

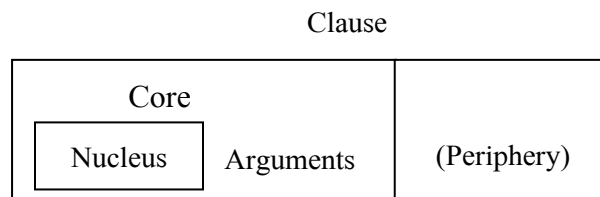
## Contents

Chapter 4	Simple Clauses.....	122
4.1	Simple clause structure.....	122
4.1.1	The nucleus.....	123
4.1.2	Core arguments.....	124
4.1.3	Non-verbal predicates in the clause nucleus.....	130
4.1.4	Peripheries in the clause.....	136
4.1.5	A pre-core slot? .....	143
4.1.6	Clitic pronoun displacement.....	144
4.2	Modifiers in the clause .....	145
4.2.1	Nuclear operators.....	147
4.2.2	Core-level operators .....	151
4.2.3	Clause-level operators .....	155
4.2.4	Other modification.....	158

## Chapter 4 Simple Clauses

### 4.1 Simple clause structure

Following the Role and Reference Grammar model of a layered structure as it is presented in VanValin 2005, a clause includes a core and optional peripheral or modifying information. As seen in Figure 4.1, the core consists of a nucleus (often a verb) and its arguments. The function of the nucleus is to give information about its argument or arguments.



**Figure 4.1. Components of the layered structure of the clause<sup>14</sup>**

As noted in §1.2 the constituents of a clause are diagrammed in RRG to show the layers of its structure in a ‘constituent projection’. The nucleus is core-initial in Kankanaey; it expresses

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<sup>14</sup> VanValin and LaPolla (1997: 26); VanValin (2005:4)

a predication (PRED) about its argument(s). Up to three arguments may follow a predicate. Arguments in RRG are designated as reference phrases (RP) instead of using the more traditional ‘noun phrase’ label, as Chapter 3 explained. Other RPs that refer to non-argument entities such as time designations modify the core and occur in the core periphery. Figure 4.2 gives the maximal schema or template, using a ditransitive (three-argument) clause. The sample sentence is grammatical but pragmatically unlikely, due to the presence of lexical RPs in every position.

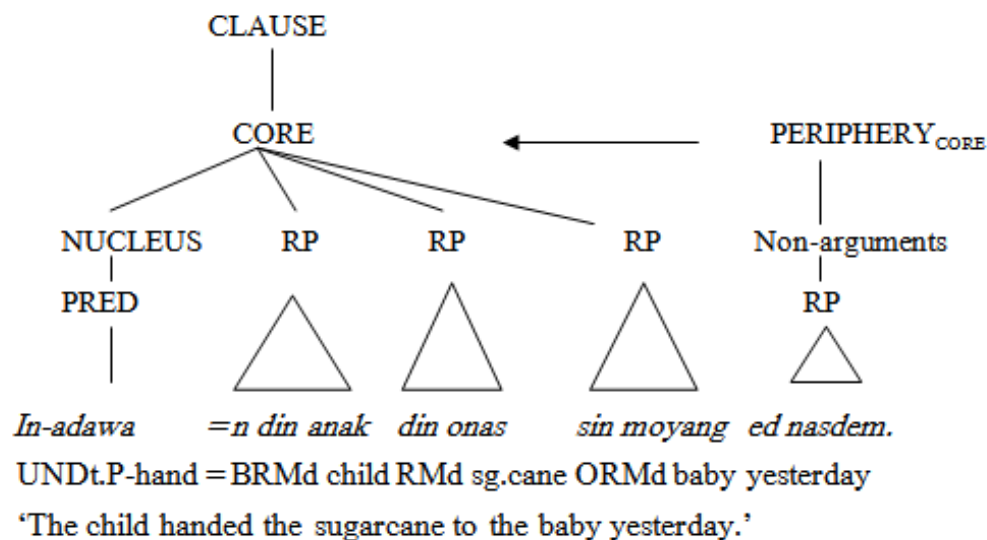


Figure 4.2. Kankanaey clause structure constituent projection

#### 4.1.1 The nucleus

A Kankanaey clause core may consist of only a nucleus, as in 1) with nature verbs that cannot take an overt argument. The lexical root expresses its own argument, something like “The rain is raining.” (Verb morphology and the glosses for affixes were covered in Chapter 2.)

##### 1) *Man-ʔodan.*

ACT-rain

‘It rains<sup>15</sup>.’

Affixed predicates are not the only possible fillers of the clause nucleus. Unaffixed existentials and class roots can also function as predicates, as can a reference phrase. At this

<sup>15</sup> The free translations use English simple present tense, and no habitual implication is present in the Kankanaey clause. In some contexts, these could be translated better with progressive, future, or even past tense in English.

point the examples will all be affixed predicates; §4.1.3 will explain the other types of clause nuclei.

#### **4.1.2 Core arguments**

With the exception of nature verbs, Kankanaey predicates take at least one argument. Based on the meaning of the predicate, an argument can be identified as being like an Actor or more like an Undergoer, ‘macroroles’ in RRG terms. If there is only one argument, this distinction does not affect the syntactic marking of a single argument, but when there are two or more arguments, the Actor-Undergoer distinction determines the order and marking of the arguments in the clause structure. Thus, transitive verbs identify their direct arguments by the order in which they occur (Actor precedes Undergoer) and by different RP markers. Third arguments are not direct but oblique, and are marked accordingly. This section will present the forms, positions, and functions of RPs in simple clauses, building on the presentation of RPs in Chapter 3. (Chapter 6 will explain macrorole assignment and the details of grammatical relations, including case-marking.)

Argument positions are generally filled by reference phrases in Kankanaey. Where other languages might use complement clauses, Kankanaey generally uses reference phrases with affixation on the nucleus. These RPs with affixed nuclei were presented in §3.7. (See §5.2 for complements as arguments.)

##### **4.1.2.1 Direct arguments**

###### **4.1.2.1.1 Common reference phrases**

The common RP can be identified by a Reference Marker (RM), which is the first word in the phrase. This marker identifies the syntactic relationship of the RP to the predicate. Table 4.1, repeated from Table 3.1, shows that transitive Undergoer arguments pattern with single arguments in taking the RM, whereas transitive Actor arguments take the BRM. This clearly indicates an ergative pattern of RP marking.

The tags ‘d’ and ‘i’ refer to definite and indefinite, as explained in Chapter 3. Because the transitive Actor referent in a clause is usually highly topical and identifiable, the definiteness operator is not an essential marker, and so it is often not used with the BRM .

**Table 4.1 Kankanaey common reference phrase markers**

Relation to predicate:	Single argument	Transitive Actor	Transitive Undergoer
definite	<i>din</i> / = <i>n</i> (RMd)	= <i>n</i> <i>din</i> (BRMd)	<i>din</i> / = <i>n</i> (RMd)
indefinite	<i>di</i> / = <i>y</i> (RMi)	= <i>n</i> <i>di</i> (BRMi)	<i>di</i> / = <i>y</i> (RMi)

Example 2) shows a predicate with one common RP argument. 3) shows a predicate with two direct arguments. When there are two direct arguments, the first is always the Actor (the more agentive), followed by the Undergoer (the less agentive.)

2) *Man-?oga din anak.*

ACT-cry RMd child

‘The child cries.’

3) *I-tanga =n din anak din onas.*

UNDt-hold.in.mouth =BRMd child RMd sugarcane

‘The child holds the sugarcane in his mouth.’

#### 4.1.2.1.2 Proper name reference phrases

Table 4.2 displays the markers that precede proper names and kin terms. The tags for these markers include P for proper/personal. The binding marker for transitive Actor arguments only appears after vowel-final words, otherwise there is no overt marker.

As with common nominals, the marking of the proper RP clearly follows an ergative pattern. Examples 4) and 5) show proper RPs as arguments in clauses.

**Table 4.2 Kankanaey proper reference phrase markers**

	Single	Trans. Actor	Trans. Undergoer
proper and kin names singular	<i>si</i> / = <i>s</i> (PRM)	= <i>n</i> $\emptyset$ (BPRM)	<i>si</i> / = <i>s</i> (PRM)
proper and kin names plural	<i>da</i> (PRM.pl)	= <i>n</i> <i>da</i> (BPRM.pl)	<i>da</i> (PRM.pl)

- 4) *Man-ʔoga si Langdew.*  
 ACT-cry PRM Langdew  
 ‘Langdew cries.’
- 5) *Os-en Langdew din onas.*  
 chew.cane-UND Langdew RMd sugarcane  
 ‘Langdew chews the sugarcane.’

#### 4.1.2.1.3 Pronouns as reference phrases

An argument position may be filled by a pronoun, either demonstrative or personal. As explained in Chapter 3, pronouns in Kankanaey are tagged by a person number (1-3 or combinations thereof), plural (tagged s and p) and a class number in Roman numerals. This section will show how the pronoun classes relate to argument positions in the clause structure.

Demonstrative pronouns (DEM) in Kankanaey follow an ergative pattern when used as reference phrases within a clause. Both a single argument and a transitive Undergoer argument are filled with DEM class I, while transitive Actors are expressed by DEM class II. Actor arguments always precede Undergoer arguments. Information in Table 4.3 is repeated from Chapter 3 for easy reference.

**Table 4.3 Kankanaey demonstrative pronouns  
as direct arguments**

	Single/trans. Undergoer	Trans. Actor
Class TAG	I	II
DEM1	<i>na</i>	<i>nina</i>
	<i>da na</i> (pl)	
DEM2	<i>sa</i>	<i>nisa/nasa</i>
	<i>da sa</i> (pl)	
DEM3	<i>di</i>	<i>nidi/nadi</i>
	<i>da di</i> (pl)	

Example 6) illustrates a demonstrative pronoun as the Undergoer argument of a transitive verb. The homophony of DEM3I with the indefinite RMI *di* is disambiguated by its position in the clause as well as prosodically.

- 6) *I-pigpig din anak di.*  
 UNdt-fling BRMd child DEM3I  
 ‘The child flings that.’

Chapter 3 showed that the Kankanaey personal pronouns present an interesting split pattern of marking the direct arguments in a clause. Table 4.4 repeats information from Chapter 3. Note that classes I and II are enclitics, attaching with various degrees of morphophonemic change to the first element in the clause core.

**Table 4.4 Kankanaey personal pronouns**

pronoun class	I	II	III
	Single	Trans.Actor (and Possessor)	Trans. Undergoer (and Predicate)
1s	= <i>ak</i>	= <i>ko</i> /= <i>k</i>	(PRM +) <i>sak?en</i>
2s	= <i>ka</i>	= <i>mo</i> /= <i>m</i>	(PRM +) <i>sik?a</i>
1p	= <i>kami</i>	= <i>mi</i>	PRM + <i>dakami</i>
2p	= <i>kayo</i>	= <i>yo</i>	PRM + <i>dakayo</i>
3p	= <i>da</i>	= <i>da</i>	PRM + <i>daida</i>
1 + 2	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>ta</i>	PRM + <i>daita</i>
1 + 2p	= <i>tako</i>	= <i>tako</i>	PRM + <i>datako</i>
3s	Ø / <i>sisya</i>	= <i>na</i>	Ø / <i>sisya</i>
4(impersonal s/p)	Ø	= <i>na</i>	Ø/( <i>siya/sa</i> )
Blended:			
1sII + 2sIII	= <i>naka</i>		
3II + 2sIII	= <i>daka</i>		

Examples 7) - 9) illustrate clauses with pronoun arguments. In 7) the single argument is expressed by Class I. In 8) the Actor is a Class II pronoun while the Undergoer is expressed by Class III. Again, homophony of the forms, this time 3sII = *na* with DEM1I *na*, is not confusing

when they are encountered in their position in the clause. In 9) a blended pronoun is exemplified.

7) *Man-ʔoga = da.*

ACT-cry = 3pI

‘They cry.’

8) *Liwʔ-an = na = s                      dakami.*

forget-UND = 3sII = PRM 1pIII

‘He/she forgets us.’

9) *Asog-an = daka.*

persuade-UNDI = 3II + 2sIII

‘He/They will persuade you.’

#### 4.1.2.2 Oblique arguments

The preceding examples have shown direct arguments, those participants in a state of affairs that are required by the predicate and are judged most salient to the speaker’s presentation. Other participants in the state of affairs, required or optional, appear as oblique-marked phrases. Oblique arguments may be common nominals, proper nominals, demonstratives, or personal pronouns. The Kankanaey forms of oblique marking are displayed in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5 Oblique argument markers and pronouns**

Type of RP	Marker and/or pronoun class	TAG
common nominal (definite)	<i>sin</i>	ORMd
(indefinite)	<i>si (=s)</i>	ORMi
place or time	<i>ed</i>	LOC
proper nominal (sg)	<i>en</i>	OPRM
(pl)	<i>en da</i>	
personal pronoun	<i>en + III</i>	

Although the ORMi *si* is homophonous with the PRM for proper RPs (cf. Table 4.2), word order and the common vs. proper distinction disambiguate them, as in 10). Oblique arguments are bracketed in the following examples in this section.

10) *Man-sibo si Rony [si digo].*

ACT-sip PRM Rony ORMi broth

‘Rony sips (some) broth.’

Oblique arguments generally follow the direct arguments. A three-argument clause is repeated from Figure 4.2 in 11), showing two direct arguments followed by an oblique argument.

11) *In-adawa =n din anak din onas [sin moyang].*

UND.P-hand BRMd child RMd cane ORMd baby

‘The child handed the sugarcane to the baby.’

Example 12) demonstrates the null form of the 3s/4 class I pronoun and a lengthy oblique RP.

12) *Ibagak Ø [sin nay panteteeak sina].*

tell = 1sII 4III ORMd DEM1V NOM.stay.1sII DEM1IV

‘I will tell it to these (people) I am staying with here.’

As Table 4.5 shows, the OPRM *en* serves not only to mark proper nominals but also to identify personal pronouns as oblique arguments. Examples 13) and 14) show oblique arguments with *en*.

13) *Nan-solat = kayo [en sisya].*

ACT.P-write = 2pII OPRM 3sIII

‘You wrote to him.’

14) *In-paw?it = ko di [en Jerson].*

UNDT.P-send = 1sII DEM3I OPRM Jerson

‘I sent that [to Jerson].’

Oblique argument phrases include entities such as those bracketed in 15) to 18). Note that the indefinite ORMi marks phrases that are indefinite, even hypothetical. English glosses often use prepositions to identify the relationship of these oblique arguments to the predicate.

15) *Na-sawad = ak [sin tolo ay pewek].*

UNDS.P-block = 1sI ORMd three LK typhoon

‘I was hindered [by the three (back-to-back) typhoons].’



- 16) *Sokat-a(n)=k      din    pantalon=k    [si    nalayak ay   bado].*  
 change-UNDI = 1sII RMd pants = 1sII ORMi loose LK clothes  
 ‘I changed my pants [for a loose garment].’
- 17) *Mai-arig=ak      [si      man-ayag]...*  
 UNDt-example = 1sI ORMi ACT-invite  
 ‘I may be compared [to someone who invites]...’
- 18) *Na~na-pno      din    beey=da      [si    mangili].*  
 UNDs.P-CV-full RMd house = 3pII ORMi visitors  
 ‘Their house was full [of visitors].’

Oblique arguments generally follow direct arguments, as in previous examples, but they may precede the second direct argument in certain contexts. In 19), for example, the single direct argument is lengthy and the bracketed oblique argument is a required participant.

- 19) *Enggay na-i-polang      [en    sik?a]din    nay babai    ay    asawa=m.*  
 already UNDs.P-Th-hand.over OPRM 2sIII RMd this woman LK spouse = 2sII  
 ‘This woman, your wife, has now been handed over [to you] (i.e. become your responsibility.)’

In 20) the instrument of hitting is integral to the full meaning of the predication; this may license its preceding the Undergoer argument, or perhaps the information structure requires it (see Chapter 7.

- 20) *Dosnog-e(n)=k    [si    bato]    din    logan.*  
 pound-UND = 1sII ORM stone RMd vehicle  
 ‘I pounded the vehicle [with a stone].’

#### 4.1.3 *Non-verbal predicates in the clause nucleus*

The nucleus of the clause core to this point has been filled by predicates built from affixes and roots. Other predicates include class words, reference phrases and existentials.

##### 4.1.3.1 *Class roots and reference phrases as predicates*

Class roots in the nucleus of a clause are not reference phrases, but classify the RP that stands as its argument. In 21), the predicate indicates that the single argument is a member of the designated class ‘female’. In Figure 4.3, no particular yams are referred to; rather, the class of food for his lunch is identified.

- 21) *Babai di oken = na.*  
 female RMi puppy = 3sII  
 'His/her puppy is female.'

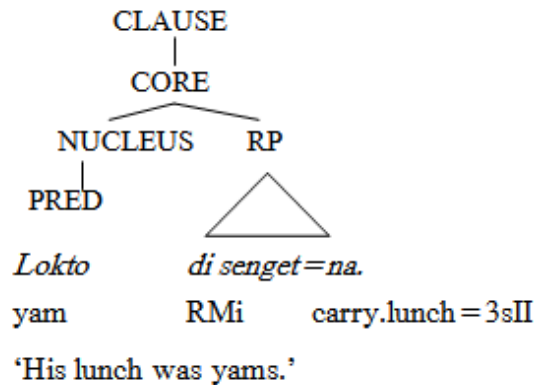


Figure 4.3. Clause with class-word predicate

Reference phrases can also take the nucleus position, with another RP as the direct argument, forming a clause consisting of two juxtaposed RPs. This clause type was briefly introduced in Chapter 3. Such clauses are equative, asserting a co-referential relationship between the two RPs. The first RP is in the clause nucleus, while the second RP is its argument. Predicate RPs are definite and referential; they may be pronouns or RM-marked RPs. Figure 4.4 exemplifies an equative clause construction.

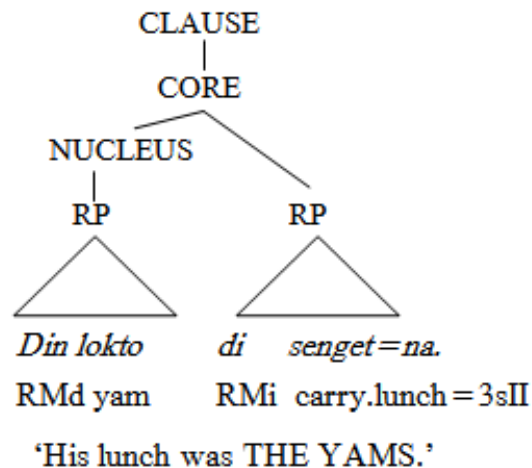


Figure 4.4. Focal equative clause

Equative clauses may be used to contrast or identify a referent as the focus of the clause. Note that the nucleus holds a full RP with RM. Examples 22) and 23) show other RPs in the clause-nuclear position. Note that pronouns use class III. Chapter 7 on Information Structure examines the functions of focus clauses of this type.

22) *Sikʔa di kababasangan.*

2sIII RMI most.beautiful

‘You are the most beautiful one!’

23) *Si Apo Diyos di kanayon ay gait = yo.*

PRM Lord.God RMI constant LK companion = 2pII

‘Lord God is your constant companion.’

#### 4.1.3.2 Existential clauses

Existential predicates were introduced in Chapter 2. Table 4.6 is repeated from that chapter, listing the existential predicates of Kankanaey.

**Table 4.6 Kankanaey existentials**

Positive	<i>wada/wa</i>
Negative	<i>maga</i>
	<i>iwed</i>

Existentials may occur in their root form or with various predicating or nominalizing affixes. Existentials predicate existence, possession, and physical presence as well as other functions. They take a single reference phrase as their argument.

##### 4.1.3.2.1 Existence

Example 24) shows the simple existence meaning of *wada*.

24) *Man-kedaw = ak en Quinn si similya mo wada.*

ACT-request = 1sI OPRM Quinn ORMi seeds if EXIS

‘I’m going to ask Quinn for seeds if there are any.’

Existentials with an indefinite RP argument may introduce new participants. Example 25) is typical.

25) *Wada = y si Nabulay ed nabbaon ed Abas.*

EXIS = RMI PRM Nabulay LOC long-ago LOC Abas

‘There was a certain Nabulay long ago at Abas.’

Things that don't exist sometimes need to be pointed out, when a hearer might reasonably expect otherwise. These are instances of nonreferential RPs, and they use the indefinite RM. Often such information explains why events turn out the way they do, as in 26).

26) *Iwed di danan.*

NEGEXIS R<sub>Mi</sub> path

'There wasn't any path/road (and that created the following problem).'

#### 4.1.3.2.2 Possession

If an indefinite argument of an existential has a direct argument of its own, the clause asserts general possession, as in 27), or other associative relationships, as in 28). To assert possession of a particular item, the existential cannot be used. A different root, *oka* 'belong to', is used, discussed in Chapter 2.

27) *Maga=y sapatos=na.*

NEGEXIS-R<sub>Mi</sub> shoes = 3sII

'He doesn't have any shoes.'

28) *Ay wada=y pan-tee-a(n)=na=s sa?*

Q EXIS = R<sub>Mi</sub> NOM-stay < = 3sII = DEM2IV

'Does she have a place to stay there?' i.e. 'Is she going to stay with you?'

#### 4.1.3.2.3 Presence

When the argument of an existential is a definite RP, the meaning is physical presence as in 29). Use of the definite RM before a possessed entity indicates presence, not possession, as may be seen in 30).

29) *Ay iwed si Langdew?*

Q NEGEXIS PRM Langdew

'Is Langdew not in/not here?' (e.g. asking at the door)

30) *Wada din anan?ak di natey.*

EXIS R<sub>Md</sub> children BR<sub>Mi</sub> dead

'The children of the deceased were present.'

#### 4.1.3.2.4 Location

Examples 31) to 34) demonstrate the existential as a locative predicate. The locative phrase itself cannot be used as a predicate, a restriction that is different from Tagalog.

- 31) *Din kitkitoy ay anak=ko, wada Ø metlaeng en sak?en.*  
 RMd small LK child=1sII EXIS 3sI PART OPRM 1sIII  
 ‘My littlest child, she is still with me.’
- 32) *Mo maga=ak sina wada=ak ed Baguio.*  
 if/when NEGEXIS=1sI DEM1IV EXIS=1sI LOC Baguio  
 ‘When I’m not here, I’m in Baguio.’
- 33) *Idi wada Ø sin gawa=n di ginawang, pag=et na-tokang Ø.*  
 when EXIS 3sI ORMd middle=BRMi river then=PART ST.P-fall.over 3sI  
 ‘When he was in the middle of the river, he (suddenly) fell over.’
- 34) *Wa=y balat sin apis gowab=da.*  
 EXIS=RMi banana ORM area below=3pII  
 ‘There are banana trees just below their place.’

#### 4.1.3.2.5 Indefinite reference

Existentials are often used in Kankanaey where English would have an indefinite pronoun, such as ‘someone’. The argument of the existential in such cases is an RP with an affixed root of some kind as its nucleus. Such a nucleus refers to an entity that fills the role associated with the agreement affix. In 35) an Actor is cross-referenced on the RP nucleus; in 36) the Undergoer cross-referenced is the CONTENT argument of ‘do’. When an Undergoer role is cross-referenced, the bound argument on the RP root is understood as the Actor, not the possessor, although in the English gloss the possessive ‘have’ may also be a good translation, as in 37).

- 35) *Wada=y <om>ali.*  
 EXIS-RMi ACTm-come  
 ‘There is someone coming.’
- 36) *Iwed di am~?amag-ena.*  
 NEGEXIS RMi CVC-do-UND.3sII  
 ‘He’s not doing anything (lit; the thing that he is doing does not exist).’
- 37) *Wa=y i-baga=k.*  
 EXIS-RMi UNDT-say=1sII  
 ‘I have something to say (lit. what I will say exists).’

One function of this indefinite reference is to soften a statement by making it indirect for some pragmatic purpose, as in 38) to 39).

- 38) *Wada di <inm>ali-a(n)=kngem iwed=kayo.*  
 EXIS RMi NOM-come< = 1sII but NEGEXIS = 2pI  
 ‘There was a time when I came but you weren’t (here).’  
 This statement is less direct/accusing than ‘I came but you weren’t here.’
- 39) *Wa=y b<om>aba.*  
 EXIS = RMi ACT-go.down  
 ‘There’s someone to get down.’  
 This is less direct than ‘Stop the car! I want to get out.’

#### 4.1.3.2.6 Number

The existential with a quantified indefinite RP asserts the quantity, as in 40). A quantifying adjective, such as ‘many’ or ‘few’, does not co-occur with the existential, but replaces it in asserting the quantity, as in 41).

- 40) *Wada=y 20 ay Day Care children.*  
 EXIS = RMi20 LK Day Care children  
 ‘There are 20 day-care children.’
- 41) *Ad?ado=y lalaeg ed niman.*  
 many-RMi flies LOC now  
 ‘There are lots of flies nowadays.’

#### 4.1.3.2.7 Affixed existentials

The existentials may take certain predicative affixes, as pointed out in chapter 2. With *ma-*, it indicates a changeable state of existence, as illustrated in 42). The presence or absence of the definite operator on the RP argument is key to interpreting the meaning of the existential.

- 42) *Koma mo ammo=k ay man-?obla sina ta adi ma-pa-iwed*  
 PART if know = 1sII LK ACT-work here so-that NEG UNDs-CAUS-NEGEXIS  
*di ammo=k.*  
 RMi know = 1sII  
 ‘If only I knew how to work here so I wouldn’t forget what I know (lit. so what I know won’t be caused to cease to exist).’

In examples 43) and 44) the CVC reduplication indicates an ongoing (progressive) situation.

- 43) *Dowa ay agew ya dowa ay labi=mi ay nan-ob~obla*  
 two LK day and two LK night=1pII LK ACT.P-CVC-work  
*yan iw-iwed pay.laeng di d<in>teng mi.*  
 and CVC-NEGEXIS still RMi UND.P-arrive=1pII

‘For two days and two nights we were working and still there was (being) nothing that we found.’

- 44) *Adi=ak man-isolo ed niman mon wad~wada din obla=k sin opisina.*  
 NEG=1sI ACT-teachLOC now but CVC-EXIS RMd work=1sII ORMd office  
 ‘I am not teaching now but I always have my work at the office. (lit. there is (always) my work)’

#### 4.1.4 Peripheries in the clause

The core periphery was introduced in Figure 4.1 above. In more complex clauses, each level in the clause may have its own periphery for modifying information; thus there are clause, core, and nuclear peripheries. This section will introduce the use of modifying words and phrases that occur in the peripheries. Peripheral elements are bracketed. (Chapter 5 gives an analysis of entire clauses as constituents in the peripheries.)

##### 4.1.4.1 Clause-level peripheries

Whole clauses may be modified by phrases that express reasons, parameters or conditions for the event presented. Deictics with non-spatial reference can also modify whole clauses.

##### 4.1.4.1.1 Prepositional phrases

Where English requires various prepositional phrases, Kankanaey generally uses an oblique RM and depends on the semantics of the predicate root to suggest the appropriate semantic relationship between the core and the adjunct phrase. However, Kankanaey does have a few prepositions that precede oblique-marked phrases for specific meanings, such as ‘regarding’ and ‘depending on’, among others. Any affixation on these prepositions is frozen, and does not carry aspect or inflection.

- 45) *Adi=kayo pan-talk-an da am~ama=yo [maipanggep sin kasapolan].*  
 NEG=2pI UNDI-trust< PRM.pl pl-father=2pII regarding ORMd needs  
 ‘Don’t depend on your parents [regarding the things that are needed].’

46) ...*si mga tolo=y agew [insigon sin kadalas di sanglay ay*  
 ...ONM about three=LK day depending ORMd speed BRMiroot.crop LK  
*komompitay].*

become.soft

‘(They store it) for about three days, [depending on the speed of the roots to become soft].’

Prepositional phrases that give reasons are in the clause periphery, as seen in 47) with the preposition *gapo* ‘due to’.

47) *Sinokat-a(n)=k din agas [gapo sin kina-ngina=na].*  
 change-UNDI=1sII RMd medicine due.to ORMd NOM-expensive=4II

‘I changed the medicine [because of its expensiveness].’

#### 4.1.4.1.2 Clause-modifying deictics

Chapter 3 described the attributive class V demonstratives that modify RPs. The same demonstratives may precede a clause (often linked with *ay*) in the left clause periphery. They contribute to the flow of the discourse by indicating attitudinal or evidential distance. In 48) the writer owns her own statement with demonstrative-1, and in 49) the demonstrative-2 is not literal, but associates the information with the reader, in this case as the source of the writer’s information.

48) [*Nay*] *enggay ad?ado di insolat=ko.*  
 DEM1V already much RMi write.P=1sII

‘[Here] it’s really a lot (too much?) that I’ve written.’

49) *Advance congratulations=ak tan [sana ay] man-graduate Ø sin June.*  
 advance congratulations=1sI because DEM2V LK ACT-graduate 3sI ORMd June

‘I’ll congratulate (your daughter) in advance because [there (i.e. as you said)] she is going to graduate in June.’

#### 4.1.4.2 Core peripheries

The information in a core periphery modifies the entire core. One distinguishing feature of core peripheries is that they fall within the intonation curve of the clause. Kankanaey has a left core periphery as an optional position for certain time phrases. The right core periphery holds several types of oblique-marked phrases.



#### 4.1.4.2.1 Left core periphery

Very few phrases are placed to the left of a Kankanaey core yet still within its intonational curve. Time phrases that are salient only to the event expressed by the core may occur in the left core periphery, proceeding without pause, as in 50). They are often linked with *ay*, as in 51) and 52) (time phrases bracketed).

50) [*Ed niman*] *i-tolong=ko nan kalloloya ay golis=ko.*  
LOC now UNDt-send=1sII DRM1 bad LK write=1sII  
‘[Now] I send this awful handwriting of mine.’

51) [*Dandani inag?gew ay*] *wada=y en mang-ayag en sisya.*  
almost daily LK EXIS=RMi go ANTI-invite OPRM 3sIII  
‘[Almost every day] someone was calling for him.’

52) [*Ed niman anggoy ay*] *man-solat=kami.*  
LOC now only LK ACT-write=1pI  
‘[Only now] are we (having a chance to) write.’

#### 4.1.4.2.2 Right core periphery

The periphery to the right of the core holds several types of information: time and place designations, and adverbial phrases expressing temporal and manner modifications. With non-verbal predicates, a restriction on the range of the predicate is expressed by an oblique phrase in the core periphery as well.

##### 4.1.4.2.2.1 Time and space designations

Time and space designations that modify the core of a clause usually follow the predicate and its arguments in the right core periphery. In Kankanaey, place-names and time words referring to the past are marked by the definite locative *ed*, as in 53).

53) *Lawlawa din danan ed Kabasang ed idi.*  
bad RMD road LOC Kabasang LOC when  
‘The roads were bad in Kabasang back then.’

Other time/space phrases take the Oblique Reference Marker *si* or its more definite variant *sin*, both shown in 54). They may be interpreted as required locative arguments or peripheral phrases based on the semantic representation of the predicate, but the distinctions can become fuzzy. For example the locative phrase “at home” in 54) is probably a required argument of the

predicate ‘stay’, but not of ‘feed’ in 55). Because the same oblique marker covers many relationships, there may be some ambiguity that the context would probably clear up, as in 56).

- 54) *Man-tee=ka sin beey si bigat.*  
 ACT-stay = 2sI ORMd house ORMi tomorrow  
 ‘Stay at the house/home tomorrow.’
- 55) *Man-megmeg=ka=s manok sin beey.*  
 ACT-feed = 2sI = ORM chicken ORMd house  
 ‘Feed chickens at home/the house.’
- 56) *S<inm>adot Ø sin na-tey-an ina=na.*  
 ACT.discouraged 3sI ORMd UNDs.P-die-NOM mother = 3sII  
 ‘She became discouraged when/because her mother died.’

#### 4.1.4.2.2.2 Adverbial phrases

Adverbial phrases are also marked by the oblique marker *si*. The absence of the definite suffix *-n* (thus *si* not *sin*) helps to distinguish the phrases as non-referential. Adverbial phrases may express a time duration or frequency, or they may express the manner of the predicated nuclear word.

Example 57) shows the salient time duration phrase (in brackets) modifying the nucleus.

- 57) *S<in>akit=ko [si dowa ay agew] din tili=k.*  
 UND.P-hurt = 1sII ORMi two LK day RMd butt = 1sII  
 ‘My tailbone hurt [for two days] (lit. I pained my tailbone).’

Examples 58) and 59) show frequency phrases.

- 58) *Nan-solat si Peds [si namindowa].*  
 ACT.P-write PRM Peds ORMi twice  
 ‘Peds wrote (a letter) [twice].’
- 59) *B<in>asa=k [si nasolok.mo esa ay sinka-basa.]*  
 read-UND.P = 1sII ORMi more.than one LK UNIT-read  
 ‘I read it [more than once (lit. more than one read-through)].’

Adverbial phrases that express manner are also oblique phrases, as in 60) to 62).

- 60) *Maka-basa Ø [si kosto].*  
 ACT.ABL-read 3sI ORMi correct  
 ‘She can read very well.’

61) *Kana=na* [si nakapsot ay kali]...

say.UND=3sII ORMi weak LK word/voice

‘She said in a weak voice....’

62) *Gipgi~gipgip-en=da* Ø [si naingpis].

CVCCV-slice-UND=3pII 4III ORMi thin

‘They slice them (the yams) thinly.’

#### 4.1.4.2.2.3 Range restrictions

Many nonverbal predicates such as existentials and attributives may be restricted in their range by phrases in the core periphery. The indefinite oblique marker *si* does not give referential status to these phrases. In examples 63) and 64) the presence, possession or existence of the single argument of the existential predicate is restricted or described by the *si*-marked phrase (bracketed). Figure 4.5 shows the position of an oblique peripheral phrase.

63) *Maga da* [=s ma-ila=na].

NEGEXIS 3pI ORMi UND-see=3sII

‘They were not there [for him to see]’ (i.e. they may have been there, but he didn’t see them).

64) *Siyat wa=y pilak* [si ni-libo].

must EXIS=RMi money [ORMi UNDs-thousand]

‘There has to be money [in the thousands] (e.g. in order to go to America).’

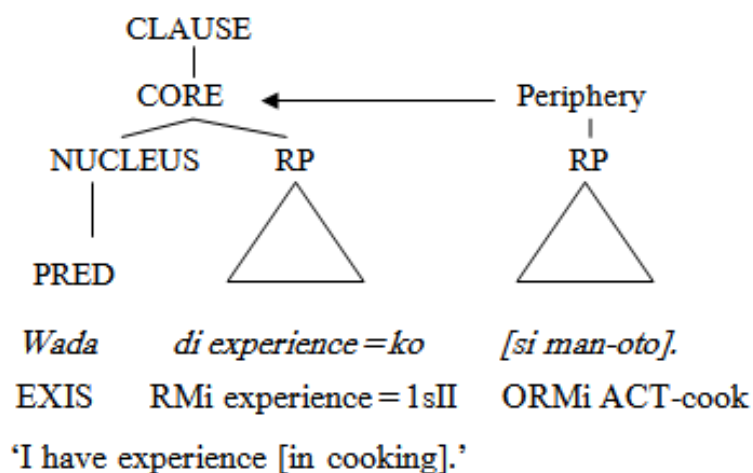


Figure 4.5. Existential clause with peripheral modifier

In 65) to 67) the descriptive word in the predicate is restricted in its application to only the parameters or range indicated in the *si*-marked phrase. An English expansion might be “in terms of...”

65) *Enggay na [si mai-baga =k].*  
 already DEM1I ORMi UNDts-say = 1sII  
 ‘This is enough [for me to say].’

66) *Siged ka[=s ma-ong~ongngo-an].*  
 good 2sI=ORMi UNDIls-CVC-kiss  
 ‘You’re nice [for kissing]!’

67) *Kitkitoy sa [=s bisaang].*  
 small DEM2I =ORMi pig  
 ‘That’s a small pig (lit. small [for a pig]).’

#### 4.1.4.2.2.4 Vocatives

Vocatives operate at the discourse level, and may precede or follow the clause core. In example 68) the two questions are taken from different paragraphs of the same narrative. In the first question, the vocative precedes the clause in a detached position (see Chapter 5). In the second, the vocative follows the core with no intonational pause or marker, indicating its position in the core periphery.

68) "Ay nanang, ay osto adi na?" "Ay osto di ay nanang?"  
 VOC mom Q correct PART DEM1I Q correct DEM3I VOC mom  
 “‘Mom, is this really right?’ “‘Is that right Mom?’”

#### 4.1.4.2.3 Differentiating oblique core arguments from core peripheral phrases

Oblique core arguments may be differentiated from peripheral phrases (bracketed) in that they are ordered prior to peripheral phrases, as in 69), where the location is an argument of the motion predicate, but the duration phrase is in the periphery. In 70) the two *sin*-marked phrases cannot be interchanged because the first is an oblique argument of the predicate *kom?ot* ‘gulp down’, while the second is a locative phrase in the periphery.

69) <Inm>ey=kami sin dontog Kamanoboan [si piga ay agew].  
 ACTm.P-go = 1pI ORMd mountain K. ORMi how.many LK day  
 ‘We went to Kamanoboan Mountain for a few (lit. how many) days.’

70) *Kai-kom?ot Ø sin babai [sin gawan di danom].*

ACT.Th-gulp.down 3sI ORMd female ORMd middle BRMi water

‘He (crocodile) swallowed down the woman [in the middle of the water (i.e. river)].’

RPs in the core periphery do not have ordering restrictions, although seldom would more than two be present in a given clause. Example 71) shows two peripheral RPs in optional order.

71) *Na-sigit-an = ak [sin seng?ew di Baygon] [sin kakitkitoy = ko].*

UNDIs.P-allergic < = 1sI ORMd fragrance BRMi Baygon ORMd childhood = 1sII

‘I had an allergic reaction [to the smell of Baygon] [in my childhood].’

#### 4.1.4.3 Nuclear peripheries

Nuclear peripheries hold adverbs that indicate aspectual information about the predicate, such as inchoativity, intensity, and completion. Aspect is normally expressed with affixation on the predicate (see §4.2.1 for a full discussion of nuclear operators); these overt adverbs stress the particular aspect that they denote. For example, in 74) both the verbal prefix and the adverb express immediacy, and in 75) both the predicate’s perfective affix and the adverb express completion.

Adverbs in the left periphery of the nucleus may immediately precede the predicate with no linker, as in 72). The linker *ay* is often used as well, as in 73) and in 74), where the adverb is linked from the right nuclear periphery.

72) *Dagos man-biweng din sailboat.*

immediately ACT-go.fast RMd sailboat

‘The sailboat immediately got going fast.’

73) *Palalo ay inmopsat di mata = k.*

overmuch LK became.pale RMi face/eye = 1sII

‘My face became very pale.’

74) *Ka-parti abe ay dagos din akin-aso et adi na-observar-an Ø.*

IMM-butcher PART LK immediately RMd owner-dog and NEG UNDI.P-watch < 4I

‘Furthermore, the owner of the dog butchered (it) immediately and it was not observed (for signs of rabies).’

For some adverbs the linker *ay* is optional, as seen in 75); these two clauses appeared together in a letter.

- 75) *Enggay ay nakaro di sakit Kili. Enggay kinmapoy Ø.*  
 already LK worsen.P RMi illnessKili already became.weak 3sI  
 ‘Kili’s sickness has already gotten worse. He is already weak.’

#### 4.1.5 A pre-core slot?

In RRG theory, there are possible pre- and post-core positions in which core NPs, PPs, and adverbs can occur without intonational pause. In many languages the PreCore Slot is the position for WH-question words and other narrow-focus constituents. In Kankanaey, this is not the case; instead, the equative clause structure introduced in §4.1.3 is used. The WH-word or focal RP is placed in the clause-nuclear position, and all other constituents are nominalized by a preceding RM, and sometimes by nominalizing affixation as well. Note in the examples that the WH-word is an RP, and what follows is also an RP, marked with an indefinite RM. In 76) the predicate in the nucleus of the second RP is cross-referenced to the thing done—the referent of the WH-word. In 77) the nucleus of the second RP is nominalized for place/time/event (see Chapter 3 for the discussion on nominalization). These examples include the ungrammatical results of an attempt to place the focal RP in a Pre-Core slot with no other changes. These ungrammatical versions are marked by asterisks.

- 76) *Sino =y <in> am~?amag = mo? \*Sino inam?amag = mo?*  
 what = RMi UND.P-CVC-do = 2sII what were.doing = 2sII  
 ‘What you were doing (is) what?’ \*‘What were you doing?’
- 77) *Pig?an di s <om> aa-an = da? \*Pig?an somaa = da?*  
 when RMi NOM-go.home < = 3pII when go.home = 3pI  
 ‘Their going home (is) when?’ \*‘When will they go home?’

Example 78) presents a basic clause with the RP in brackets, while 79) with bracketed RPs shows the RP-RP structure of the clause with a focused RP left-most in the clause. Note that in 79), the focus RP is in the nucleus of the core and the remainder of the core is comprised of an indefinite RP, with nominalizing affixation indicating the locus of ‘dependence’.

- 78) *K <in> am~kamang-a(n) = k [si Diyos anggoy] si oway.*  
 CVC.P-depend-UNDI = 1sII PRM God only ORMi always  
 ‘I was always depending on God alone.’
- 79) *[Si Diyos anggoy] [di nan-kam~kamang-a(n) = k] si oway.*  
 PRM God only RMi NOM.P-CVC-depend < = 1sII ORMi always  
 ‘Who I was depending on all the time (was) God alone.’

Kankanaey does use the pre-core slot in certain subordinate clauses (see Chapter 5) and the post-core slot with a complex equative clause structure (see Chapter 7).

#### 4.1.6 *Clitic pronoun displacement*

As seen in Table 4.4 above, class I (intransitive-argument) pronouns are clitics, as are class II (transitive Actor) pronouns. These clitic pronouns in Kankanaey follow the well-known Wackernagel's Law (Wackernagel 1892), by which they attach to the first word in the core, typically the nuclear predicate. When certain modifying words such as a modal or negative precede the nuclear predicate, any clitic pronoun is displaced to attach to it, thus preceding the predicate in the non-canonical RP-PRED-(RP) order. Often the displaced pronoun has a final *=n*, with no particular function discernable (thus tagged DISPlaced), and in some dialects or with some modifiers it is not required.

Examples 80) to 82) show clitics following a modal and a negative.

- 80) *Siyat = ta = n            makiline si            pigá            ay    oras.*  
 must = 1 + 2I = DISP join.line ORMi how.many LK hours  
 'We have to stand in line for hours.'

- 81) *Adi = kayo pantalkan    si            daida.*  
 NEG = 2pI trust            PRM 3pIII  
 'Don't depend on them (for support).'

- 82) *Adi = da            gagaoden    din            danom.*  
 NEG = 3pI paddle            RMd water  
 'They don't paddle the water (in a motorboat).'

Some sequential clause-linkage markers (conjunctions) can displace core pronouns as well, as in 83), where the linker consists of two words, and the pronoun comes between them (bracketed sequence).

- 83) *Idolin = da Ø    si            tolo    ay    agew [asi = da    pag]    ipeey Ø    sin            koli.*  
 store = 3pII 4III ORMi three LK day    then = 3pII then    put    4III ORMd jar  
 'They set it aside for three days, and then they put it in the wine-jar.'

This accusative pattern (S and A pronouns displace, but not U) is different from many other Philippine languages that displace pronouns in other patterns.<sup>16</sup> The class assignment of the pronoun in its displaced position is not syntactically constrained, supporting Comrie's

<sup>16</sup> See for example Quakenbush and Ruch (2006) for Kalamianic and Kroeger (1993) for Tagalog.

(1989:89) observation that the positioning rules governing clitic pronouns relate only loosely to their grammatical relation. With most modifiers that cause displacement, the class I pronoun is the preferred form of the clitic, especially with the group that have a tripartite split (see Table 4.4 above). Example 84) shows the Actor pronoun =*m* ‘2s’ as class II in the canonical clause order, but as class I when displaced by an adverb in 85).

84) *Ibaga =m Ø en sak?en!*  
 tell=2sII 4III OPRM 1sIII  
 ‘Tell it to me!’

85) *May, asi=ka ibaga Ø en sak?en mo mansolat=ka.*  
 OK and.then=2sI tell 4III OPRM 1sIII if write=2sI  
 ‘OK, then tell it to me when you write.’

The displacement of clitic pronoun arguments to a pre-nuclear position in the clause core suggests a second constituent projection or template for the Kankanaey clause, shown in Figure 4.6.

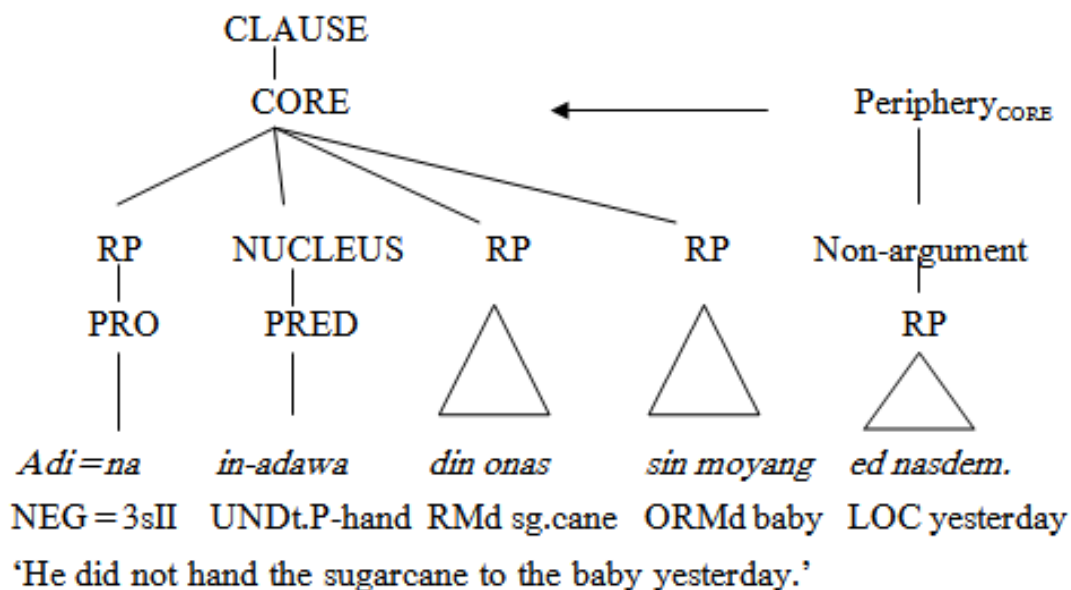


Figure 4.6. Kankanaey clause structure  
 constituent projection #2

## 4.2 Modifiers in the clause

Modifiers, grammatical and adverbial, can occur at every constituent level: at the nuclear level, the core level, and the clause level. RRG represents the grammatical modifiers in an “Operator Projection” separate from the Constituent Projection. Adverbial modifiers and the



plethora of higher-level modifying semantic particles that are typical of Philippine languages are covered in §4.2.4.1. Table 4.7 (modified from VanValin 2005:9) shows the operator categories relevant to Kankanaey, their relation to the layers of the Kankanaey clause, and the forms that they take in Kankanaey. Affixes on the nucleus serve as grammatical operators with several functions.

Operators maintain a linear order in the clause, with nuclear operators closest to the nucleus and clause level operators furthest from the nucleus. Among the affixes, nuclear affixation is closer to the root than the core-level modifying affixation, with the exception of perfective aspect.

**Table 4.7 Layers of the clause with operators**

Level	Operator	Form
Nuclear	Internal temporal aspect	Reduplicative affixes
	Perfective aspect	Affix
	Nuclear negation	<i>baken</i> negator
Core	Event quantification	Affix
	Deontic modality	Core-internal modals
	Core negation	<i>adi</i> negator
Clause	Epistemic modality	Core-external modals
	Propositional negation	<i>baken</i> negator
	Evidentials	Particles
	Illocutionary force	Particles

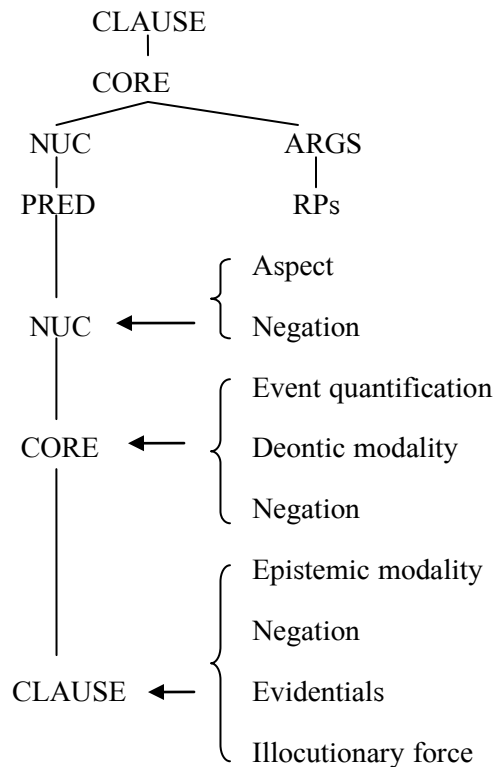


Figure 4.7. Constituent and operator projections for Kankanaey

## 4.2.1 Nuclear operators

### 4.2.1.1 Perfective aspect

The perfective affix in Kankanaey indicates whether a state of affairs is completed. In a narrative, time orientation in real-time past is generally set with a perfective-marked predicate on the event line, with subsequent events carrying the neutral imperfective form. Later perfective-marked predicates in a narrative are often states or negated situations off the main line of the action. Perfective aspect not only adds the temporal perspective of past time, it specifies realis—the success or effectiveness of an activity or change of state.

Predicates that are not marked for perfective aspect are neutral and are interpreted in relation to the context. Imperfective (neutral) may imply irrealis. With affixes that do not support intent (such as *ma-* and *maka-*), imperfective marking indicates possibility or potential for the information in the predicate.

The marking for perfective aspect is on the predicating affixes. Affixes that in their neutral form begin with *m-* or *p-* replace those phonemes with *n-* to specify perfective; all other

predicating affixes use *in* as an infix or a prefix, as seen in 86) to 89). Attribute predicates cannot indicate perfective aspect. As noted in Chapter 2, the attributive affixes are frozen forms.

86) *ma-ek / na-ek*

‘fall/fell asleep’

87) *maki-inom / naki-inom*

‘drink/drank with’

88) *t<om>ayaw / t<in> <om>ayaw*

‘fly/flew away’

89) *ponas-an / p<in>onas-an*

‘wiped’

At times, in conversation or narrative, Kankanaey places an action in the immediate past using *ka- + CVC*, tagged ‘RECENT’. This affx does not index an absolutive or Class I argument, but rather its single argument is a class II pronoun, or takes the bound marker.

90) *Ka-bang~bangon = (n)a, isonga mas~ma-sadot paylaeng.*

RECENT-get.up = 3sII therefore CVC~UNDS-sluggish still

‘He just got up, so he’s still feeling sluggish.’

Kankanaey also uses various particles to make explicit some finer distinctions of a clause’s temporal setting. The clitics *=n* and *=nto* attach to vowel-final predicates or clitic pronouns to indicate ‘already’ and ‘future’, respectively. The ‘future’ particle is especially relevant with existentials or other non-verbal predicates that do not show aspect, as in 91) and 92).

91) *Wada = nto di ib?a = yo ay en = kayo tang~tangad-en sin Kapitolyo.*

EXIS = FUT RMi friend = 2pII LK go = 2pI CVC-look.up-UND ORMd capitol

‘You will have a friend to go look up to (for help) at the Capitol Building (if you vote for me).’

92) *Palalo = nto di lagsak ading = ko.*

extreme = FUTRMi happiness younger.sibling = 1sII

‘My younger brother is going to be ever so happy (lit. his happiness will be extreme) (when he gets this gift).’

#### 4.2.1.2 Internal temporal aspect

Internal temporal aspect refers to the internal temporal situations of a predicate, specifically whether the state of affairs has continuity over time. Internal aspect is marked on the root by means of reduplicative affixation. In general, CV reduplication indicates duration of a static situation, while CVC reduplication indicates progressive, repeated or on-going dynamic situations and CVC(C)V reduplication indicates repetitive, vigorous or otherwise intensified continuation of a dynamic situation. Words that begin orthographically with a vowel have a glottal stop preceding the vowel, the first C of the reduplication. In the following examples the glottal stop is represented where relevant to the reduplication.

##### 4.2.1.2.1 Durative aspect

Durative aspect specifies an unchanging, continuous duration of a static situation. Durative aspect is indicated by a reduplicated CV prefix on the root. With one-syllable or vowel-reduced roots, reduplication is applied after the predicative affixation. (See L. Allen 1980.). Durative aspect pairs naturally with State predicates, as in 93) and 94). Predicates built on physical motion/position roots may be Activities or States. With CV reduplication they are specifically States, as in 95).

93) *ma-ʔi~ʔila* ‘visible’

94) *na-be~beteng* ‘was drunk’

95) <i>T&lt;om&gt;okdo = ka.</i>	<i>T&lt;om&gt;o~tokdo si</i>	<i>Dolika.</i>
ACTm-sit = 2sI	ACTm-CV-sit	PRM Dolika
‘Sit down!’	‘Dolika is seated.’	

When the logical structure of a word includes a change-of-state predicate, CV reduplication indicates duration of the changed state, which can yield a perfective sense of ongoing relevance of the change of state. Example 96) shows this use of CV reduplication, which is restricted to nominalized and relativized clauses.

96) *Na-tenaw Ø et owat din scarf di na-i-wa~waglat sin baliwang.*  
UNds-melt 4I and only RMd scarf Rmi UNds-Th-CV-discard ORMd yard  
‘It (snowman) melted and only the scarf was (left) discarded in the yard.’

##### 4.2.1.2.2 Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect specifies an ongoing atelic activity, or iterative punctual activity, depending on the root. Progressive aspect is indicated by CVC reduplication. It indicates continuation over time with Activity, Process, and all Causative predicates, as in 97) and 98).

With Semelfactive and most Achievement predicates the progressive aspect gives an iterative or plural meaning, as in 99).

- 97) *man-tay~tayaw* 'is flying'  
 98) *tap~tapi-an* 'is adding to'  
 99) *bom~b <om> tak* 'are exploding (plural)'

#### 4.2.1.2.3 Momentary aspect

Momentary or diminutive duration of an activity or state is expressed with the prefix *panga-*, as in 100).

100) *Man-panga-ey = ak.*

ACT-momentary-go = 1sI

'I will just go for a minute.'

#### 4.2.1.2.4 Intensive aspect

CVC(C)V reduplication shows intensive aspect, indicating markedly repetitive or long-lasting actions, as in 101), or intensive quality, as in 102).

101) *? <om> oga~?oga* 'crying and crying'

102) *Layde~layd-e(n) = k* *ay* *<om> ey* *issa.*

CVCCV-enjoy-UND = 1sII LK ACTm-go DEM2V

'I really want to go there.'

#### 4.2.1.3 Nuclear negation

*Baken* negates class and descriptive predicates, as in 103) and 104).

103) *Baken tet?ewa sa.*

NEG true DEM2I

'That's untrue.'

104) *Anggan mo baken = ka = n diadal,...*

even if NEG = 2sI = DISP educated.person

'Even though you are not an educated person....'

Existentials lexicalize the negative as *maga* or *iwed* (dialect difference).

#### 4.2.1.4 Action directionals

Kankanaey does not have many prepositions, and none that correspond to English locatives such as ‘on’, ‘in’, ‘toward’ etc. Instead, many Kankanaey roots specify direction lexically, as may be seen in 105) and 106).

105) *Man-song = ka ay gakkí.*

ACT-go.upstream = 2sI VOC crab

‘Go upstream, crab.’

106) *Osdong-an = (n)a din posong.*

look.down-UNDI-3sII RMd pool

‘He looked down into the pool.’

#### 4.2.2 Core-level operators

##### 4.2.2.1 Participant directionals

As mentioned above, Kankanaey does not use particles or prepositions to indicate direction. When a predicate denotes movement or change of location of one of the participants, the predicating suffix *-an* or the circumfix *i-...-an* may index the static or directional locus. The indexed participant will be the entity toward or away from which the movement takes place. This can be physical or metaphorical direction, as may be seen in the sample predicates in 107).

107) *togpa-an i-layaw-an i-gaga-an*

saliva-UNDI UNDD-flee< UNDD-chew<

‘spit at/on’ ‘flee from’ ‘chew for (as for a baby)’

##### 4.2.2.2 Event quantification

When an activity is performed by all members of a group of participants, and that fact is noteworthy, a collective prefix *ka-* or *an-* (COLL) is used, following an Actor-indexing predicate affix. CV reduplication also specifies plurality of actors with predicates that are inherently reciprocal, such as ‘converse’, ‘separate’, or ‘meet’, as in 110).

108) *Man-ka-ma-maga = da am?in.*

ACT-COLL-CV-NEG.EXIS = 3pI all

‘They will all disappear together.’

109) *T <om> an-a-tai = da.*

ACT-COLL-CV-defecate = 3pI

‘They all defecated.’ (animals leaving an enclosure)

110) *Man-a~abat = tako si tapi =n di agew.*

ACT-CV-meet = 1 + 2pI ORMi add BRMi day

‘We’ll all meet together another day.’

#### 4.2.2.3 Modals and negation

Most core operators in Kankanaey are monomorphemic words that precede the nucleus of the core. The core-level analysis is attested by their ability to displace core argument pronouns to a pre-predicate position, described in 4.1.6. Modals and negation are core operators.

Modals in this section include words that indicate the ability, need or propensity of a participant to act. The first sub-section looks at deontic notions of personal ability and obligation. The second looks at intention and motivation. (The inherent ability to perform an action is also indicated by the prefix *maka-*, described in §2.3.1.)

##### 4.2.2.3.1 Deontic modals

Modals with a deontic reading modify the core and are linked with *ay*. These modals displace any clitic pronoun to the second position. The scope of possibility is within the participant, not the situation, as indicated by the asterisk in 111).

111) *Mabalin =yo ay ala-en din alikamen.*

possible = 2pII LK take-UND RMd tools

‘You’ll be able to take the tools.’

\* ‘It’s possible that you will take the tools.’

Sentence 112) exemplifies an alternate possibility structure, *kaya* ‘able’ (a particle which may be borrowed from the Tagalog modal noun).

112) *Ay kaya =m ay mang-(g)awa?*

Q able = 2sII LK ACT-judge(legal)

‘Are you able to decide the sentence?’

Deontic obligation also is expressed with two forms. *Siyat* displaces clitic pronouns, and indicates necessity or obligation, whether physical or social, as examples 113) and 114) demonstrate.

113) *Siyat man-yogton Ø, asi t<om>ayaw Ø.*  
 must ACT-crouch 4I and.then CHANGE-fly 4I

‘It has to crouch, in order to/then take off.’

114) *Siyat=ka=n man-tee sin beey.*  
 must=2sI=DISP ACT-stay ONM house

‘You must stay at home/the house.’ (due to the hearer’s pregnancy)

Less commonly used is the word *masapol* ‘necessary’, but when it displaces the core pronoun, it can be seen to apply the necessity to a core argument rather than to the entire situation.

115) *Masapol=na di doktol ay mang~mang-set ya mang-i-dawat sin agas.*  
 necessary=3sII RMi doctor LK ANTI-CVC-do.well and ANTI-Th-give ORMd meds

‘He needs the doctor to be taking care of him and give him the medicines.’

#### 4.2.2.3.2 Motivation

Motivation is another modifier of the actor’s performance of the predicate. Motivation particles are taken to be modals based on their frozen form and their ability to displace core pronouns. Examples 116) and 117) illustrate presence and absence of motivation. In 116) there is self-motivation, a cognitive purpose in ‘going’ to do something. In 117) the actor is explicitly without motivation, as the experience just happens without intention.

116) *En=(n)a <in>abat din gayyem=na.*  
 go=3sIIUND.P-meet RMd friend=3sII

‘She went to meet her friend.’ (purpose)

117) *Mo eteng=ka=n i-al~?alin di asawa=m...*  
 If unmotivated=2sI=DISP UNDt-PROG-jealous RMi spouse=2sII...

‘If you just feel jealous about your spouse (for no reason)...’

#### 4.2.2.3.3 Core-level negation

Negation is a modification that indicates things that are not true—events that do not happen, states that do not hold. *Adi* is the simple negator; other negative adverbs are described in §4.2.4.1.

*Adi* indicates a denial that a participant achieved a state or action; what is negated in core-level negation is the connection between the predicate and its participant(s) in a particular situation. Thus in 118) the people being served monkey meat do not experience *loya*



‘repulsion’, and in 119) they do not perform the pounding action. As a core operator, the negator *adi* displaces clitic pronouns.

118) *Adi=da ma-loya sin mata=n di kaag.*  
 NEG = 3pI UNDS.-dirty ORMd eye = BRMi monkey  
 ‘They aren’t repulsed by the eyes of the monkey.’

119) *Adi=da bayo-en Ø; owat=da=n ka-i-oto sin banga.*  
 NEG = 3pI pound-UND 4III only = 3pI-DISP IMM-Th-cook ORMd pot  
 ‘They don’t pound it; they just cook it (whole) in the pot.’

When an equative clause is negated, the RP in the predicate position is negated with *baken*, not *adi*. This is RP negation, not core negation, as seen by the bracketing in 120).

120) [*Baken din bol~bolsada=da*] *di nem~nemnem-en=da.*  
 NEG RMd pl-pocket = 3pII RMi CVC-think-UND = 3pII  
 ‘It is not their pockets that they are thinking about. (good politicians)’

*Adi* may co-occur with deontic modals. In this construction, the clitic pronoun is displaced to the first modifier, which is the negator. An example is diagrammed as Figure 4.8.

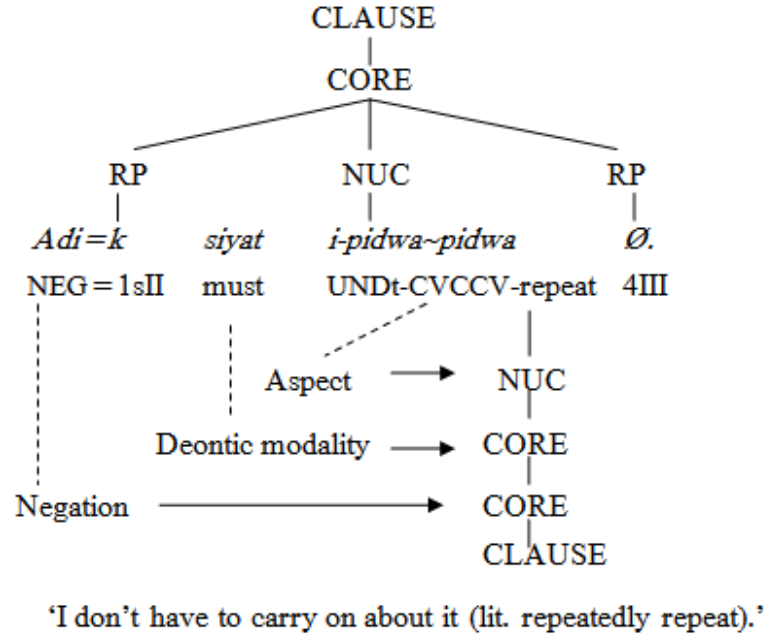


Figure 4.8. Aspect, modality and negation operators in a Kankanaey clause

### 4.2.3 Clause-level operators

Operators at the clause level include propositional negation, epistemic modality, illocutionary force and evidentials. Clause-level negation is indicated by *baken*. Epistemic modality uses linked modals that do not attract the core pronouns. Illocutionary force is shown by WH-words and particles, and evidentials appear as a diverse set of particles.

#### 4.2.3.1 Clause-level negation

*Baken* negates a situation, especially the expected situation, i.e. ‘it’s not the case...’ Clitic pronouns are displaced by the clause-level negator, as with the core operators. The lexical form of the negator makes the level of modification clear. This use of *baken* to negate the proposition is exemplified in 121) to 124).

121) *Baken* = *ak nan-tet-tettee*.

NEG = 1sI ACT.P-PROG-stay.home

‘It’s not that I have been staying home.’ (the reason for my inaction).

122) *Baken* = *mi-n owat gaan Ø*.

NEG = 1pII = DISP just dislike 4III

‘It’s not that we just didn’t want to.’ (after listing the reasons for not coming to an event)

123) *Baken* = *kayo = n masapol ay i-baga Ø*.

NEG = 2pI = DISP necessary LK UNDT-say 4III

‘It’s not the case that you guys have to tell about it.’

124) *Baken* = *da = n baw na-na-ek*.

NEG = 3pI = DISP PART UNDS.P-DUR-sleep

‘They weren’t sleeping after all.’

#### 4.2.3.2 Epistemic modals

Epistemic modals express a possibility or necessity based on outside factors in regards to an action or situation. The modals are *mabalin* for possibility, and *masapol* for necessity. They are linked to the clause with *ay* but as clause-level operators they do not displace the clitic pronouns in the core. Epistemic modals are bracketed in 127) to 126). Note in 126) that *adi* negates the modal.

125) *Mo i-saa = yo si Narding, [mabalin ay] maga = y problima*.

if UNDT-go.home = 2pII PRM Narding possible LK NEGEXIS = Rmi problem

‘If you take Narding back home, it’s possible that there would be no problems.’

126) [Adi mabalin ay] ma-toloy=kami ay <om>ey ed Bangan.

NEGpossible LK UNDs-continue=1pI LK ACTm-go LOC Bangan

‘It’s not possible that we will continue on our way to Bangan.’

127) [Masapol ay] man-lako=ka si baro ay gears.

necessary LK ACT-buy=2sI ORMi new LK gears

‘(Your car’s condition makes it) necessary that you buy new gears.’

128) [Masapol ay] da din wada=d nowani di ma-botos-an.

necessary LK pl RMd EXIS=LOC now RMi UNDI-vote<

‘It has to be that the incumbants (those there now) be voted for.’

Figure 4.9 displays a clause with an epistemic modal.

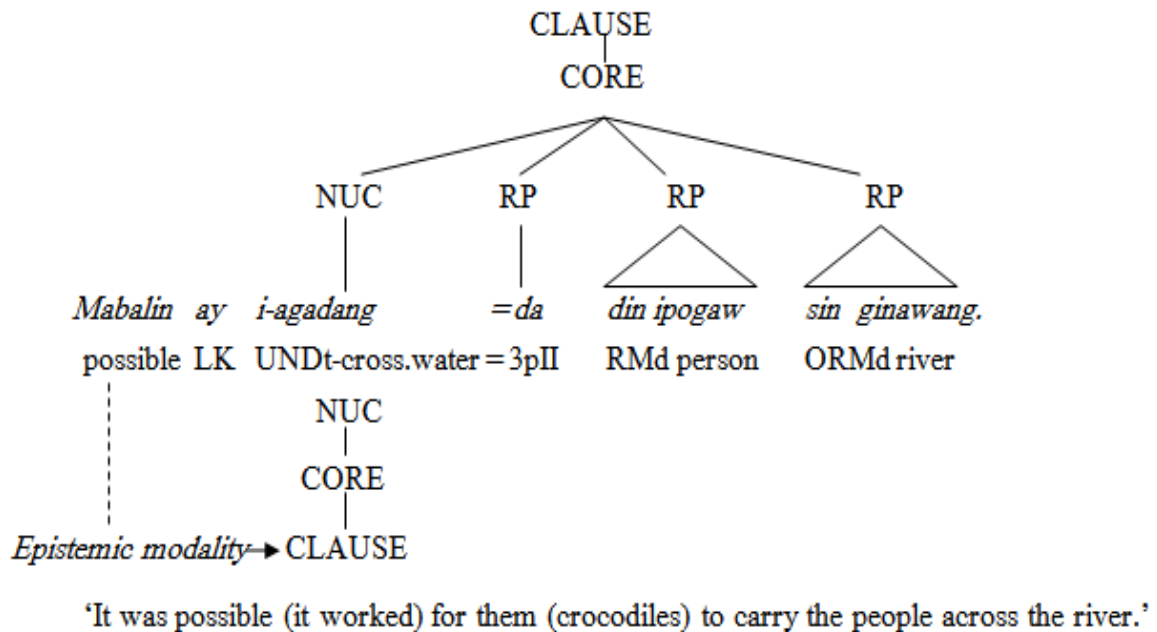


Figure 4.9. Clause with epistemic modality operator

#### 4.2.3.3 Illocutionary force

Several strategies are used in Kankanaey to express the illocutionary force of an utterance. The default indicative mood is unmarked.

Interrogative mood takes two forms—question morphemes and interrogative pronouns. The sentence-initial particle *ay* forms questions that ask for a ‘yes/no’ answer. “Why?” may be expressed informally with the discontinuous morpheme *Aket....mo?* bracketing the clause.

Other content questions place a question word or phrase in the predicate position of an equative clause. Both types of questions are illustrated in 129).

- 129) *Sino pay di anak = mo? Ay babai ono lalaki kasin?*  
 what PART RMI child = 2sII Q female or male again  
 ‘What then is your child? Is it a girl, or another boy?’

Unmitigated imperatives use overt second-person pronouns and imperfective aspect. Mitigation is commonly expressed by the use of inclusive pronouns, or request particles. (See Table 4.11 in §4.2.4.2.) Another mitigation strategy is to use progressive aspect (CVC reduplication) as in 130).

- 130) *Adi = ka kan~kanan en lawa din <in> amag = da.*  
 NEG = 2sI CVC-say QT bad RMd UND.P-do = 3pII  
 ‘Don’t (be) say(ing) that what they did was wrong.’

Formulaic particles, such as the one in 131), fill the function of what is sometimes called ‘optative mood’ (wishes, blessings, etc.).

- 131) *Kadimanet b <om> aknang = ka.*  
 prediction UND.CHANGE-rich = 2sI  
 ‘You shall certainly become rich.’

#### 4.2.3.4 Evidentials

A wide array of about fifty free-standing semantic particles encode the Kankanaey speaker’s stance regarding his or her utterances. Particles cannot take affixation or participate in word formation, although some cliticize to other clause constituents. They can occur in many places in a clause, but most often follow the verb and any clitic pronoun and are subject to relative ordering among themselves. Wherever they occur, they modify the meaning at the level of clause or speech-act or perhaps a higher discourse level. See Allen (1978b) for an early discussion of the semantic particles including their co-occurrence and ordering. At the current stage of development, RRG does not have a framework to accommodate these modifying particles. The evidential particles, which are clearly clause-level modifiers, will be presented in this section; the rest of the particles are included in §4.2.4.2.

Part of a speaker’s responsibility for the factuality of his assertions is expressed by particles that indicate the source of his information. These are presented in Table 4.8 and exemplified in 132) to 134).

**Table 4.8 Evidential particles**

EVIDENTIALS	<i>baw</i>	surprised realization
	<i>kano</i>	reported by 3 <sup>rd</sup> party (HSY)
	<i>dedan</i>	obviously, of course
	<i>kayman</i>	credit to hearer
	<i>gayam</i>	self-evident; surprised recollection
	<i>adi.pay</i>	tentative deduction

132) *Adi pay mo <om>ey=kayo ed Filipinas et ma-taynan Ø issa?*  
 EVID if ACTm-go=2pI LOC Phils. PART UNDs-leave.behind 3sI DEM2IV  
 ‘Surely if you go to the Philippines she’ll be left behind there (in Chicago)?’

133) *Enggay kano ay adi=yo en man-oto=s kan-en=yo.*  
 EXTENT HSY LK NEG=2pII go ACT-cook=ORMi eat-UND=2pII  
 ‘They say it’s to the point where you guys don’t even go cook food for yourselves.’

134) *Man-tetek din dagem tan bowan dedan di Diciembre.*  
 ATT-cold RMD wind because month EVID RMI December  
 ‘The wind was cold because (it was) the month obviously of December.’

#### 4.2.4 Other modification

Previous sections showed the grammatical operators that modify each level of the clause. Other modifiers are a small set of adverbs discussed in §4.2.4.1 that express timing, extent, and quasi-negative meanings. The rest of the other modifying semantic particles is presented in §4.2.4.2.

##### 4.2.4.1 Adverbs

§4.1.4.3 introduced the placement and linking of some adverbs in peripheral positions. This section will list them more fully, and show that they modify particular layers of the clause structure.

###### 4.2.4.1.1 Timing and extent

A small set of adverbs can precede a predicate to add modifying information regarding the timing or extent of a state of affairs. Adverbial meanings of pace and manner, however, are achieved with affixed roots that denote these characteristics. Table 4.9 lists the timing and extent adverbs. Adverbs that modify the core will displace clitic pronouns.

Table 4.9 Timing and extent adverbs

Modification	Adverb	Gloss
temporal (core)	<i>deda</i>	‘still’
	<i>kasin</i>	‘again’
	<i>asi</i>	‘then, next’
	<i>dowan</i>	‘at the same time’
extent (core)	<i>pag</i>	‘all’
	<i>owat</i>	‘only’
	<i>dadlon</i>	‘thoroughly’
extent (nuclear)	<i>enggay</i>	‘completely, to the extent that’
	<i>palalo</i>	‘excessively’

The temporal adverbs are exemplified in 135) and 136).

135) *Deda = kayo ay maki-beb~beey en am~ama = yo.*

still = 2pI LK ACTa-CVC-house OPRM parents = 2pII

‘You guys are still living in with your parents.’

136) *Din siping, mabalin ay kasin = tako = n i-lagbo-an Ø.*

RMd money possible LK again = 1 + 2pII = DISP UNDDd-wage < 4III

‘The money, it’s possible that we may earn it again.’

The extent to which a state of affairs holds true is indicated by extent adverbs. Core-modifying adverbs displace clitic pronouns. When *owat* puts a limit on a core, as in 119) above and in 137), it indicates that the participant only does the specified action. The word *pag* indicates the extent of participation (often co-occurring with ‘all’) while *dadlon* emphasizes the full extent of the effect, as in 138) and 139). Nuclear modifiers are linked with *ay* and do not affect the pronouns. Nuclear extent adverbs are shown in 140).

137) *Na-ataki Ø et owat b<om>a~baktad Ø ed bebeey = da.*

UNDS-attack 3sI and only UNDM-CV-lie.down 3sI LOC home = 3pII

‘She had a heart attack and only lies down (i.e. is bed-ridden) at their home.’

138) *Tan nabiteg = da ngalod, pag = da = n ma-baa nam?in.*

because poor = 3pI PART all = 3pI = DISP UNDS-send all

‘Because they were poor (it follows that) all of them could be sent on errands.’

139) *Dadlon* = *da* = *n*                      *tongpal-en*    *am?in*    *ay*    *in-bilin* = *ko*.  
 completely = 3pII = DISP fulfill-UND    all    LK    UNDt.P-instruct = 1sII  
 ‘They completely fulfilled all that I instructed.’

140) *Enggay*    *na-maga* = *y*                      *bikas* = *ko*    *ya*    *palalo*    *ay* <*inm*> *opsat*  
 completely UNDs-NEGEXIS = RMi    strength = 1sII and    excessively LK CHANGE.P-pale  
*di*    *mata* = *k*.  
 RMi    face = 1sII  
 ‘My strength was completely gone and my face became very pale.’

#### 4.2.4.1.2 Quasi-negative adverbs

Another group of adverbs indicate a negative truth-value for a clause core; *istay*, *daan*, and *kaman* each add implications regarding the state of affairs that is not real. In every case, clitic pronouns are displaced to attach to these adverbs that modify the core of the clause.

*Istay* indicates that something almost happened. In 141) it may be noted that what did not happen (irrealis) is expressed with the imperfective, while the true event *inmey* ‘went’ carries perfective (P) marking. *Daan* ‘not yet’ also negates a predicate, as in 142), where the predicate obligatorily takes imperfective aspect.

141) *Istay* = *ak*    <*om*> *ey*    *sin*    *kad?an* = *yo*    *ngem* <*inm*> *ey* = *ak*    *sin*    *clinic yan...*  
 almost = 1sI ACTm-go    ORMd place = 2pII    but    ACTm.P-go = 1s    ORMd clinic and  
 ‘I nearly went to your place but (instead) I went to the clinic and...’

142) *Daan* = *da*    *paylaeng i-taoli*                      Ø    *sin*    <*inm*> *ey-an* = *mi*                      *ed*    *Bali*.  
 not.yet = 3pII still                      UNDt-return 4III    ORMd ACT.P.NOM-go < = 1pII    LOC    Bali.  
 ‘They still had not yet returned it when we left for Bali.’

The word *kaman* ‘like, as if’ does not exactly negate, but it indicates something short of truth or reality about the relationship between the predicate and its participants. When *kaman* modifies the core, it displaces the clitic pronoun. Examples 143) to 145) show this adverb at the core level with a variety of predicates.

143) *Kaman* = *ak baken*    *Kankanaey ay*    *bolbolod-ek*                      *kali* = *yo*.  
 like = 1sI    NEG    Kankanaey LK    borrowing-UND.1sII    word = 2pII  
 ‘I’m like a non-Kankanaey (speaker), borrowing your (English) words.’

144) *Kaman* = *kami* = *n*    “*busy*”    *ay*    *kanayon*.  
 like = 1pI = DISP    busy    LK    always  
 ‘We seem to always be busy.’

145) *Kaman* = *ka* = *n*    *na-engit-an*                      *si*                      *lawi* = *n* *di*                      *kawwitan*.  
 like = 2sI = DISP UNDSI-decorate <    ORMi    long.feather = BRMi    rooster

‘You are like adorned with rooster-tail feathers.’ (from a love poem)

The near-truth of *kaman* ‘like’ can also apply to a whole proposition, as in the next two examples. The core pronoun is not displaced by *kaman* when it serves as a clause modifier.

146) *Kaman*    *nan-sa~sag?en* = *tako*                      *basta*                      *man-ngal~ngalat* = *tako* = *s*                      *solat*.  
 like                      ACT.P-CV-near = 1 + 2pI    provided    ACT-PROG-converse = 1 + 2pI = ORMi    letter  
 ‘It is as if we are being near each other if we are conversing with each other by letter.’

147) *Kaman*    *ad* = *ak*                      *ka-bael-an*.  
 like                      NEG = 1sI                      UNDI-s-able <  
 ‘It’s as if I am absolutely unable.’

Truth-value or realis is also overtly negated by the particle *koma*. The scope of the irrealis in 148) is the whole clause, since both cores are untrue.

148) *P* < *in* > *ikpik* = *ko*    Ø                      *koma*    *ta*                      *na* = *ek*                      Ø                      *baw*.  
 UND.P-pat = 1sII 3sIII    PART    so.that    UNDS.P-sleep    3sI    PART  
 ‘I should have patted him so that he would have slept, I see.’  
 (I didn’t pat him and he didn’t sleep.)

*Koma* translates as obligation in some clauses with imperfective aspect, as in 149). While it is difficult to translate every occurrence of this or any nuanced particle with any consistency, there is an element of speaker opinion in expressing obligation which may allow *koma* to join the other “attitude” particles in §4.2.4.2.

149) *I-toloy* = *ko*                      *koma*    *ay*                      *man-iskowila*.  
 UNDT-continue = 1sIIPART    LK                      ACT-attend.school  
 ‘I should (probably won’t) keep going to school.’

#### 4.2.4.2    Particles

The speaker-hearer dynamic in verbal interaction is encoded less by prosodic cues than by particles that give nuances of attitude to any utterance. Table 4.10 lists particles that show a speaker’s attitude toward the truth of his/her own utterance, apart from evidentials. The next four tables list particles that show a speaker’s response to a situation or to another’s utterance. Table 4.11 lists particles used with requests or commands, while Table 4.12 lists particles used to indicate various degrees of surprise. Table 4.13 displays exclamations that indicate a speaker’s general response; they may stand alone or precede a clause in the left-detached



position. Table 4.14 covers particles used in explanation, concession, objection and emphasis. Table 4.15 lists a few other semantic particles that do not fit the previous groupings. A few of the particles are duplicated between tables due to multiple semantic components. These tables represent the Kankanaey particles which have been observed; there may be others that the present author has not yet noticed! Examples 150) to 152) were specifically selected to illustrate the use of a variety and multiplicity of particles in just a few sentences.

150) *Dooy etay ginminek Ø kasin ya. En pinikpik ngin Rosita Ø.*  
 DEM3V PART quieted 3sI PART PART go patted PART Rosita 3sIII  
 surprise again explanation maybe

‘Oh, there he got quiet again. Rosita may have gone to pat him.’

151) *Ay adi=ka dedan ammo Ø? Il~ilaem ngarod ay balat ket!*  
 Q NEG=2sI PART know 4III PROG-see.UND.2sII PART LK banana PART  
 obvious confirm certain

‘Don’t you know that? (Surely you do!) You see that they are bananas surely!’

152) *Aw=et adi pay.dedan sa!*  
 yes=PART PART PART DEM2I  
 immediacy really settled

‘Yes, yes, of course (we already know) that!’

**Table 4.10 Kankanaey confidence particles**

CERTAINTY	<i>adi</i>	really, indeed
	<i>od</i>	certainly
	<i>ket</i>	positively
	<i>ngalod</i>	sincere certainty
	<i>tet?ewan</i>	truly
	<i>mon</i>	forceful affirmation
UNCERTAINTY	<i>ngata</i>	perhaps; conjecture
	<i>baka</i>	possibly
	<i>ngin</i>	maybe, with reservation
	<i>=(n)samet</i>	likely possibility

**Table 4.11 Kankanaey request particles**

<i>kay</i>	diminutive polite request
<i>kod</i>	polite request
<i>man</i>	strong request or command
<i>paabe</i>	pleading request

**Table 4.12 Kankanaey surprise particles**

<i>aket</i>	surprise
<i>aya</i>	surprise, request confirmation
<i>baw</i> <i>kambaw 2</i>	surprised realization
<i>gayam 1</i>	surprised recollection
<i>etay</i>	mild surprise

**Table 4.13 Kankanaey exclamations**

Positive/neutral	<i>ana</i>	surprise
	<i>ado</i>	protest
	<i>aye</i>	interest
	<i>dake</i>	admiration
	<i>wey</i>	surprise
	<i>engngan</i>	Look!
Negative	<i>alla</i>	warning
	<i>ay.daetan</i>	frustration
	<i>ey</i>	disappointment
	<i>sis</i>	disparagement, disgust
	<i>wa, wo</i>	disbelief
	<i>ay.maney</i>	exasperation
	<i>ay (final)</i>	emphatic, forceful

**Table 4.14 Kankanaey interactive particles**

EXPLANATION	<i>gamin</i>	reason, relevant thing
	<i>gayam 2</i>	self-evident reason
	<i>ngalod</i>	confirm; consequently
	<i>ngay</i>	defensive explanation
	<i>(=n)tomet</i>	pinpoints reason, often blaming
	<i>ya</i>	elicits sympathetic response
CONCESSION	<i>kayman</i>	agrees with, concedes to hearer
	<i>iman</i>	concedes to, sympathizes with third party
	<i>od.baw</i>	concedes to hearer after argument
OBJECTION	<i>et.abe</i>	disparagement
	<i>etet</i>	displeasure
	<i>damdama</i>	emphatic disapproval
	<i>met</i>	objection
	<i>ngay</i>	defensive objection
	<i>pay.dedan</i>	resist opposition, already settled
EMPHASIS	<i>a</i> (final)	polite, persuasive emphasis
	<i>= et</i>	suddenness or immediacy

**Table 4.15 Miscellaneous particles**

TEMPORAL	<i>dagos</i>	‘immediately’
	<i>enggay</i>	‘already’
	<i>pay.laeng</i>	still
MISCELLANEOUS	<i>abe</i>	also
	<i>anggoy</i>	only, just
	<i>koma</i>	should
	<i>met.laeng</i>	also, no other