roots, as in 40), but unusual possibilities are very wide-ranging. Example 41) shows how handily the *i-* applicative with a class root can express the situation. An argument that might be conceived as a metaphorical THEME may be available as PSA with *i-*, as in 42).

- 40) *I-ey=mo*                      *sa*                      *en*                      *ama=m*.  
 UND-go = 2sII    DEM2I    OPRM    father = 2sII  
 ‘Take that to your father.’

- 41) *Owat=ak*    *in-loga~logan*                      *din*      *odom*    *ay*    *pilak*.  
 only = 1sI    UNDt.P-INTENS-vehicle    RMd    other    LK    money  
 ‘I used (lit. vehicled) the rest of the money for my repeated vehicle rides.’

- 42) *I-oga=m*                      *Ø*    *ta*    *ma-kaan*                      *din*                      *sakit*    *di*                      *nemnem=mo*.  
 UNDt-cry = 2sII    4III    so    UNDS-remove    RMd                      hurt/sick                      BRMi  
 thought = 2sII  
 ‘Cry them (feelings) out so your painful feelings/thoughts will be gone.’

#### 6.1.4.4.3 Affix-agreement linking with derived ‘*pa-*’ causative predicates

As noted in Chapter 2, the causative *pa-* prefix adds a causer, an AGENT participant who causes a state of affairs; this AGENT must be assigned the Actor macrorole. Any of the other participants in the logical structure may be assigned to the Undergoer macrorole. This causative prefix combines with other predicative affixes to indicate which argument has been selected as PSA. Chapter 2 has many examples of this construction, so a short presentation here will suffice to illustrate the argument-affixation linking. Examples a-c below the figure demonstrate the possibilities with the root *kan* ‘eat’, which takes a volitional AGENT as CAUSER.

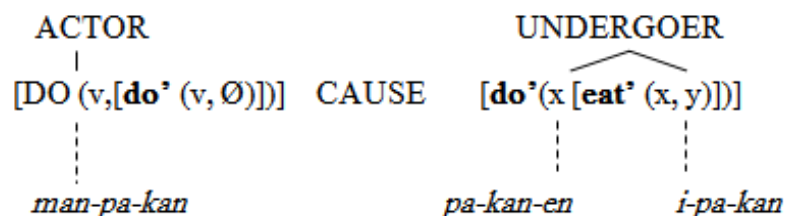


Figure 6.12. Macroroles and affixation  
with overt causative prefix

- a. *Man-pa-kan = kami si koniho.*  
 ACT-CAUS-eat = 1pI ORMi rabbit  
 'We feed (i.e. are raising) rabbits.'
- b. *Pa-kan-en = yo din babai agan?o.*  
 CAUS-eat-UNDc = 2pII RMd female first  
 'Feed the female first.'
- c. *Adi = kayo i-pa-kan din nalogit.*  
 NEG = 2pII UNDt-CAUS-eat RMd dirty  
 'Don't feed (them) the dirty stuff.'

*Manpa-* is the affix that cross-references the AGENT or a reflexive AGENT-PATIENT, as in 43).

- 43) *Man-pa-ila = ak si doktor.*  
 ACT-CAUS-see = 1sI ORMi doctor  
 'I will have a doctor see me.'

In general, *pa...en* follows Principle B above, indexing the next-to-last argument in the LS, often a possible ACTOR, the Causee, thus the tag UNDC. Unlike an accusative language, which would tend to mark the causee with a dative or a preposition (VanValin 2005:235-6), Kankanaey easily assigns Undergoer macrorole status to the causee by *pa...en* affixation, as in 44).

- 44) *En = ak pa-lobwat-en dakayo ed Baguio.*  
 go = 1sI CAUS -depart-UNDc 2pIII LOC Baguio  
 'I am going to see you off (lit. cause to depart) in Baguio.'

With no other affixation, *pa-* indexes the second argument of **pred'** (x,y), which is usually the most-affected PATIENT participant, as seen in 45).

45) *En=ak pa-ripir din beey=ko.*  
 go = 1sI CAUS.UND-repair RMd house = 1sII  
 ‘I’m going to have my house repaired.’

The prefix *i-* with *pa-* is often used to index the content of communication or perception events, as in 46) and 47).

46) *I-pa-ila=k din litrato=yo sin pamilya=k.*  
 UNDt-CAUS-see = 1sII RMd picture = 2pII ORMd family = 1sII  
 ‘I will show your picture to my family.’

47) *Asi=na i-pa-dnge Ø sin soldados=na.*  
 then = 3sII UNDt-CAUS-hear 4III ORMd soldiers = 3sII  
 ‘Then he told (lit. caused to hear) it to his soldiers.’

With many roots, the THEME indexed by *i-pa-* is a participant that is moved in the process of the event. In 48) the items to be laundered will be taken elsewhere; the affixation for laundering per se is shown in 49). In 50) the root is ‘edge’ and the action of moving the vehicle to the edge is implied by *i-pa-*.

48) *Sokat-a(n)=m san bado=m ta en=ak i-laba Ø.*  
 change-UNDI = 2sII DRM clothes = 2sII so.that go = 1s UNDt-laundry 4III  
 ‘Change your clothes so I’ll go launder them.’

49) *Ay I<in>aba-a(n)=m din langpin Dollika?*  
 Q UNDI.P-laundry < = 2sII RMd diaper Dollika  
 ‘Did you launder Dollika’s diapers?’

50) *Dalas-e(n)=k ay i-pa-igid Ø sin danan.*  
 do.quickly-UND = 1s LK UNDt-CAUS-edge 4III ORMd road  
 ‘I quickly pulled over to the side of the road.’

#### 6.1.4.5 Indexing with valency-reducing derived predicates

Several predicates have derivative affixation that reduces valency, namely recent-past, emotion-causing and reciprocal predicates.

##### 6.1.4.5.1 Recent past clauses

The combination of CVC reduplication with the prefix *ka-* indicates recently-completed activities or changes of state. This predicate is highly irregular in that it does not inflect for aspect (the CVC reduplication is part of the affix), nor does it mark its

single argument with absolutive case. The single argument is an ergative pronoun or RP, as in example 51). If there is a definite second argument, this construction includes the indexing prefix *i-* and the Undergoer is the PSA, as in 52).

51) *Ka-dat~dateng=mi=d labi en da Pedring.*  
 RECENT-arrive = 1pII = LOC night OPRM pl Pedring  
 ‘We just arrived last night—Pedring and others and I.’

52) *Ka-i-paw~paw?it=ko din solat.*  
 RECENT-Th-send = 1sII RMd letter  
 ‘I just now sent off the letter.’

#### 6.1.4.5.2 Emotion-causing predicates

When the ability to cause emotions or mental states can be attributed to something or someone, such a potential attributive predicate (introduced in §2.3.1.3) is formed with *ka-* followed by CV reduplication of the emotion or mental-state root. Something in the nature (thus any nominal logical structure [...x...]) of the single argument has the potential to cause the mental state in necessarily unspecified EXPERIENCERS. The LS (compare to VVLP 402) shows that only one macrorole assignment is possible, the left-most argument as Actor. The PSA is assigned to that argument, as shown in Figure 6.13 for example 54). The affix does not inflect for perfective marking, but the context determines the interpretation as either actual or potential, as seen in 53) and 54).

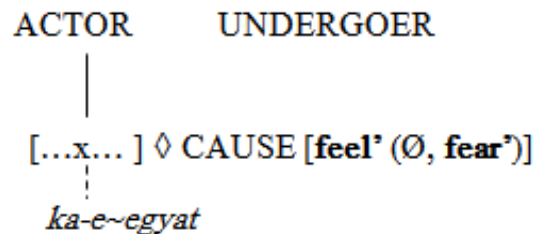


Figure 6.13. Macrorole assignment and *kaCV*-indexing for state-causing predicates

53) *Ka.si~siyek di in-yat=da ay naN-(s)ong~songbat sin questions.*  
 CAUS.-amuse RMi UNDt.P-way = 3pII LK ANTI-CVC-answer ORMd questions  
 ‘The way they were answering the questions was funny (caused amused feelings).’

- 54) *Baken koma ka.e~egyat di pese.*  
 NEG IRR CAUS.fear RMi death  
 ‘Death should not be scary (cause fear).’

#### 6.1.4.5.3 Reciprocal activities and states

Adding the prefix *?asi-* to a root that inherently takes two participants creates a predicate in whose logical structure the x and y arguments are simultaneously reciprocal. The prefix *?asi-* allows both Actors to be merged into one macrorole, leaving the undergoers of the action implicit. The Actor-indexing affix *man-* indexes the plural argument, as in Figure 6.14. Examples 55) and 56) also show this indexing.

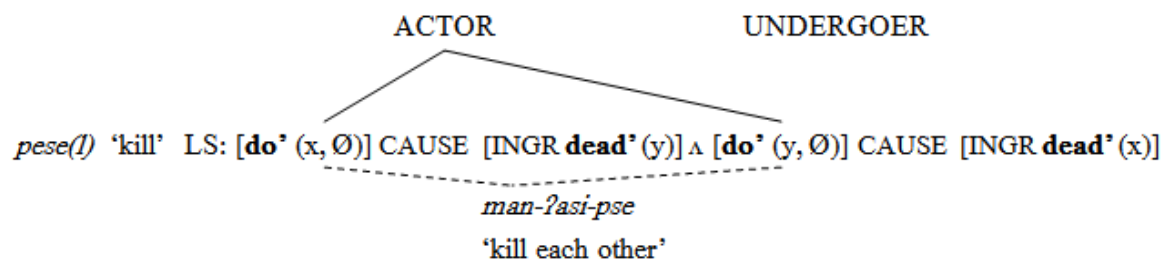


Figure 6.14. Reciprocal macrorole assignment and indexing

- 55) *Man-?asi-dongpal = da et na-boong din ispiko = n di taxi.*  
 ACT-RECIP-collide = 3pI and UNDs.P-shatter RMd glass BRMi taxi  
 ‘They crashed into each other and the taxi’s windshield was shattered.’
- 56) *Man-asi-ammo = kayo.*  
 ACT-RECIP-know = 2pI  
 ‘Get to know each other. (e.g. introduce yourselves)’

The infix *<in>* with *man-* (incidentally homophonous with perfective aspect in Undergoer voices) indicates a type of reciprocal state with only one plural argument.

- 57) *Man-k <in> aw?it din kawal.*  
 ACT-RECIP-link RMd chain  
 ‘Chain (links) are linked to each other.’
- 58) *Man <in> ammo = kayo baw.*  
 ACT-RECIP-know = 2pI EVID  
 ‘You know each other (already) I see.’

#### 6.1.4.6 Indexing with voice alternations that reduce syntactic transitivity

There are four voice alternations in Kankanaey that reduce the syntactic transitivity of a predicate that has two or more arguments in its logical structure. Antipassive voice selects the Actor as PSA in a transitive clause. Passive voice suppresses the Actor of a transitive predicate. Two other Actor-suppressing affixations are used in special situations.

##### 6.1.4.6.1 *Antipassive voice*

As pointed out in Section 6.1.4.2.3, some Kankanaey predicates may have more than one argument position in their logical structure, but due to the unavailability of a second argument for macrorole assignment they are syntactically intransitive. Undergoer voices are not appropriate when the goal or trajectory of the action has low identifiability or affectedness. Cooreman (1994:51) notes that the “degree of difficulty with which an effect stemming from an activity by A on an identifiable O can be recognized” influences the use of the “semantic/pragmatic antipassive.” In such situations, Kankanaey selects the single Actor macrorole as PSA and the non-Actor argument is given oblique status. This modulation may qualify the Actor voice as a semantic/pragmatic antipassive, as has been suggested for Sama (VVL 1997:301), but in this study the macrorole assignment principles outlined in Figure 6.1 provide for the Actor to be given default PSA status for Activity predicates in the *Aktionsart* classification with no marked status as an antipassive.

There are, however, situations where both the Actor and Undergoer macroroles are linked to identifiable and affected arguments in the logical structure, but other factors intervene, forcing the Actor to be selected as PSA. The Undergoer is given oblique argument marking, but maintains its definite and wholly-affected interpretation. This non-default choice of PSA, and the oblique marking of the Undergoer-assigned second argument creates a typical antipassive voice, both PSA-modulation and argument-modulation being evidenced.

Special antipassive affixation specifies semantic details regarding the Actor argument. Situations calling for the antipassive voice include precipitate Actors, abilitative (non-agentive) Actors, and Actors who are lower in inherent lexical content than the Undergoer.



#### 6.1.4.6.1.1 Precipitate Actors

When the Actor is presented as acting with haste, an action root is affixed with *ka-*, an indexing that gives the Actor PSA status. This affix is very important in stories, almost invariably marking at least one action at the peak of the narrative. Intransitive predicates may be formed with *ka-* ‘IMM(ediate)’, as in 59) but *ka-* can also be used for transitive predicates, creating an antipassive-voice predicate. The definite PATIENT argument is given definite but oblique marking, as in 60), with no loss of referentiality or affectedness. If a THEME argument that would normally be indexed with *i-* is the affected argument, that affix is retained to flag its role, but the Actor still takes the PSA assignment, as in 61).

- 59) *Et doy etay ka-sigbo, en=(n)a pay kano=n ila-(e)n Ø.*  
 and DEM3V PART IMM-dive go=3sII PART HSY=DISP see.UND 4III  
 ‘And there he just dove right in, he went to see (what had happened).’
- 60) *Ka-ladkiking=ak sin malita=k yan en=ak mai-abat en daida.*  
 IMM-pick.up=1sI ORMd suitcase=1sII and go=1sI UNDts-meet OPRM 3pIII  
 ‘I snatched up my suitcase and went to be taken to meet up with them.’
- 61) *Ka-i-payag Ø sin sokod=na yan ka-dama Ø sin sana*  
 IMM-Th-set.down 3sI ORMd staff=3sII and IMM-attack 3sI ORM DEM2V  
*ay banig Nabulay.*  
 LK ghost Nabulay  
 ‘He just dropped his walking stick and attacked that ghost of Nabulay.’

#### 6.1.4.6.1.2 Abilitative Actors

Sometimes an Actor argument is non-agentive in the sense that the situation is fortuitous rather than due to the intent of the Actor. Sometimes an Actor is presented as simply capable of doing something. Without an argument assigned as the Actor macrorole, the transitive Undergoer voices are not available. The Actor-indexing *maka-* (ACT.ABIL) prefix licenses a non-agentive Actor macrorole, and gives it PSA status.

This PSA may be the single direct argument, as in 62). If another participant is affected and specific, it has Undergoer macrorole status, but is given definite oblique marking to maintain its specificity. If the effect of the action involves a change of location, the THEME role index *i-* co-occurs with *maka--*. Thus, in the second clause of 63), the girl Maligtay is very clearly the Undergoer of the predicate *goyod* ‘pull on,

drag’, but the negative antipassive presents the Actor as unfortuitous or incapable. In 64) the predicate *baga* ‘tell’ would take *i-* in the default Undergoer-voice, but in this instance of expressing inability, an antipassive is required and the content of the ‘telling’ is given definite oblique marking. Discourse pragmatics affects the choice to use this antipassive. Many instances of this construction are used with the negative, telling why something didn’t happen.

62) *Maka-dan = ak si at?atik.*

ACT.ABIL-walk = 1sI ORMi few

‘I’m able to walk a little bit.’ (after surgery)

63) *Man-eset si Maligtay et adi maka?i-goyod si Mrs Aglo.*

ACT-do.well PRM Maligtay and NEG ACT.ABIL.Th-drag PRM Mrs Aglo

‘Maligtay (hung on) tight and Mrs. Aglo could not pull her away.’

64) *Adi = ak maka?i-baga isnan iyaman = ko en dakayo.*

NEG = 1sI ACT.ABIL.Th-tell ODRM thanks = 1sII OPRM 2pIII

‘I cannot express this my gratitude to you all.’

#### 6.1.4.6.1.3 Actors and Undergoers in conflict with the lexical content hierarchy

Silverstein (1976:113) proposed an ‘inherent lexical content’ hierarchy, in which participants or entities are ordered as follows:

1<sup>st</sup> Person > 2<sup>nd</sup> > 3<sup>rd</sup> > human > animate > inanimate

Sometimes there are situations where the trajectory of effect points in the opposite direction from this hierarchy, such that a lower-ranked participant has an effect on a higher-ranked entity. Kankanaey predicates prefer to code this inversion with the affix <om>, which creates an Actor-indexed predicate with its single argument the lower-ranked participant no matter what the state of affairs may be. An Undergoer participant with higher lexical content is obligatorily implied but omitted<sup>21</sup>, a different sort of argument-modulation than other antipassive constructions. Depending on the Actor’s place in the hierarchy, the Undergoer may be an unidentified animate entity or the very specific 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person. The affix is tagged ACT because it cross-references the left-most participant in the logical structure of the predicate; the tag (LH) (for the influence

<sup>21</sup> In Iloko, a different strategy (agent neutralization) is employed in these situations. The higher-agency participant pronoun is omitted in transitive constructions, e.g. “the first person singular ergative enclitic...cannot appear before the second person singular absolutive” (Rubino 2005:334).

of the lexical content hierarchy) identifies this use of *<om>*. As with other antipassive affixes, a THEME-role Undergoer is acknowledged with the *i-* prefix. This is seen in 65) where the action of ‘governing’ is predicated of an inanimate concept toward humans.

- 65) *Mo ?<om>i-turay din aklong si kina-baknang...*  
 if ACT(LH)-Th-govern RMd desire ORMi NOM-rich  
 ‘When/If the desire for wealth drives a person/people....’

The only possible implied participant in 66) and 67) is first person, as reflected in the English translations. In 68) the dog’s propensity is to bite people; cats or other animates are not in mind.

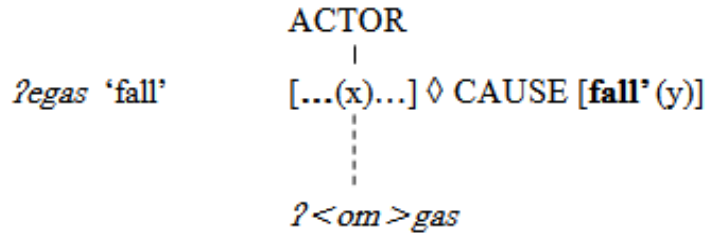
- 66) *Ay ?<om>ayag=ka?*  
 Q ACT(LH)-call=2sI  
 ‘Are you calling me?’

- 67) *Sigolo anggay ay l<om>iw?an si da Dal en Lindi*  
 probablyalready LK ACT(LH)-forgetPRMpl Dal OPRM Lindi  
*tan ma-bayag ay adi=da <om>il-ila.*  
 because UNDs-long.time LK NEG=3pI ACT(AH)-PROG-see  
 ‘Dal and Lindi have probably already forgotten (me/us) because it’s been a long time since they’ve been seeing (me/us).’

- 68) *K<om>at din aso!*  
 ACT(LH)=bite RM dog  
 ‘(Careful!) The dog bites (people/you)!’

The potential causative state predicates shown in Figure 6.13 may also be expressed with this use of *<om>* when inanimate entities affect animate entities just from their own inherent properties. These predicates differ from the *kaCV-* marked predicates in that the *<om>* marked predicates are generally built from physical-state roots while *kaCV-* marked predicates are generally built from emotion-state roots and are not sensitive to the lexical content hierarchy.

Figure 6.15 illustrates the predicate in 70). This use of *<om>* cannot assert any particular event, but rather a potential effect.



**Figure 6.15.    Macrorole assignment and affixation  
related to the Lexical Content Hierarchy**

69) ?<om>*olaw di samdak.*  
 ACT(LH)-dizzy R<sub>Mi</sub> mushroom  
 'Mushrooms cause dizziness.'

70) ?<om>*gas sa!*  
 ACT(LH)-fall DEM2I  
 'You'll fall there!! (It is slippery or steep and will cause you to fall.)'

71) *B<om>eteng san San Miguel.*  
 ACT(LH)-drunk DRM2 San Miguel  
 'That San Miguel (beer) is intoxicating/can make one drunk.'

The antipassive <om> can also co-occur with the overt causative *i-pa-*, shown in 72), to index inanimate CAUSERS affecting unspecified animate entities.

72) *Lawa di sobra ay kapi, <om>i-pa-ilas Ø.*  
 bad R<sub>Mi</sub> too.much LK coffee ACT(LH).Th-CAUS-insomnia 4I  
 'Too much coffee is bad, it causes insomnia.'

Pragmatic considerations underlie the choice of this affix, for example, as a softening device in hortatory discourse. Thus in 65) above, the construction allows an ambiguous implication for the participants who are unflatteringly accused of being driven by their economic desires. In 73) the speaker's son has quit school to help her to support the family; she presents his role as helper as more salient than her implied role as the person being helped.

73) *ta t<om>olong Ø ay man-anap si pan-biyag=mi*  
 so.that ACT-help 3sI LK ACT-search ORMi NOM-life=1pII  
 'so that he will help me make our living'

Inversion of the inherent lexical content hierarchy does not necessarily trigger the use of <om>. In 74) the affected participant has a salient semantic role, a directional

locus. In this case, the BENEFICIARY is given explicit reference rather than being implied; it has been assigned as the PSA with the unmarked Undergoer voice rather than with *<om>*. In 75) the blended pronoun *daka* (3sII.2sI) codes the same marked inversion instead of using *<om>*.

- 74) *I-amag-a(n)=m kod sakʔen si reference=ko.*  
 UNDD. make = 2sII please 1sIII ORM reference = 1sII

‘Please write (lit. make) (for) me a [character] reference.’

- 75) *Bangon-en=daka ay masapa.*  
 get.up-UND = 3sII.2sI LK early

‘It (the rooster) will get you up early.’

#### 6.1.4.6.2 Passive voice with *ma-*

Passive voice in Kankanaey does not change the choice of argument for PSA status; the Undergoer of a two-argument predicate is still chosen. Rather, it shows argument-modulation by blocking any agentive Actor. The passive voice creates an intransitive state predicate by adding the prefix *ma-* (tagged s(state)) to other Undergoer-voice affixation. Passive voice is often used on pragmatic grounds because it reflects marked semantic features—the interest of the speaker is only in the effect upon the Undergoer and the erstwhile Actor is suppressed.

The passive *ma-* co-occurs with the other basic Undergoer-indexing affixes, thus *ma-i*, *ma...an*, and *ma-i...an*. The PATIENT-marking suffix *-en* is deleted with *ma-*, however, creating some ambiguity between simple states and passive states. As with the Undergoer voices described above, any salient non-Actor participant in a state of affairs may be assigned the Undergoer macrorole in passive voice.

The co-occurrence of *ma-* with other Undergoer-voice affixes was introduced in Chapter 2. The examples here may suffice to show the Actor as irrelevant, unknown, or non-specific, as in 76), with the affix *na...an* indexing a static-locus Undergoer and the ‘teacher’ argument the THEME, not the EFFECTOR. In the situation denoted by 77), the passive predicate presents the speaker as the source from which the ‘crying’ event occurred; her role as the Actor is not alluded to, and is much less relevant than her affectedness.



- 80) ...*mo* <*om*>*ingpis* *ono* *ma-labas* *din* *liboo*.  
 when CHANGE.thin or UNDM-pass.by RMd cloud  
 ‘...when the cloud dissipates or passes by.’
- 81) *Kanan*=(*n*)*a kano* =*s di*, *yan* *dowan*=*et* *ma-limos* Ø.  
 say=3sII HSY DEM3IV and while=PART UNDM-leave.home 3sI  
 ‘He reportedly said that while departing.’

#### 6.1.4.6.4 Impersonal constructions

Another argument-modulating voice construction is formed with the default Undergoer-voice indexing, but the Actor macrorole is suppressed by omission, and interpreted as nonreferential and not salient. The predicate thus retains its dynamic force as expressing an action or event rather than a passive state. This construction is common in procedural and hortatory texts, as in 82), and may play a mitigating role presenting the Actors as self-evident and indirect, as in 83).

- 82) *Sitsit-an* *din* *danom*.  
 drain-UNDI RMd water  
 ‘Drain out the water.’ (general instructions regarding fishpond maintenance)
- 83) *Siyat* *ikgot-an* *di* *i-lagbo-an*.  
 must store-UNDI RMi UNDD-salary<  
 ‘Earnings should be stored up.’ (advice to newlyweds)

#### 6.1.4.7 Indexing with valency-maintaining affixation

##### 6.1.4.7.1 Applicative affixation to license variable Undergoer assignment

The circumfix *i-...-an* has been shown in earlier examples as the indexing affix for directional-locus required arguments such as RECIPIENTS. As an applicative *i-...-an* can cross-reference other directional-type arguments that are not required, such as the BENEFICIARIES in 84) and 85). The non-specific THEMES are given indefinite oblique marking.

- 84) *I-anap-an*=*yo* *kod* *din* *i-iyogtan*=*yo* *si* *pan-obla-an*=*da*.  
 UNDD-search<=2pII please RMd pl-yng.sib=2pII ORMi NOM-work<=3pII  
 ‘Please look on behalf of your younger siblings for a place for them to work.’

- 85) *I-lako-a(n)=m kod sak?en si arina si bigat.*  
 UNDD-buy < =2sII please 1sIII ORMi flour ORMi next-day  
 ‘Please buy me some flour tomorrow.’

#### 6.1.4.7.2 Associative affixation

The prefix *maki-* agrees with a single participant who is joining other participants (thus tagged ASSOC). In 86) the Actor is presented as joining or associating with others in the specified activity, often activities typically done as a group. In 87) the speaker and probably others are already planning a trip, so the hearer would be joining them. Usually it is Actors who join in with activities but Undergoers that join other entities may also be indexed with *maki-*, as in 89).

- 86) *Maki-mis~misa=ak si Domingo.*  
 ASSOC-CVC-mass = 1sI ORMi Sunday  
 ‘I am going to Mass on Sundays.’

- 87) *Ay maki-ali=ka?*  
 Q ASSOC-come = 2sI  
 ‘Are you coming along?’

- 88) *Di nemnem=na yan maki-lagbo Ø kano.*  
 RMI thought = 3sII PART ASSOC-wage 3sI HSY  
 ‘His idea, he says he will get a job (lit. join-earn.wage).’

- 89) *Adi=kayo kamas-an Ø tan maki-gabot din pagey.*  
 NEG = 2pI weed.ricefield-UNDI 4III because ASSOC-pull.out RMD rice  
 ‘Don’t weed it (i.e. field) because the rice plants will (be) pulled out along with (the weeds).’

Oblique RPs in clauses with *maki-* affixed predicates may refer to the other participants in the shared activity, as in 90), or an Undergoer argument, as in 91) and 92), where the Actor-indexed predicate forms an antipassive-voice construction.

- 90) *Deda=kayo ay maki-be?~be?ey en am~ama=yo.*  
 still = 2pI LK ASSOC-CVC-house OPRM CVC-father = 2pII  
 ‘You guys are still living in with your parents.’



91) *Maki-tawid din anak di bag?en sin kinabaknang di among = na.*  
 ASSOC-inherit RMd child BRMi slave ORMd NOM-rich BRMi boss = 3sII

‘The slave’s children will join (others) in inheriting his boss’s wealth.’

92) *Est-e(n) = m ay maki-ad~adal sin kali = n Diyos.*  
 do.well-UND = 2sII LK ASSOC-CVC-study ORMd word = BPRM God

‘Diligently study (in class) the words of God.’

With a few roots, such as *ngalat* ‘converse’ and *asawa* ‘spouse’, *maki-* does not indicate joining in an already-begun activity, but in a reciprocal activity, thus ‘chat with’ and ‘marry’. Example 93) shows a reciprocal interpretation of an associative cross-reference.

93) *Mo maki-gobat = kayo sin Japon, pesl-en = daka.*  
 if ASSOC-war = 2pI ORMd Japanese kill-UND = 3II.2sI

‘If you join in war with Japan, they will kill you.’

#### 6.1.4.7.3 Reflexives

In §6.1.4.4.1 and §6.1.4.6.3 self-affecting movements were seen to form implied reflexive constructions. Other reflexive constructions require an overt RP referring to the Actor’s *awak* ‘body’. In 94) this phrase is indexed by the *i-*, and in 95) it is the oblique Undergoer argument of the antipassive *ka-*affixed predicate.

94) *I-saad = na din awak = na ay pangolo.*  
 UNDT-establish = 3sII RMd body = 3sII LK leader

‘He sets himself up as leader.’

95) *Ka-pese Ø abe sin awak = na sin bokod = na ay kampilan.*  
 IMMED-kill 3sI PART ORMd body-3sII ORMd own = 3sII LK sword

‘He suddenly killed himself too with his own sword.’

## 6.2 PSA of other constructions

As noted above, the privileged syntactic argument of a clause may be signalled by various coding properties. Privileged syntactic arguments also exhibit privileged behaviors: a privileged argument may serve as the controller of other constructions such as reflexive antecedence or pivot interpretation. A privileged argument may also serve as a pivot, the missing argument in a construction. The following sections cover controllers and pivots in several constructions in Kankanaey, especially noting the use

of a structural antipassive construction, the nonfinite predicate indexed with the prefix *maN-*.

### 6.2.1 Control of reflexive antecedence

Examples 96) and 97), repeated from 94) and 95) above with co-reference marked, show that in overt reflexive clauses the possessive pronoun of the reflexive RP is co-referential with the Actor argument. The Actor is a semantic controller, as may be seen in 96), where the Actor is the ergative argument, and in 97) it is the absolutive argument in the clause.

96) *In-saad = na<sub>i</sub>                      din      awak = na<sub>i</sub>      ay      pangolo.*

UNDt-establish = 3sII RMd    body = 3sII    LK    leader

‘He set himself up as leader.’

97) *Ka-pese      Ø<sub>i</sub>    abe      sin      awak = na<sub>i</sub>    sin      bokod = na    ay      kampilan.*

IMMED-kill 3sI PART ORMd    body-3sII    ORMd own = 3sII    LK    sword

‘He suddenly killed himself with his own sword.’

### 6.2.2 Pivot with left-displaced pronominal arguments

Some modals, adverbs, and conjunctions displace core argument personal pronouns to a pre-nuclear position, as was explained in Chapter 3. The pivot for this displacing construction is syntactic, following an accusative pattern: S and A pronouns are displaced. Table 6.4 below repeats the personal pronouns chart from Table 6.1 with the accusative pattern of displacement shown in the heading. 3sI and 4I are not included, because when 3s is explicit (*sisya*) it is not clitic, and the null forms of 3s and 4 cannot be proven to be clitic.

**Table 6.4. Personal pronoun displacement patterns**

	Displace		Do not displace
pronoun class	I (S)	II (A)	III (U)
1s	= <i>ak</i>	= <i>ko</i>	<i>sak?en</i>
1p	= <i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	<i>dakami</i>
2s	= <i>ka</i>	= <i>mo</i>	<i>sik?a</i>
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	= <i>yo</i>	<i>dakayo</i>
1 + 2	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ta</i>	<i>PRM + daita</i>
1 + 2p	= <i>tako</i>	= <i>tako</i>	<i>PRM + datako</i>
3p	= <i>da</i>	= <i>da</i>	<i>PRM + daida</i>
3s, 4		= <i>na</i>	
1sII.2sI	= <i>naka</i>		
3s/pII.2sI	= <i>daka</i>		

The blended pronouns also participate in displacement constructions, the only instance of an absolutive Undergoer argument in the pre-nuclear position, as seen in 98).

- 98) *Awni ta asi = naka pa-bela-en abe.*  
 wait.a.bit so then = 1sII.2sI CAUS-go.out-UND also  
 ‘Wait a bit and then I’ll let you go out too.’

### 6.2.3 Controller and pivot interpretation in core junctures

Chapter 5 covered core junctures in detail; this section summarizes the evidence for the PSA functions in these constructions. The controller in coordinate core junctures controls the co-reference of the pivot (shared argument missing from the second core). This PSA is semantic as it may be the single argument, the transitive actor, or the transitive undergoer, depending on the matrix predicate. The controller is indicated as the first term in the controller-pivot equations noted after examples 99) to 104).

When the controller of co-reference in a coordinate core juncture is the single argument of an emotional state predicate, the pivot is either the single argument of the next clause or the transitive actor. Examples 99) and 100) demonstrate the possibilities for transitive actors, either as the ergative actor of an Undergoer-voice predicate or as the indexed transitive actor of a structural antipassive predicate, as introduced in chapter 5.

99) *Sa.pay.koma.ta na-ragsak=kayo ay datng-an nan solat=ko. S=A<sub>T</sub>*  
 hopefully UNDS.P-happy=2pI LK arrive-UNDI DRM letter=1sII

‘Hopefully you are happy to receive/come upon (this) my letter.’

100) *Ma-bain=ak ay manodsod (maN-sodsod). S=A<sub>ANTI</sub>*

UNDS-shame=1sI LK ANTI-tell.negative

‘I’m embarrassed to give the bad news.’

When the controller is the transitive actor of the matrix core, the pivot is only restricted to being a direct argument of the second core, as seen in the second term in the notation of co-referential equations. (The fuller list of examples is in Chapter 5.) Examples 101) and 102) repeated from chapter 5 are typical.

101) *Laydelaydek ay mangila=d Baguio. A<sub>T</sub> = A<sub>ANTI</sub>*

*CVCCV~layad-en=ko maN-ila=ed*

INTENS-like-UND=1sII LK ANTI.see=LOC Baguio

‘I’d just love to see Baguio (City).’

102) *Ni-layad nina ay nakay ay mai-ponpon si kinakristiyano. A<sub>T</sub> = S<sub>U</sub>*

UND.P-wantDEM1II LK old.man LK UNDTs-bury ORMi Christianity

‘This old man wanted to be buried Christian-style.’

The free variation between the two possible affixations for transitive actor pivots (either the structural antipassive or an Undergoer voice) raises the question of which was the previous syntactic norm. It may be that allowing the Undergoer voice is a newer innovation still in process, an incomplete adoption (or co-opting, in Cooreman’s (1994) term). On the other hand, perhaps the antipassive is the construction growing in favor.

Undergoer-control constructions are those in which the first core is transitive and its Undergoer is the argument that is shared with the second core. Unlike Actor-control constructions, the pivot in Undergoer-control constructions is restricted to the argument indexed on the second predicate, and any transitive Actor pivot is required to be marked by the antipassive *maN-*, as the ungrammaticality of 104) b. attests.

103) *<In>awis=na=s sak?en ay mai-tapi sin obla=da. U<sub>T</sub> = S<sub>U</sub>*

UND.P-persuade=3sII=PRM 1sIII LK UNDTs-join ORMd work=3pII

‘He persuaded me to join (lit. be joined) in their work.’

104) *a. Tolong-a(n)=m sak?en ay en mang-anap sin antokos=ko.  $U_T = A_{ANTI}$*

help-UNDI=2sII 1sIII LK go ANTI-search ORMd glasses=1sII

‘Please help me go look for my glasses.’

*b. \*Tolong-a(n)=m sak?en ay en anap-en din antokos=ko.  $U_T \neq A_T$*

help-UNDI=2sII 1sIII LK go UND-search RMd glasses=1sII

#### 6.2.4 Pivot in nominalization

##### 6.2.4.1 Absolutive-pivot nominalization

Any predicate can be nominalized by placing it in a reference phrase nucleus, preceded by an RM. The pivot of nominalization is the absolutive argument of the predicate, whether there is indexing affixation or not. This argument is omitted and is the entity to which the construction refers. Examples 105) to 109) show the nominalization (in brackets) of intransitive and transitive predicates. The free translations indicate the semantic role of the pivot as suggested by the affixation on the nominalized predicate.

105) *Man-ayag [da din man-ot~oto] ay mang-(k)an.*

ACT-invite pl RMd ACT-CVC-cook LK ACT-eat

‘The ones (EFFECTORS) cooking called (for people) to eat.’

106) *Mo [din ma-lames] yan ma-sait Ø.*

as.for RMd ATT-fat PART ATT-tasty 4I

‘As for the fat ones (ATTRIBUTANTS), they are tasty.’

107) *Est-en=da [din ma-kan.]*

do.well-UND=3pII RMd UNDS-eat

‘They take care with the stuff (PATIENT) to be eaten (i.e. the food).’

108) *Nan-otang=ak [si in-dawat=ko sin odom ay man-a~agag.]*

ACT.P-debt=1sI ORMi UNDt.P-give=1sII ORMd other LK ACT-CV-hurry

‘I went into debt for some thing (THEME) I gave to the others who were in a hurry.’

109) *Adi in-taoli da Amyan [din in-pa-lako=k en daida.]*

NEG UNDt.P-give pl Amyan RMd UNDt.P-CAUS-buy=1sII OPRM 3pIII

‘Amyan’s group did not return the thing (THEME) I had asked/given them to sell (e.g. books).’

#### 6.2.4.2 Non-absolutive nominalization

A different situation arises when a predicate is nominalized to refer to a participant that is not indexed by the voice affix. Transitive actors are not indexed on the predicate in Undergoer voices, nor are adjunct phrases. Nominalizing a transitive actor requires the structural antipassive affix *maN-*. A time or place is indexed by adding the suffix *-an* to other affixation, creating nominalizing affixation.

##### 6.2.4.2.1 Nominalizing transitive actors

A nominalized predicate uses the affix *maN-* to refer to the actor argument of a transitive predicate in the nucleus of a reference phrase. Example 110) compares the nominalization of the a. Undergoer and b. Actor from a basic clause. 111) and 112) show other nominalized transitive actors. As with antipassive-voice predicates, if the second participant is a THEME, it is also indexed on the predicate with the prefix *i-*, acknowledging its erstwhile macrorole availability. Examples 113) and 114) have this prefix. The free translation of some of these examples uses a relative pronoun in English to avoid excessive awkwardness.

110) *K<in>at di aso din anak=ko.*  
bite-UND.P BRMi dog RMd child=1sII  
'A dog bit my kid.'

a. *din k<in>at di aso*  
RMd bite-UND.P BRMi dog  
'the one (PATIENT) the dog bit'

b. *din nang-(k)at sin anak=ko*  
RMd ANTI-bite ORMd child=1sII  
'the one (EFFECTOR that) bit my kid'

111) *Sisya [din mang-ay~ayoan sin mansakit.]*  
3sIII RMd ANTI-CVC-care.for ORMd sick.one  
'He is the one (EFFECTOR) caring for the sick one.'

112) *<Om>ad?ado koma [di mang-onod sin sixed ay danan.]*  
CHANGE-many PART RMi ANTI-follow ORMd good LK path  
'The ones (MOVERS who) follow the good way will hopefully become many.'

113) [*din nang-i-la~lamsit en sak?en*]

RMd ACT-Th-CV-deceive OPRM 1sIII

‘the ones (EFFECTORS who) had deceived me’

114) *Pag=na=n dad?at-en Ø [sin nang-i-baa en sisya ]*.

then = 3sII = DISP relate-UND 4I ORMd ANTI-Th-send.on.errand OPRM 3sIII

‘Then he related it to the one (EFFECTOR who) had sent him on the errand.’

Antipassive nominalization in equative clauses (with RP-RP structure) often specifies the role of a particular person. This is a very common construction in prayers and wishes—“Would you please be the one to do such-and-such” rather than the more direct “Please do such-and-such,” as in 115). This construction is also fairly common in plot development as participants are identified to fill particular topical roles. Example 116) shows this antipassive nominalization on the last word. Note that the class III pronoun is in the nucleus of this narrow-focus equative clause.

115) *Sapay.koma.ta si Apo Diyos di mamindisyon sin obla=tako.*

*maN-bindisyon*

wish PRM Lord God RMi ANTI-bless ORMd work = 1 + 2pII

‘May the Lord God bless (lit. be the one to bless) our work.’

116) “*En=ka i-tining mo na-pas?od-an din teyey di beey=mi,*”

go = 2sI UNDT-peek.at if UNDI-s-take.in < RMd ladder BRMihouse = 1pII

*kana-(e)n=da et si sak?en di en nang-i-tining.*

say-UND = 3pII and PRM 1sIII RMi go ANTI-Th-peek.at

““Go peek (and see) whether the ladder to our house has been taken in (i.e. they have left),” they said, and the one who went to peek at it was me.’

#### 6.2.4.2.2 Nominalizing places and times

When a predicate is in the nucleus of a reference phrase, it can refer to its time or location or the nature of its activity by means of nominalizing affixation. The affix is usually the suffix *-an* in conjunction with the nominalizing *pan-/nan-* or *paN-/naN-* with perception and action roots (bracketed) in 117) to 119). Note that with perfective aspect this nominalizing prefix is homophonous with the perfective structural antipassive. With state roots, *ma-/na* co-occurs with the suffix *-an*, as in 120). This affixation is analyzed as a circumfix, with (P) marking perfective aspect when applicable; the tag NOM with ‘s’ indicates the state-related nominalizing affix.

117) *Mabalin ay solat-a(n)=m si kadwa=m [sin pan-ob-obla-an=(n)a.]*  
possible LK write-UNDI=2sII PRM spouse=2sII ORMd NOM-CVC-work <=3sII

‘It’s possible for you to write to your husband at his place of working.’

118) *Nan-ko~koyog=da inganas [si nan-soko-an din Japon].*  
ACT-CV-accompany=3pI until ORMi NOM.P-surrender < BRMd Japanese

‘They all stayed together until the (time of) surrender of the Japanese.’

119) *Ed Burnham [di tolag-an ay pan-asi-ila-an=mi].*  
LOC Burnham RMi agree-UNDI LK NOM-RECIP-see <=1pII

‘At Burnham (Park) was where it was agreed that we’d meet each other.’

120) *S<inm>adot Ø [sin na-tey-an tatang=na].*  
CHANGE-sad 3sI ORMd NOMs.P.-die < father=3sII

‘He got depressed when his dad died (time/event of his father’s death).’

#### 6.2.4.2.3 Nominalizing the broad concept

The time/place affixation can index a generalized conception of the predicate as a state or event, as in 121), or as the means of its coming about, as in 122). The widespread use of nominalized forms, especially in written texts, is exemplified in 123).

121) *Ad~ad?ado [di na-abak-a(n)=k] mo [din nang-abak-a(n)=k].*  
CVC-many RMi NOMs.P-defeat <=1sII than RMd NOM.P-defeat <=1sII

‘I had more events of losing than of winning.’ (Note: *abak* as a state indicates losing while *abak* as an activity indicates winning.)

122) *Sa [=y nang-ammo-a(n)=k sin address=yo].*  
DEM2I=RMi NOM.P-know <=1sII ORMd address=2pII

‘That’s how I found out your address.’

123) *Iwed [di ma-dteng-a(n)=k [si nan-kolang-an]*  
NEGEXIS RMi NOMs-arrive <=1sII ORMi NOM.P-lack <

*[din nai-olog-an=(n)a]]].*

BRMd NOMs.Th-meaning <=4sII

‘I didn’t find any problems with the translation (lit. there was nothing I came across that was a lack of its translation).’



#### 6.2.4.2.4 Nominalization in WH-question formation

WH-questions are NP-NP equative clauses in Kankanaey. The first NP is the interrogative pronoun, the second may have a nominalized predicate with agreement to the questioned NP. Thus the absolutive argument is the pivot in forming questions on arguments of a predicate. Example 124) shows three nominalized predicates with predicating affixation indexing the pivot that is co-referential with the question word.

- 124) *Sino di ma-tey? Sino di i-dawat=na? Sino di man-?oto?*  
 who R<sub>Mi</sub> UN<sub>Ds</sub>-die what R<sub>Mi</sub> UN<sub>Dt</sub>-give = 3sII who R<sub>Mi</sub> ACT-cook  
 ‘Who will die?’ ‘What will he give?’ ‘Who will cook?’  
 lit.: ‘The (one) will die is who?’ The (thing) he will give is what?’ ‘The (one) will cook is who?’

Questioning a transitive actor must use the marked antipassive nominalization, a constraint similar to the PSA-only extraction restriction in Sama question formations (VVLP:332). This is exemplified in 125). Questioning an adjunct also requires that the affixation signal its role with the *-an* nominalizing suffix, as seen in 126) and 127).

- 125) *Sino di mang-i-?oto sin digo?*  
 who R<sub>Mi</sub> AN<sub>TI</sub>-Th-cook OR<sub>Md</sub> broth  
 ‘Who will cook the broth? (lit. the (one) will cook the broth is who?’
- 126) *Pig?an di <om> ali-an = da?*  
 when R<sub>Mi</sub> NOM-come < = 3pII  
 ‘When is (the time of) their coming? (lit. their coming/-time is when?)’
- 127) *Into = y <om> ey-an = tako?*  
 where = R<sub>Mi</sub> NOM-go < = 1 + 2pII  
 ‘Where are we going? (lit. our going/-place is where?)’

#### 6.2.5 Pivot interpretation in relativization

As detailed in §5.6, a relative clause is linked to its nominal head with *ay*, and one referent in the clause is the pivot of the construction. The pivot is the omitted argument indexed by affixation, either predicating or nominalizing affixes including the structural antipassive, as in example 128). In cases when the head nominal is co-referential with a possessor or ergative argument in a nominalized complement, the co-referent is given the impersonal pronoun (4II = *na*) as a minimally-specified resumptive pronoun, as in 129).

128) *din ngad~ngadan di Americano ya Pilipino [ay nang-amag*  
 RMd CVC-name RMI American and Filipino LK ANTI.P-make  
*sin organization].*  
 ORMd organization

‘...the names of the Americans and Filipinos who had created the organization.’

129) *Am?amed si sak?en [ay iwed di am~ammo = na]*  
 especially PRM 1sIII LK NEGEXIS RMI CVC-know.UND = 4II

‘Especially me, who knows nothing.’

### 6.2.6 Summary of PSA codings and behaviors in Kankanaey

Table 6.5 summarizes what this chapter has explained regarding the properties of the privileged syntactic argument of several grammatical constructions in Kankanaey.

**Table 6.5. PSA properties for Kankanaey constructions**

PSA	Properties	Form
S or U	flagging in the clause	absolutive case
S or A	ordering in the clause	first argument position
S or U derived-S (A)	indexing on the predicate	voice affix indicating thematic role marked antipassive voice
A	control reflexive antecedence	co-referential with possessor of reflexive word
S or A	pivot in left- displacement	clitic displacement
S / A / U in different constructions	control pivot interpretation in core junctures	depending on matrix predicate
S, A, U, d-S	serve as pivot in core junctures	restrictions depending on controller in matrix clause
S, U, d-S	serve as pivot in nominalization for RPs including WH-question formation	nominalizing affixation required for obliques
S, U, d-S	serve as pivot in relativization	nominalizing affixation required for obliques

Some common constructions that are often addressed in studies of grammatical relations were not addressed specifically in this examination of Kankanaey PSAs for the following reasons:

- a) Quantifiers do not ‘float’ in Kankanaey; they were examined in Chapter 3 as they relate to RPs.
- b) No predicates that could ‘raise’ an argument from a dependent complement clause have been observed in Kankanaey.
- c) Topicalized possessor phrases do not exhibit ‘possessor ascension’, but leave a resumptive pronoun, as Chapter 5 noted when covering topicalization.

### **6.3 Non-PSA functions**

#### **6.3.1 *Co-reference across clause boundaries***

Many languages employ a strategy of omitting a co-referential nominal across clause boundaries. In Kankanaey, however, as Himmelman (1999) also noted in Tagalog, the transitive actor pronoun is not freely omissible in contexts in which zero anaphora could be expected pragmatically. A topical absolutive argument (PSA), on the other hand, does not always have a pronominal reference in a clause and a pronoun-deletion strategy might be a very useful hypothesis to explain the apparent absence of many PSA RPs in connected and even contiguous clauses. Looking at the entire spectrum of participant tracking strategies, however, has led to a null-pronoun analysis instead of an absent-argument (pivot) interpretation for Kankanaey.

It should be noted that Kankanaey does not depend on voice alternations for participant tracking. Voice alternation serves to indicate the semantic role in relation to each predicate while pronouns track topical referents. The topic is maintained whether it is the possessor (POSS) of an object, the ergative Actor ( $A_T$ ) of transitive predicates, the absolutive Undergoer ( $U_T$ ) of a transitive predicate, or the single argument of intransitive predicates ( $S_A$ ,  $S_U$ ,  $S_{ANTI}$ ). Example 130) shows the presence of the co-referential pronoun in every clause when the participant is 3p (subscript j) with argument function as noted.

130) Ngem adi =  $da_j$  ammo di kad?a = k isonga nan-taoli =  $da_j$   
 but NEG = 3pII know RMI place = 1sII therefore ACT-return = 3pI  
 $A_T$   $S_A$

tan maga = y ma-dnge =  $da_j = s$  man-kanipas.  
 because NEGEXIS = RMI UNDS-hear = 3pII = ORMi ACT-rustle  
 $A_T$

‘But they didn’t know where I was so they went back because they didn’t hear anything rustling (lit. there was nothing they could hear that was rustling).’

The next example, 131), shows a 3s participant (subscript  $i$ ) also tracked pronominally.

131)  $T < in >$  apan-an Poltag <sub>$i$</sub>  di tolo = y kenggit, ma-pika = et  $\emptyset_i$   
 UNDI.P-bait < Poltag RMI three = LK trap UNDM-stand = PART 3sI  
 $A_T$   $S_U$

et  $e(n) = na_i$  osdong-an din posong. En =  $na_i$  pay ila-(e)n,  
 and go = 3sII look.down-UNDI RMD pool go = 3sII PART see-UND  
 $A_T$   $A_T$

na-kga = et  $\emptyset_i$  sin ad?ado ay wadingan. Ka-taoli  $\emptyset_i$   
 UNDS-attract = PART 3sI ORMd many LK w-fish IMM-return 3sI  
 $S_U$   $S_A$

sin kad?an Il?ilit yan kana =  $na_i$ , “Tap~tapan-a(n) = m din odom...”  
 ORMd place Il-ilit and say = 3sII CVC-bait-UNDI = 2sII RMD other  
 $A_T$

<i>Ka-la~labos</i>	$\emptyset_I$	<i>ay</i>	<i>ka-kaan</i>	$\emptyset_i$	<i>sin</i>	<i>wanes = na_p</i>	
IMM-CV-naked	3sI	LK	IMM-remove	3sI	ORMd	loincloth = 3sII	
	$S_A$			$S_{ANTI}$		POSS	
<i>ka-pidit</i>	$\emptyset_I$	<i>sin</i>	<i>tolo = y</i>	<i>kenggit yan</i>	<i>&lt;om&gt; ey</i>	$\emptyset_I$	
IMM-pick.up	3sI	ORMd	three = LK	trap	and	ACTm-go	3sI
	$S_{ANTI}$						$S_A$
<i>et i-si~sin?eng</i>			<i>Il?ilit</i>	$\emptyset_i$			
and	UNDt-CV-watch	Il-ilit	3sI				
			$U_T$				

‘Poltag baited three traps, got up and went to look at the pool. Seeing it, he was attracted by the many *wadingan* fish. He went right back to where Il-ilit was and said, “Keep baiting the others...” He stripped naked, removing his loincloth, snatched up the three traps and went and Il-ilit was watching him.’

### 6.3.2 Flagging non-PSA arguments in a clause

#### 6.3.2.1 Non-PSA Actors in transitive clauses

Actor arguments in syntactically transitive clauses are not chosen as the PSA, but they are equally topical with the privileged Undergoer, in the sense of being fully referential, expressing known, accessible information. They are required, even when co-referential between adjoining clauses. These non-PSA Actor arguments are flagged with class II if pronominal, or marked by the bound RM. Because Actors are highly topical, the definiteness operator on the BRM is often implied but not specified. Many previous examples have shown the non-PSA Actor arguments with their unique marking.

In the impersonal Undergoer-voice construction introduced in §6.1.4.6.4 above, it was shown that Actors were omitted in some contexts such as procedural instructions, also as in 132).

- 132) *Est-en ay pitay-en din makan.*  
do.well-UND LK mash-UND RMd food  
‘Thoroughly mash the food.’

#### 6.3.2.2 Non-PSA Actors in passive clauses

Agentive ACTORS of passive constructions are completely suppressed as may be seen in the ungrammaticality of example 133). If the EFFECTOR is a natural event such

as an earthquake or landslide, however, it may be specified with the oblique RM, as shown in 134), repeated from 78) above.

133) \**Nai-ali*      *din*      *agas*      *sin*      *nars*.

UNDts.come    RMd    medicine ORMd    nurse

\* for ‘The medicine was brought by the nurse.’

134) *Na-sawad=ak*    *sin*      *tolo*      *ay*      *pewek*.

UNds-block = 1sI      ORMd three    LK      typhoons

‘I was blocked by the three (back-to-back) typhoons.’

### 6.3.2.3 Non-PSA, non-Actor core arguments

The semantic representation of a predicate may include arguments that are not given macrorole status. These are oblique core arguments, whether common RP, name or pronoun. Oblique arguments are definite when they are pronouns or proper names. Common oblique RPs can be marked with indefinite *si* or definite *sin*. Oblique arguments are bracketed in the following examples.

Activity predicates often cannot assign the Undergoer role because the second argument is undifferentiated or only partially affected. Examples 135) and 136) show a predicate with only an Actor macrorole; the second arguments are oblique because they are not fully affected.

135) *Nan-sibo*      *din*      *anak*    [*si*      *digo*].

ACT.P-sip      RMd    child ORMi    broth

‘The child sipped (some) broth.’

136) *Nan-sibo*    *din*      *anak*    [*sin*      *digo*].

ACT.P-sipRMd    child ORMd    broth

‘The child sipped from/some of the broth.’

When a locative predicate is part of the logical structure, the LOCUS argument may be oblique but specific, and marked for definiteness. For example, Figure 6.9 showed that the predicate ‘teach’ has three core arguments--an EFFECTOR teacher, a RECIPIENT learner, and THEME information that becomes known. In 137) the RECIPIENT was not given macrorole assignment, and is marked with the definite oblique ORMd.

137) *Ini-tdo = n*                      *Todyak*    *din*      *danan*    [*sin*      *pamilya = na*].

UNDt.P-teach = BPRM    Todyak      RMd    path      ORMd    family = 3sII

‘Todyak showed/pointed out the path to his family.’

To give more examples, in 138) the oblique argument is nonreferential, especially in light of the imperfective marking suggesting that such a tape has yet to be recorded. In 139) the oblique THEME argument is referential but non-identifiable. In 140) the oblique argument ‘what is in the cup’ is only partially affected, as specified by this use of the affix  $<om_2>$  (see §2.2.7.2).

138) *Mo mabalin koma, man-i-paw?it =kayo [si mai-tape ay violin Roby].*  
 if possible PARTACT-Th-send=2sI ORMi UNDTs-tape LK violin Roby  
 ‘If possible, (please) send what will be taped of Roby’s violin.’

139) *Pag nan-i-baa si Dulay [si en mang-ayag en Lina].*  
 then ACT.P-Th-send PRM Dulay ORMi go ANTI-invite OPRM Lina  
 ‘Then Dulay sent someone to go call for Lina.’

140)  $<Om_2>i-asin=ka [sin wada sin malakong].$   
 ACT-Th-salt=2sI ORMd EXIS ORMd bowl  
 ‘Use some of what is in the bowl for salting.’

With the antipassive voice, the Undergoer has macrorole status, but is not selected for PSA assignment. In 141), shortened from 61), there are two antipassive-voice predicates with oblique Undergoers. Non-canonical coding for the Undergoers is shown both by THEME-indexing in the first clause, and by the interpretation of the definite oblique core arguments as exhibiting full affectedness.

141) *Ka-i-payag Ø [sin sokod=na] yan ka-dama Ø [sin banig].*  
 IMM-Th-set.down 3sI ORMd staff=3sII and IMM-wrestle 3sI ORM ghost  
 ‘He dropped/threw down his walking-stick and attacked the ghost.’

## Conclusion

This chapter has shown that the privileged syntactic argument in various constructions will exhibit certain coding properties and/or behavioral properties. The PSA of the clause is coded by case marking, indexing by the predicate affixes, and word order. Controllers and pivots in core junctures show certain properties depending on the predicates. Reflexives have a semantic Actor controller. Clitic displacement follows an accusative pattern. Nominalization, question formation, and relative clause formation work by a broad range of affixation that indexes the pivot. Topic chains do not show any restricted neutralization of semantic roles or PSA, while a null-form pronoun functions where other languages would use zero anaphora or equi-noun-phrase deletion.