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A Grammar Sketch Of Kinamayo

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A GRAMMAR SKETCH OF KINAMAYO

by

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This thesis, submitted by Benjamin Schmitt in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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Benjamin James Schmitt

February 10, 2022

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
A	agent-like argument of canonical transitive verb
AV	actor voice
ABS	absolutive
ADV	adverb(ial)
CAUS	causative
CIRC	circumfix
CLF	classifier
CMPR	comparative
CVST	stative conveyance voice
CV	conveyance voice
CORD	coordinating conjunction
DEG	degree
DEM	demonstrative
DISTR	distributive
ERG	ergative
EXCL	exclusive
EXIST	existential
FOC	focus

FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HYP	hypothetical
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
IPFV	imperfective
ITER	iterative
LIG	ligature
NEG	negation, negative
NFUT	nonfuture
NMLZ	nominalizer/nominalization
NONTOP	non topic
OBL	oblique
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POL	polite
POT	potential
PRSP	prospective
PTCL	particle
PURP	purposive
REL	relative
S	singular
SUP	superlative
STAT	stative
TOP	topic
UV	undergoer voice

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my beautiful wife, Mariel Jean, and my children, Esther and Isabella.
May we have more Philippine language adventures together!

ABSTRACT

Kinamayo (Kamayo) is an Austronesian language spoken on the eastern part of the island of Mindanao, Philippines. This thesis presents a grammar sketch of the case system, a preliminary analysis of the voice system, reference phrase structure, and verb tense, modality, and aspect. The theoretical framework used for this analysis is Role and Reference Grammar. Within this framework, Kamayo is best analyzed as a symmetrical voice language in addition to having an antipassive voice. The case system of active and stative verbs observed in Kamayo supports this analysis. Reference phrases are marked by case, which helps identify syntactic arguments and semantic roles in a clause. The verb system consists of tense, aspect, and modal affixes that mark the verb. An aim of this grammar sketch is to provide publicly available data on the Kamayo language and lay a foundation for further grammar analysis of Kamayo.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Kinamayo (Kamayo) is the local language spoken in the provinces of Surigao del Sur and Davao Oriental on the island of Mindanao in the Philippines. It is spoken by at least 144,000 people but greater than 200,000 likely speak it (Hasselbring et al. 2011, Eberhard et al. 2020). It is an Austronesian language in the Mansakan subgroup; closely related languages include Mansaka and Mandaya (Eberhard et al. 2020). The Kamayo people speak Kamayo in daily work, communication, and business within their municipalities (Bucjan 2017). However, some communities in other municipalities of the same province do not speak Kamayo. There are several other local languages, including Surigaonon, Mandaya, Davawenyo, and Mansaka. Kamayo speakers usually speak the language of wider communication, Cebuano, with speakers in these communities.

As of 2015, Kamayo did not have any published materials. Based on conversations with language researchers in the area, linguistic materials are being developed by language researchers, but the linguistic community does not have access at this time. The Philippine government desires to implement mother tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) (Hasselbring et al. 2011). The Regional Participatory Orthography Development Workshop for MTB-MLE Implementation in the Philippines has developed a writing guide for teaching the Mandaya-Kamayo/Kamayo language. The participants in the study were from Bislig. This work will help elementary school teachers create books and primers (Caomate et al. 2017).[1]

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[1] Where allophones in Kamayo exist, the orthography in this thesis may not match the Mandaya-Kamayo/Kamayo Orthography Development Workshop guide.

Due to the lack of language research and published materials available on Kamayo, my aim for this project is to provide a grammar sketch of the language based on data generated from stories told by native speakers. Although a full grammar sketch is beyond the scope of this work, I discuss the case system, reference phrases, and verbs in this paper. Each of these topics is foundational for an initial grammar sketch, and more complex discussions could build on this groundwork. The case system discussion in chapter 2 also includes grammatical voice observations in Kamayo. Voice is a major topic in Austronesian linguistics, and this study aims to make a valuable contribution to the discussion of voice (Himmelmann 2005a, Reid & Liao 2004, Shibatani 1988a). In chapter 3, I discuss reference phrases and their constituents. Chapter 4 includes an overview of verb tense, modality, and aspect, along with a discussion of active and stative verbs. This work will be available to the linguistic community and to native speakers. The stories collected and analyzed are not only useful for grammar analysis but also for language documentation purposes.

1.1 Kamayo Language Geography

Below in figure 1, the island of Mindanao is shown. Surigao del Sur and Davao Oriental are the two provinces farthest east on the island. Kamayo speakers reside in these provinces.

Figure 1. Map of Mindanao

Source: (Feher 2021)

The left image in figure 2 below shows northeastern municipalities in Surigao del Sur and the right image shows the southeastern municipalities in Davao Oriental. Participants in this study were from Surigao del Sur municipalities Marihatag and San Agustin.
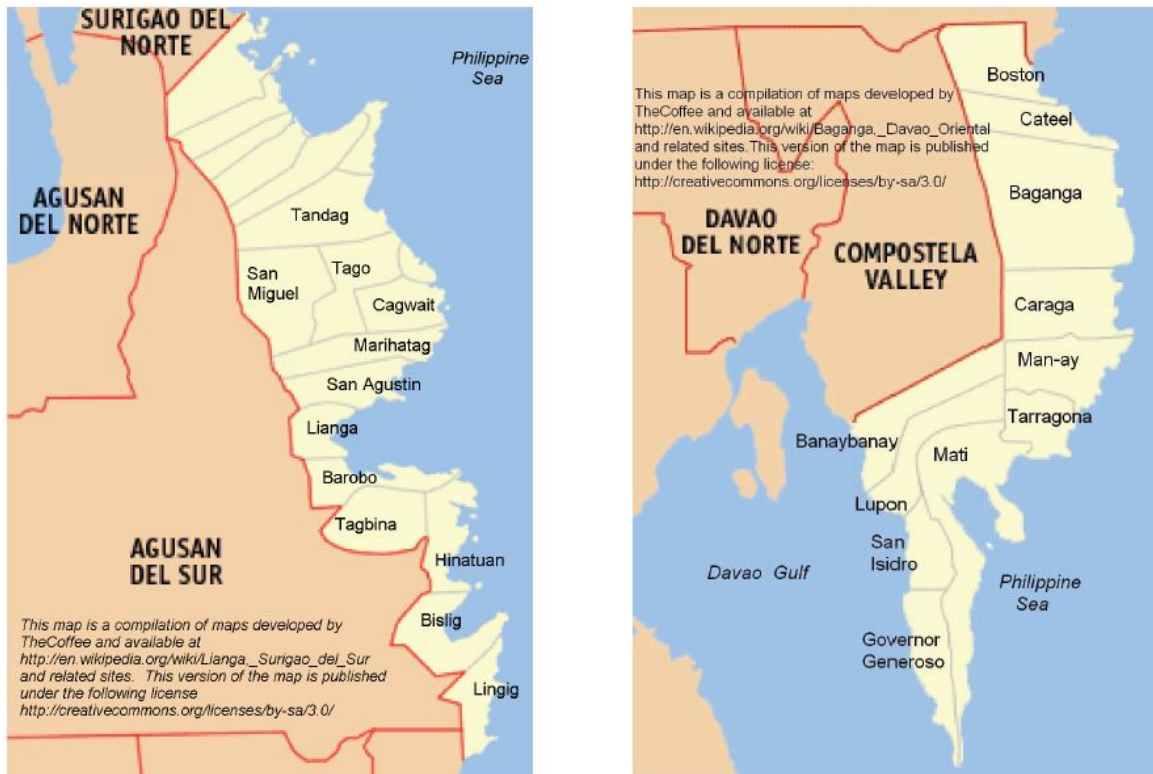
Figure 2. Kamayo language geography

Source: (Hasselbring et al. 2011)

1.2 Constituent Order Typology

A discussion of Kamayo word order typology is necessary so that readers can understand default verb and argument positions in a clause. The more widely used Cebuano language is also discussed as a reference for comparison.[2] Understanding word order will be helpful when reading the examples and analysis to come. Kamayo's default word order is verb-initial, followed by the subject and then object (VSO). As Dryer (2013) describes, for some languages including Philippine languages, *S* and *O* are not the best terms to describe word order in languages with voice constructions atypical to Indo-European languages. In Philippine languages,

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[2] Occasionally in this thesis, I refer to Cebuano (the language of wider communication) and Mansaka (a close relative of Kamayo) to show data from related languages to strengthen conclusions made about Kamayo.

the semantic agent (A) often occupies the S-position and the semantic patient (P) often occupies the O-position. Due to this common pattern, I use the terms, *VSO* here instead of *VAP* in order to maintain similar terminology for a clearer comparison of Kamayo to other languages.

Below, I show an example of Cebuano (1) which has been determined to be a VSO language (Dryer 2013). Cebuano word order is shown here to compare with Kamayo word order in (2). Both languages are VSO word order languages.

(1)   Cebuano

V	S		O	
Gi-palit	*sa*	*babayi*	*ang*	*saging.*
goal.FOC-buy	NONTOP	woman	TOP	banana

'The woman bought the bananas.' (Dryer 2013:3)

(2)   Kamayo

V	S		O	
∅-*Pangutan-hon*	*ng*[3]	*ama*	*ang*	*daraga.*
PFV-ask-FUT.UV	ERG	father	ABS	woman

'The father would ask the woman.' (Agustin 112)

VOS word order is possible in Kamayo but is less frequent than the default VSO. As shown in (3), the object *ang daraga* precedes the subject *ng ama*, which is the opposite order of arguments in (2). Variations on word order would be an interesting topic for future study.

(3)   Kamayo

V	O		S	
∅-*Pangutan-hon*	*ang*	*daraga*	*ng*	*ama.*
PFV-ask-FUT.UV	ABS	woman	ERG	father

'The father would ask the woman.' (Agustin 112 Modified)

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[3] *Ng* is an abbreviation for *nang*.

1.3 Methods

I recorded four native speakers recounting historical or childhood stories over Zoom. I then exported the data (seven stories total) into SayMore annotation software to segment and annotate the data. Ms. Mariel Jean, a native speaker of Kamayo, helped me identify some of the sounds and parse words in Kamayo. She also translated the recordings into English. Then, I exported this data into FLEx software to analyze the morphemes, grammatical categories, and syntax.

As part of my preliminary research, I obtained a copy of a film transcript translated into the Kamayo language. Although this transcript is considered a secondary research source, studying the syntax led to a greater understanding of the language. Since many pronouns were used in the transcript, I was able to observe their case marking in different environments. These observations provided information that led to questions about how to form grammatical sentences by varying voice.

Similar observations and questions also arose after I recorded native Kamayo speakers. I was able to ask Ms. Mariel Jean and her mother, Ms. Emeverta (also a native Kamayo speaker), about the grammaticality of clauses as a result of changing voice, word order, and the type of noun, etc. For example, in certain constructions discussed in section 2.4, I was quite interested in the change of case marking observed when substituting a common noun for a proper noun.

My goal was to analyze natural language from recorded stories and not a list of elicited sentences, which could potentially mask genuine linguistic forms and structures. I asked Ms. Mariel Jean to verify the naturalness of the data. She said that the majority of the recordings represent natural speech, aside from two recordings.[4] I ended up using five stories for analysis. Three of these stories originated from one speaker. Two stories came from two other speakers. The stories I

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[4] I did not heavily rely on these stories.

did not heavily rely on had many borrowed words from Cebuano, and of course, I wanted to collect stories with as much Kamayo as possible.

Unless expressly stated, all data comes from stories and not from elicited sentences. Sentences that were elicited were transcribed to provide greater insight into particular linguistic elements. Most of these sentences are based on clauses from natural text. Elicited sentences not based on natural text were thoughtfully constructed by Ms. Mariel Jean and/or Ms. Emeverta.[5] These speakers would consider actual experiences in their lives when producing an elicited sentence. A number of times I would suggest an English idea of what I wanted to hear translated. If the concept was not culturally appropriate or customary, they would change my example to suit the reality of Kamayo life with words chosen in a Kamayo context. They were also able to state if something sounded uncommon or unusual. I did not include these types of examples unless including a less natural sentence would give readers more insight into the language. I identify these examples by '?'. In addition, I mark ungrammatical examples with '*'.

I am grateful for the opportunity to interact with living Kamayo speakers. I would ask on multiple different occasions if a certain sentence could be constructed. I maintained some of the elicited sentences where Ms. Mariel Jean and Ms. Emeverta were consistent in affirming the reasonableness of a sentence. If they had hesitation or question about the grammaticality or reasonableness of an example, I would dialogue with them to resolve the problem. Either the sentence in question would be kept in the data or thrown out.

One example of going through this process has to do with markers *ng* and *sa*. Ms. Mariel Jean indicated differences between these two markers and how they could be used in Kamayo. After creating sentences and then asking her more about them, we later concluded that although both markers exist in Kamayo, they do not

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[5] The examples where elicited examples are not directly based on natural text are found in (5)-(7), (34)-(34b), (49)-(54), (92)-(93), (105), (116), (117), (121), (124) and (125).

demonstrate the same contrast we had originally thought. We concluded that the contrast might exist in Tagalog, but not Kamayo.

In most this paper aside from chapter 3 (where I discuss phrase structure rules), I work from the theory of Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) as described in Van Valin (2005). RRG theory provides a clear way to analyze and explain what occurs in a given language from semantics to syntax. Any possible proposition in any language may be broken down into logical structures of arguments and the state or action. This characterization has to do with semantics. However, the mapping between semantics and syntax differs among languages. RRG provides analytical tools to identify the process of constructing an utterance in a given language, starting with the basic meaning of an idea to the formation of a sentence.

CHAPTER 2

Kamayo Case Markers and Voice Analysis

Case marking relays crucial information about syntactic and semantic roles in Kamayo. As already noted, the preferred word order is VSO (discussed in Section 1.2), but there is variation. Case marking provides the key syntactic clues for determining the syntactic functions of arguments. *Case marking* is the preferred term used in this work, but as Himmelmann (2005a) discusses, a more descriptive term is *phrase marking*. These markers indicate the presence of a reference phrase. In addition, not only do these markers appear before arguments and other nouns to mark their syntactic roles, but they also "convey specificity, definiteness or even deictic distinctions" (Himmelmann 2005a:144). The reader should note that *phrase marking* is the general concept to keep in mind, but when discussing these markers, the word *case* is used to align with the literature (Liao 2004, Mithun 1994).

2.1 Kamayo Pronouns, Articles, and Demonstratives

In Table 1 below, the pronouns observed in the Kamayo language are organized by person, number, and case. The second, third, and fourth columns show pronouns in the absolute (ABS), ergative/genitive (ERG/GEN), and oblique (OBL) cases, respectively.[1]

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[1] The *o* is optional in the word, *kanak(o)*, and the *i* is optional in the word *(i)kaw*.

Table 1. Kamayo Pronouns

Person and Number	ABS	ERG/GEN	OBL
1S	ako	ko	kanak(o)
2S	(i)kaw	mo	kanmo
3S	yaan	naan	kanaan
1PL INCL	kita	nato	kanato
1PL EXCL	kami	nami	kanami
2PL	kamo	mayo	kamayo[2]
3PL	siran	niran	kaniran

The ergative/genitive cases combined are sometimes referred to as relative (REL) case (Blake 1979). However, in this work, I gloss these cases separately to provide more information regarding syntactic roles and to assign the gloss *REL* to the relative clause marker *na* observed in the data. The genitive/ergative cases function in different ways syntactically. In predictable environments, genitive case marks possessive nouns and common nouns in Kamayo (see sections 2.4 and 3.3 for examples). When genitive case marks possessive nouns, the genitive possessor follows the possessed noun. The possessed noun itself may be marked by any case, including genitive case.

However, there are instances in which the genitive case occurs with common nouns that are not in a genitive relation with another noun. First, in transitive "actor voice" constructions (discussed in section 2.3.3), the non-actor argument is marked with the genitive case. When common nouns in actor voice are marked by genitive case, they are in an accusative[3] relation to a transitive verb (the verb is marked by the actor voice morpheme). Second, in transitive "undergoer voice" (discussed in section 2.3.2), the actor is marked with the genitive case. Common

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[2] Notice the name of the language here.

[3] The genitive case marker is ubiquitous in Kamayo, and it has various syntactic functions. Since ergative and genitive cases are both glosses for the same morphemes (but gloss different syntactic functions), introducing the accusative case gloss as well is not necessary when the reader can discern when an argument is grammatically accusative. Maintaining the genitive case gloss in syntactically accusative environments should not be problematic. This topic surfaces again in section 2.3.3.

nouns along with all other reference phrases are marked by ergative case when they function as the actor of a transitive undergoer voice construction.[4]

Kamayo, like other Philippine languages, has inclusive-exclusive pronominal forms. The addressee may be either included in (1PL.INCL) or excluded from (1PL.EXCL) the statement a speaker makes.

The glosses for case markers in this study are similar to those in studies carried out by Gerdts (1988) and Liao (2004), although what I gloss *absolutive*, they gloss *nominative*. I use the absolutive gloss because of the commonly known morphological case pattern which is observed in undergoer voice Kamayo transitive constructions: ergative-absolutive. I discuss this pattern more in section 2.3.

In many languages, such as English, the voice system is "asymmetrical": the passive voice is less common and requires more morphology than the active voice. In Kamayo, like other Philippine languages, there is no grammatical voice that is more morphologically marked than another. Following Foley (2007), this is called symmetrical voice. In Kamayo, there is a slight morphological preference toward an ergative-absolutive alignment, hence the case markers chosen for glossing. Further explanation about an ergative-absolutive alignment preference in Kamayo will be discussed at the end of section 2.4 after more terms are introduced.

The table below (Table 2) displays the articles that mark common nouns and proper nouns by case.

Table 2. Kamayo Articles

Article Class	ABS	ERG/GEN	OBL
Common Noun Articles	ang	ng	sa
Proper Noun Articles	si	ni	kang

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[4] An actor that appears before a verb in undergoer voice is marked by oblique case. More research on fronting and variable word order needs to be carried out in order to discuss this phenomenon and its implications. See section 3.3, which shows that both genitive and oblique cases can mark a possessive noun.

Kamayo demonstratives are listed in Table 3 in all cases. In the absolutive case, *ng*[5] in *ini(ng)*, *g* in *iyan(g)*, and *ng* in *idto(ng)* occur in instances when the ligature *na* would be required to follow the demonstrative but is instead realized as a portmanteau of the demonstrative and ligature.[6]

Table 3. Kamayo Demonstratives

Demonstrative	ABS	ERG/GEN	OBL
this	ini(ng)	sini	sining
that (near)	iyan(g)	sian	siang
that (far)	idto(ng)	sidto	sidtong

Kamayo case markers are often clitics although I do not mark them as such in source language examples due to the tradition in Philippine linguistics of expressing them as a separate word (Mithun 1994). Just as Kaufman (2010) illustrates in Tagalog, there are likely instances where case markers are free words instead of clitics. He carries out tests to determine if a case marker is a clitic or a free word by substituting pronouns that can occur in both clitic or free word form. A determination is made depending on whether each resulting sentence is grammatical or not. When case markers occur as clitics, the absolutive and oblique case markers are proclitics, marking the beginning of the phrase, and the ergative/genitive cases are enclitics, following the verb. In addition to marking case and providing information about specificity, some genitives and obliques convey deictic relationships. For example, the genitive case marks a possessive relationship of one reference phrase in relation to another and would translate as 'of,' in English. Likewise, oblique case marks spatial or transactional relationships and often translates as 'to' or 'from'.

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[5] In Kamayo orthography, the two letter *ng* at the end of the word *nang* represents the phone [ŋ]. The sound [ŋg] would be written as *ngg*. The sound [gaŋ] would be written as *gang*. Words with an alveolar nasal before a velar stop would be written with a hyphen after the nasal and before the stop.

[6] The glosses DEM.LIG are not given to a demonstrative and ligature portmanteau, only the gloss DEM is shown.

As tables 1-3 above show, the third class of pronouns, articles, and demonstratives is the oblique class. The oblique case marker was identified as a reasonable gloss because all oblique class words can substitute for the oblique preposition *sa*, which heads prepositional phrases.[7]

As (4) shows, *sa* marks the semantic recipient *otaw* 'man' in the sentence.

(4) *Ma-g-∅-baligya ako   ng   isda sa   otaw.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-sell 1S.ABS GEN fish OBL man
     'I will sell the fish to the man.' (Elicited)

Example (5) provides evidence that *sa* marks entities that don't have core argument status. *Sa* also marks locations *sa tindahan* 'the store'. Because of this observation, *sa* is glossed *oblique*. Any other pronoun or demonstrative that can substitute for *sa* is also glossed *oblique* as shown in (6) with *kanaan* 'to him' and (7) with *siang* 'that'.

(5) *Ma-g-∅-baligya ako   ng   isda sa   otaw sa   tindahan.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-sell 1S.ABS GEN fish OBL man OBL store
     'I will sell the fish to the man at the store.' (Elicited)

(6) *Ma-g-∅-baligya ako   ng   isda kanaan sa   tindahan.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-sell 1S.ABS GEN fish 3S.OBL OBL store
     'I will sell the fish to him at the store.' (Elicited)

(7) *Ma-g-∅-baligya ako   ng   isda kanaan siang   tindahan.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-sell 1S.ABS GEN fish 3S.OBL DEM.OBL store
     'I will sell the fish to him at that store.' (Elicited)

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[7] This section will be a helpful reference when reading section 2.3 due to unexpected case marking observed in what is termed *actor voice* constructions.

2.2 Syntactic and Semantic Definitions

In this section, I define the syntactic and semantic terms used in this thesis so the reader can follow the RRG analysis of Kamayo syntax.

2.2.1 Syntactic Definitions

In RRG, a clause consists of a minimal required unit known as the *core*. The *core* is made up of the verb (or predicate) along with its arguments. Arguments may either be *direct core* arguments or *oblique core* arguments. To illustrate this, the English example in (8) shows three direct core arguments: 'man', 'woman', and 'flowers'. None of the arguments may be preceded by a preposition in order to function as a direct core argument.

(8)   The man gave the woman flowers.

In the next example (9), the same arguments from (8) convey the same semantic information, but the final argument 'woman' is part of a prepositional phrase 'to the woman'.

(9)   The man gave flowers to the woman.

The argument 'woman' is still a core argument, but it is considered to be an oblique core argument rather than a direct core argument because it is part of a prepositional phrase. It is important to differentiate direct core vs. oblique core arguments in the upcoming discussion about Kamayo in sections 2.3 and 2.4.

A component of a clause that modifies the core is an adjunct or part of the *periphery*. Non-argument components of a clause make up the periphery. For example, in (10) 'at the dance' is not a core argument of the verb.

(10)   The man gave flowers to the woman at the dance.

It occurs as an adjunct in the periphery of the clause. The information conveyed by the verb in (9) is unchanged. The prepositional phrase, "at the dance" in (10) just adds information about the location.

2.2.2 Semantic Definitions

Another important concept in RRG is the *macrorole*. Macroroles are generalizations of thematic relations such as agent, patient, theme, instrument, etc. The two macroroles in RRG are *actor* and *undergoer*. "Actor is a generalization across agent, experiencer, instrument and other roles, while undergoer is a generalization subsuming patient, theme, recipient, and other roles" (Van Valin 2005:53). There may be at most two macroroles in a clause even if a verb is syntactically ditransitive. For example, in (11), 'John' is actor and 'letter' is undergoer.

(11)   John gave the letter to Sally.

'Sally', however, does not have macrorole status. Why is 'Sally' not undergoer? Undergoer is assigned following the generalization mentioned above. Since "letter" has the most patient-like thematic relation, it is assigned the generalized semantic role of undergoer. This conclusion is further confirmed in English by the fact that 'Sally' is marked as an oblique by the preposition "to". Additionally, the English passive can be used to test which argument is undergoer. Only an undergoer macrorole can be passivized and placed as subject in English.

Example (11) is considered the unmarked form in English. There is a way in English for 'Sally' to gain macrorole status as shown in (12). This example is considered a marked construction in English and is known as *dative shift*. 'Sally' is assigned undergoer in (12). 'Letter' therefore loses undergoer status.

(12)   John gave Sally the letter.

Van Valin (2005:64-66) lists three main reasons why he posits only two macroroles instead of three. One straightforward reason is that actor and undergoer arguments have much more similar functions across languages, whereas a third argument does not fall into an easily categorized pattern across languages like actor and undergoer.

2.2.2.1 Macroroles and Transitivity

To characterize Kamayo constructions, we need to differentiate between semantic valence, syntactic transitivity, and macrorole transitivity. Semantic valence is the available semantic argument slots of a given verb. This may differ from the number of syntactic arguments of a verb.[8] Take (13) for example. The verb, 'ate' has a semantic valence of two. However, in (13a), the verb is syntactically intransitive, and in (13b), the verb is syntactically transitive.

(13) a. John ate.

       b. John ate the donut.

Accounting for macroroles is a crucial part of RRG in order to elucidate syntactic behavior. Syntactic transitivity (S-transitivity) may also differ from Macrorole transitivity (M-transitivity). According to Van Valin, "the S-transitivity a verb takes is less indicative of its syntactic behavior in simple sentences than M-transitivity" (2005:64). To understand this difference better, Van Valin (2005) uses the example in (14) to illustrate that there are two direct core arguments but only one macrorole.

(14)   Pat drank beer. (Van Valin 2005:64)

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[8] A direct core or oblique core argument is considered to be a syntactic argument.

The one macrorole is 'Pat', the actor. 'Beer' is not an undergoer because it is non-referential and does not refer to an actual beer that was drunk.

In sum, using (14) as an example, the semantic valence is 2 semantic arguments; the syntactic transitivity is 2 core arguments; and the macrorole transitivity is 1 macrorole (actor). RRG heavily relies on the concept of M-transitivity. It is the best way to characterize the syntactic behavior of Kamayo constructions and is the default understanding of transitivity here. RRG would treat (13a) and (14) as M-intransitive constructions.

2.2.3 Privileged Syntactic Argument

Now, bringing together syntactic and semantic concepts, another significant definition is the *privileged syntactic argument* (PSA). Identifying subject, direct object, and indirect object is not necessary in RRG. The only syntactic grammatical relation to identify in a construction is the PSA. The restrictions on allowed reference phrase arguments in a syntactic construction define the PSA of that particular construction (Van Valin 2005). A language may have different sets of allowed reference phrase arguments that may function in one construction but not another. This allows for multiple different PSA sets depending on syntax construction type in a given language (i.e. gap constructions, simple sentences, each type of complex sentence construction).

For example, looking at simple sentences in English, one possible type of PSA is one that triggers verb agreement. Recall that a PSA exists if there is a restriction on reference phrases that can be involved in a construction. In English, there is a restriction on the reference phrases that can agree with a verb. The reference phrases that can trigger verb agreement are part of a PSA set, while those that cannot trigger verb agreement are not part of the PSA set. Reference phrase types that can be part of a PSA set are categorized based on their semantic macrorole status

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and verb transitivity. As a result of varying macrorole status and verb transitivity existing among PSA members, "the distinction between two or more semantic roles is neutralized for syntactic purposes" (Van Valin 2005:89).

Example (15) from Van Valin (2005:90) illustrates reference phrases that trigger verb agreement.

(15) a. *The teacher has read the words. (Actor of transitive V)*
      b. *The teacher has sung. (Actor of intransitive V)*
      c. *The teacher has fainted. (Undergoer of intransitive V)*
      d. **The teacher have read the words. (Undergoer of transitive V) [active voice]*
      e. *The words have been read by the teacher. (Undergoer of transitive V) [passive voice] Van Valin (2005:90)*

Note how in (15a) and (15b) the actor 'teacher' may trigger verb agreement. In (15c), an undergoer of an intransitive sentence may also trigger verb agreement; however, an undergoer 'words' of a transitive sentence may not trigger agreement as (15d) is ungrammatical. The default argument that triggers verb agreement is the actor argument in English. In order for an undergoer of a verb with semantically two arguments to trigger verb agreement, a derived voice construction (the English passive) must be used as shown in (15e). The PSA for verb agreement in simple English constructions (syntax construction type) is [S, A_T, d-S], where 'S' stands for single argument, whether actor or undergoer of an intransitive verb. A_T stands for the actor of a syntactically transitive verb. And, d-S stands for one macrorole (either actor or undergoer) of a derived intransitive verb. The macrorole in (15e) is undergoer in the English passive d-S. The PSA set may differ in English if a different type of syntax construction is evaluated.

2.3 Voice Analysis of Kamayo

The RRG concepts defined in the prior sections are applied here to discuss the case and voice system of Kamayo. Kamayo is analyzed in this paper as a

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symmetrical voice system (two transitive voice options) in addition to having an antipassive voice. The two transitive voices are both considered basic voices in the sense that neither of the two appears to be derived from the other (Himmelmann 2005a, O'Grady & Bulalang 2019). Both transitive voices are marked by affixes with their own unique morphological complexity. The antipassive voice exists in a paradigmatic relationship with one of the transitive voices (transitive actor voice).

In simple Kamayo clauses, there is a PSA with respect to case. The PSA is comprised of either the actor or undergoer of an intransitive verb (S), the undergoer of a transitive verb (U_T), the actor of a transitive verb (A_T), and the actor of a derived intransitive verb—the antipassive (d-S).[9] The PSA set is [S, U_T, A_T, d-S], and in each construction, the PSA is marked by *absolutive* case.

The d-S antipassive construction is an example of a grammatical voice modulation. *Grammatical voice* as defined by Shibatani is "a mechanism that selects a grammatically prominent syntactic constituent—subject—from the underlying semantic functions (case or thematic roles) of a clause" (1988a:3). This definition is helpful; however, removing the term *subject* and replacing it with *PSA* increases clarity for this context. The term *subject* can have different meanings across languages, and as mentioned earlier, Van Valin (2005) steers clear of the term as it is unnecessary in his model and reduces confusion.[10]

Van Valin's definition of voice modulation is useful when evaluating and characterizing derived voice constructions. At least one of the two features of the definition below must be present in voice modulation constructions. Often times, both features are present such as in the English passive.

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[9] The d-S "derived-intransitive single argument" may either stand for a passive or antipassive construction since both are derived intransitive voice constructions. In English, d-S stands for the English passive and in Kamayo, d-S stands for the Kamayo antipassive.

[10] However, many Austronesian language researchers have defined and used 'subject' in analyses (including analyses with RRG framework). I do not discuss the term *subject* further in this thesis.

1. PSA modulation voice: permits an argument other than the default argument to function as the privileged syntactic argument.

2. Argument modulation voice: gives non-canonical realization to a macrorole argument (2005:116).

This definition (which includes the two features above) will be referred to throughout this discussion. In Kamayo, since neither transitive voice is the basic voice, the S, U$_T$, or A$_T$ are members of the default argument group that can function as the PSA. Only the d-S antipassive is outside of the default group. Neither feature of the voice modulation definition above occur in the default group; however, the second feature comes into play in the Kamayo antipassive.

2.3.1 Intransitive Constructions (S)

Kamayo verbs are marked differently depending on the type of macrorole involved in a syntactically intransitive construction. This means that Kamayo patterns after a split-intransitive system. The *g-* prefix marks intransitive verbs[11] with an actor argument; on the other hand, the ∅- prefix marks intransitive verbs with an undergoer argument. The single argument is marked by the absolutive case in each instance. Recall that the absolutive argument receives PSA status in a clause. The actor single argument and the undergoer single argument each receive PSA status in their respective clauses. In (16), the verb *tanom* 'plant' is marked by *ma-g-*,[12] and *siran* '3 PL' is the absolutive-marked actor of the single argument sentence.

(16) *Ma-g-a-tanom   siran   sa   basakan   mo.*
     FUT-AV-IPFV-plant 3PL.ABS OBL rice.field 2S.GEN
     'They will be planting in your rice field.' (Tanom 36 Modified)

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[11] The prefix *g-* also marks transitive verbs in "actor voice". Identifying transitive verbs will be explained in section 2.3.3.

[12] To focus on grammatical voice features and not tense in this chapter, the future tense marker *ma-* will mainly be used.

The verb in (17) is marked with the ∅- prefix if the single argument of the clause is an undergoer. The undergoer of a single argument sentence is marked by absolutive case. In this example, *ang mga sagbot*[13] 'the grass' is the undergoer. A single argument undergoer in a clause is an example of a *stative* construction, which is a topic discussed further in section 4.6.

(17) *Ma-∅-lata*[14] *ang mga sagbot.*
         FUT-STAT-rot ABS PL   grass
         'The grass will be rotted.' (Tanom 7)

If a semantically transitive verb is marked by *ma-∅-*, the undergoer is PSA, and according to native speakers, the actor is optionally expressed as a genitive-marked argument. This meets the criteria of passive voice as discussed in Keenan & Dryer (2007). In Kamayo, when a root is marked with the stative prefix, a semantically transitive verb only requires the undergoer argument. The actor argument is optional, and the verb is marked with the same marking as that of single argument undergoer constructions. However, in the Kamayo narrative data analyzed, I did not come across a genitive argument present in default stative constructions. Since I only have elicited examples with an optional genitive argument present and because the stative voice in section 4.6 covers the Kamayo data analyzed, I do not propose that a passive voice should be treated differently than statives.

In (18), the undergoer *ang basakan* is the PSA and *ng karabaw*, which is present in (18), is optional in (19).

(18) *Ma-∅-daro*   *ang basakan ng   karabaw.*[15]
         FUT-STAT-plow ABS rice.field GEN carabao
         'The field will be plowed by a carabao.' (Elicited)

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[13] *Mga* is an abbreviation of *manga*.

[14] The *ma-* prefix functions as an a future tense marker. When g- does not follow it, I propose that ∅- marks stative verbs that take single argument undergoer macroroles.

[15] There is ambiguity as to whether *ng karabaw* is a possessive RP (discussed in section 3.3) or an optional actor argument. This is resolved based on context. Also noteworthy is the fact that the actor has the ERG/GEN case. This example looks like a transitive UV clause, but the marking on the verb indicates a state rather than a volitional act.

(19) *Ma-∅-daro*   *ang basakan.*
      FUT-STAT-plow ABS rice.field
      'The field will be plowed.' (Elicited)

2.3.2 Transitive Constructions (U$_T$)

In Kamayo transitive *undergoer voice* (UV) constructions, the undergoer of a transitive verb patterns the same as the undergoer or actor of a single argument sentence in the sense of argument case marking. If the undergoer of a transitive verb is marked by absolutive case, then it is the PSA of the transitive construction. The case marking of a transitive verb undergoer patterning similarly to the case marking of a single argument clause aligns with a morphologically ergative system. A U$_T$ construction is seen in (20) where the undergoer of the transitive construction *ang daraga* 'the woman' receives absolutive case. The actor in (20) is marked by ergative case.

(20) *∅-Pangutan-hon ng   ama   ang daraga.*
      PFV-ask-FUT.UV ERG father ABS woman
      'The father would ask the woman.' (Agustin 112)

In Kamayo, there are marked UV constructions in which a different non-actor argument may receive undergoer macrorole status instead of a default argument. The marked UV constructions discussed in this thesis are termed *conveyance voice* (see section 2.5). The PSA does not have to be modified to accommodate a change in argument that receives undergoer status because only one undergoer macrorole is allowed to exist in a clause at a time.

2.3.3 Transitive Constructions (A$_T$)

If the actor of a clause is marked by absolutive case, it is PSA of the clause. A verb marked by the *g-* prefix selects the actor to be PSA of a clause. The reader should recall that this prefix also marks the verb of an actor single argument clause

(discussed in section 2.3.1). Constructions with this prefix are termed *actor voice* (AV) regardless of transitivity. AV constructions may be intransitive or transitive. (Ditransitive AV constructions may be possible, although I have not observed these).

Aside from single argument AV constructions, the focus of this subsection is transitive AV constructions. Since the actor of a transitive verb, in an AV construction, receives the same case marking as a single argument actor or undergoer of an intransitive verb, this construction patterns after a nominative-accusative case marking system. Absolutive case is used as an alternative to nominative as mentioned in section 2.1. Genitive case is used instead of accusative in order to not bring more case glosses into this analysis. The reader should note that when a second argument marked by genitive case is present, this is a grammatically accusative case.[16]

The actor is the PSA in the transitive construction shown in (21). The actor is marked by absolutive case just as the actor of a single argument in (16). The undergoer argument is marked by genitive case.

(21) *Ma-g-∅-dakop   ako   ng   ambaw.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-catch 1S.ABS GEN rat
     'I will catch a rat.' (Tanom 88 Modified)

It should be noted regarding case markers that (21) is symmetrical to (20) where *ng* (which is ergative case in (20)) marks actor and *ang* (absolutive case in (20)) marks undergoer.

An example with almost identical semantic information conveyed in (21) is shown in (22) for easier observation of case marking.

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[16] Ergative case is used to mark actors of UV constructions. This is because Kamayo shows a slight preference for a morphologically ergative-absolutive alignment.

(22) ∅-*dak-pon*   *ko*   *ang* *ambaw.*
      PFV-catch-FUT.UV 1S.ERG ABS rat
      'I will catch the rat.' (Elicited)

One obvious difference between the two examples above is that in (21), the undergoer is translated as indefinite in English, while in (22), the undergoer is translated as definite in English. An indefinite undergoer in AV transitive constructions and a definite undergoer in UV transitive constructions are the default interpretations of information conveyed. This will be briefly discussed further in section 2.4.

2.3.4 Derived-Intransitive Constructions (Antipassive) (d-S)

The derived intransitive (d-S) antipassive construction is an M-intransitive construction. The verb is marked by the same prefix *g-* as both the intransitive single actor (S) construction and the AV transitive (A$_T$) construction. Antipassive intransitive constructions are therefore also termed *actor voice* (AV) constructions. The actor is the PSA; therefore, it receives absolutive case marking.

The primary way to differentiate the antipassive AV construction from the transitive AV construction is oblique case marking of the second argument[17] in an antipassive clause. If a second argument is a pronoun, proper noun, or demonstrative, the oblique case is required. As I will show in section 2.4, high referentiality of an AV second argument motivates oblique marking of that argument. The oblique case marking indicates that the oblique-marked argument no longer has undergoer macrorole status. If macrorole status were maintained, the second argument would be marked by genitive case. Without a macrorole undergoer, M-transitivity has decreased. A Kamayo antipassive is as shown in (23).

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[17] The term *second argument* or *non-actor argument* is used when discussing antipassive constructions since the term *undergoer* cannot be used. An intransitive verb only contains one macrorole. Reading a Kamayo sentence from left-to-right, the first argument would be actor and the second would be the argument referred to here (prior to voice modulation—the undergoer).

(23) *Ma-g-∅-dakop   kaw   kanaan.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-catch 2S.ABS 3S.OBL
     'You will catch him.' (Elicited)

The actor is marked by absolutive case just as the actor of a single argument in (16) or the actor of a transitive verb in AV (21). The second argument *kanaan* is marked by oblique case in (23).

I continue to use the term *argument* when discussing the second semantic argument of an AV antipassive clause even though an AV antipassive clause is syntactically intransitive. The second argument continues to be a syntactic oblique core argument of the verb, but it loses macrorole status. Recall from section 2.2.2.1 that macrorole transitivity is the best way to identify construction transitivity in RRG.

2.4 Actor Voice Analysis: Transitive and Antipassive Constructions

AV transitive and antipassive constructions are in a paradigmatic relationship regarding second argument marking. Second argument common nouns may only be marked by genitive case; these undergoers are part of transitive constructions. Second argument pronouns or proper nouns may only be marked by oblique case; oblique second arguments are part of antipassive constructions. The difference between genitive case marking (example (21) repeated here as (24)) vs. oblique case marking shown in (23) repeated here as (25) leads to the question of whether the second argument in (24) may be marked by oblique case instead of genitive case.

(24) *Ma-g-∅-dakop   ako   ng   ambaw.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-catch 1S.ABS GEN rat
     'I will catch a rat.' (Tanom 88 Modified)

25

(25) *Ma-g-∅-dakop   kaw   kanaan.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-catch 2S.ABS 3S.OBL
     'You will catch him.' (Elicited)

As (26) shows, an argument that is not a genitive-marked common noun is ungrammatical. Only pronouns, proper nouns, or demonstratives may be marked by oblique case.

(26) **Ma-g-∅-dakop*   ako   sa   ambaw.*
     FUT.AV-PFV-catch 1S.ABS OBL rat
     'I will catch a rat.' (Tanom 88 Modified)

Likewise, pronouns and proper nouns in antipassive constructions are not allowed to be marked by genitive case. Notice how (25) becomes ungrammatical when a second argument pronoun is marked by genitive case in (27).

(27) **Ma-g-∅-dakop*   kaw   naan.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-catch 2S.ABS 3S.GEN
     'You will catch him.' (Elicited)

Speakers often use transitive AV constructions to indicate a less referential or indefinite undergoer as in (24). Although, just as Latrouite & Van Valin (2014) show in Tagalog, the genitive second argument in Kamayo might be neutral with respect to referentiality. Verbal event structure or context likely play a part in rendering the argument referential or non-referential. The same conclusions in Tagalog with respect to referentiality might not apply to Kamayo, but neutral referentiality (and based on native speaker insight), an indefinite AV undergoer is the default interpretation of these clauses.

On the other hand, if a pronoun, proper noun, or demonstrative is the second argument, it must be marked by oblique case as in (25). A pronoun or proper noun would always be highly referential. Demotion to an oblique would still allow the second argument participant to be accessible and referential but less prominent

syntactically in the clause since the actor would be PSA. If the second argument of any AV construction should be considered a syntactically more prominent/definite argument, it would receive PSA status and achieve undergoer macrorole status in a UV clause.

High referentiality of an AV second argument motivates oblique marking of that argument. Also a motivator for oblique marking is animacy of the argument. Both pronouns and proper nouns are referential and their referents are animate. Since demonstratives are by nature referential, a reference phrase that contains a demonstrative is expected to be on the more referential end of the referentiality spectrum. In (28), if the second argument *ambaw* 'rat' is marked by genitive case, the sentence is not considered as natural. This is expected based on current conclusions. Conversely in (29), if the second argument is marked by oblique case, this sentence is considered more acceptable. This is evidence that referential arguments should be marked by oblique case in AV.

(28) *?Ma-g-∅-dakop   ako   sian   na   ambaw.*[18]
      FUT-AV-PFV-catch   1S.ABS   DEM.GEN   LIG   rat
      'I will catch that rat.' (Tanom 88 Modified)

(29) *Ma-g-∅-dakop   ako   siang   ambaw.*
      FUT-AV-PFV-catch   1S.ABS   DEM.OBL   rat
      'I will catch that rat.' (Tanom 88 Modified)

The choice of AV vs. UV in Kamayo appears to be pragmatic. If a referential and definite undergoer of a transitive verb is present, as mentioned above, speakers use UV. If an indefinite or less referential undergoer is referenced, speakers choose AV, and the default second argument case is genitive. However, because pronouns

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[18] The ligature *na* is present for phonologic reasons and does not have to do with syntactic differences between (28) and (29).

and proper nouns are inherently referential, an antipassive AV construction is required to indicate a decrease of second argument affectedness or prominence, in line with the purpose of AV.

There are some challenges with an antipassive analysis of AV constructions. Typical antipassives have a second argument that is both optional and a peripheral component of the clause. Additionally, the second argument is usually both non-referential and indefinite (Foley 2007). Neither of these characteristics is observed in Kamayo. The second argument maintains core argument status, and it is referential.

Although the second argument of an AV construction may be omitted in (30), this is not omission in the sense of peripheral adjunct omission. The omitted argument is a core, definite null argument. Example (30) is an example of zero anaphora in Kamayo. (See (25) for the missing argument identity).

(30) *Ma-g-∅-dakop   kaw   ∅.*
     FUT.AV-PFV-catch 2S.ABS 3S.OBL
     'You will catch him.' (Elicited Example)

If the Kamayo AV does not look like a typical antipassive (Foley 2007), is it really an antipassive construction? There are two reasonable options, but both have limitations. The first analysis, which is argued here, proposes an intransitive AV construction with an oblique second argument. The challenges with this analysis were just discussed. The second analysis proposes a transitive AV construction with an oblique second argument.

To characterize AV constructions with oblique second arguments as transitive constructions would be a potential analysis, but due to the observation of undergoer arguments with genitive case marking, I argue that these two case markings

call for different treatment regarding transitivity. The genitive undergoer of transitive AV constructions fits nicely in a symmetric paradigm (O'Grady & Bulalang 2019).

An intransitive construction with oblique second arguments is the most reasonable conclusion within the RRG framework. The fact that oblique arguments occupy the second argument position of AV constructions provides strong evidence of proposing a d-S argument modulation voice due to loss of the undergoer macrorole—thus an M-intransitive construction (see (23)). Within the bounds of RRG, a syntactically M-transitive sentence should never be without an undergoer macrorole. M-transitive constructions (see section 2.2.2.1) should have both an actor and undergoer macrorole present in a truly transitive construction, and this is not the case in the AV antipassive constructions (see (24) or (25)).

A given Philippine-type language either has both a syntactically transitive and an antipassive AV construction, or only an antipassive construction. A Philippine-type language without an antipassive may exist, although I have not come across any. Laskowske (2016) discusses this range in Indonesian-type and related symmetrical voice languages. Some languages have both a distinct AV transitive and antipassive construction, such as Bugis. Other languages such as Central Sinama have a syntactically transitive AV construction with some exceptions where a preposition occurs before the second argument of the AV construction; James (2017) terms these *semitransitive* constructions. On the other end of the spectrum is a language like Sama that has an antipassive AV construction very similar to Kamayo (Walton 1986).

In fact, Walton (1986) argues that Sama has an antipassive construction using the RRG framework, and the second argument is marked by an oblique case preposition when a pronoun occupies that position as shown in (32). Example (31) is shown to compare transitive UV with antipassive AV in Sama. The glosses used in these examples adopt those chosen for this paper.

(31) ∅-*nda' nu   aku.*
    UV-see 2S.ERG 1S.ABS
    'You see me.' (Walton 1986)

(32) *N-nda' ka'u   ma-aku.*
    AV-see 2S.ABS OBL-1S.GEN
    'You see me.' (Walton 1986)

In the d-S AV construction (32), Sama shows PSA modulation (Van Valin 2005). These constructions are very similar to the phenomena in Kamayo. However, case is not overtly marked on other nouns in Sama, so it is difficult to tell if AV common nouns would be marked by genitive case. Walton states that it is unusual for an undergoer to receive oblique case marking in AV. Usually AV non-pronoun second arguments are not marked for case as shown in (33).

(33) *Mag-tigad onde'   so.*
    AV-cut   child(A) snake(U)
    'The child cut a snake.' (Walton 1986)

The above Sama examples are shown to illustrate the similarities to the Kamayo antipassive. These provide further evidence that an antipassive construction in Kamayo is reasonable.

The Kamayo split in AV transitive and antipassive constructions might indicate that the language is either shifting toward the antipassive end or transitive end of the spectrum. Another possibility is that the Kamayo language began with only one AV transitivity type and has evolved both an antipassive and transitive construction.

Because of the distribution of both transitive and intransitive construction options in AV, the overall voice system has a slightly ergative preference. This preference is based on the PSA set for Kamayo simple sentences, not based on percentage occurrence of each PSA member in narrative text. UV clearly patterns after

an ergative-absolutive system. Although transitive AV constructions pattern after a nominative-accusative system, antipassive AV constructions pattern after an ergative-absolutive system. For this reason, ergative-absolutive glosses are chosen because more members of the PSA set align with the ergative-absolutive system compared to the nominative-accusative system. As a summary of the case marker glosses applicable to this section, absolutive marks the PSA, ergative marks the actor of a transitive UV construction, genitive marks the undergoer of a transitive AV construction, and oblique marks the second argument of an antipassive AV construction.

2.5 Conveyance Voice

As mentioned in section 2.3, the default undergoer voice occurs when an affected theme or patient receives PSA status. Other arguments, however, are able to be promoted to undergoer and so receive PSA status instead of a default patient or theme receiving undergoer PSA status. These are marked undergoers and less common instances of undergoer voice. The type of undergoer voice constructions observed in the Kamayo data analyzed is termed *conveyance voice* (CV). In Kamayo, conveyance voice includes locatives, beneficiaries, recipients, and transferees as PSA. RRG accounts for these PSA modulations as a type of UV due to the constraint of recognizing only two macroroles per clause. The PSA set [S, U_T, A_T, d-S] remains unchanged. Because the relevant argument has been promoted to undergoer status, the member of the PSA set in conveyance voice is U_T. The undergoer of a transitive (or ditransitive) verb is the PSA.

Below, UV, which was introduced already in section 2.3 is shown in (34a). A CV example with similar information is shown in (34b).

(34)   a. *I-baligya*[19]   *ko*   *ang isda sa*   *otaw.*
          FUT.UV.PFV-buy 1S.ERG ABS fish OBL man
          'I will sell the fish to the man.' (Elicited)

    b. *Baligya-an ko*   *ng*   *isda ang otaw.*
          buy-CV   1S.ERG GEN fish ABS man
          'I will sell a fish to the man.' (Elicited)

In (34a), the undergoer is *isda*. The recipient is *otaw*. The suffix *-an* attached to the verb in (34b) selects a marked undergoer, which shifts undergoer and PSA from the default *isda* in (34a) (unmarked UV) to *otaw* in (34b) (marked UV or CV). Thus, the *-an* morpheme functions to select a marked undergoer in a clause.

Another example in UV is shown in (35) followed by CV in (36) to compare the argument selected as undergoer. In (36), the marked undergoer *ang mga iso* is selected as a result of CV marking on the verb.

(35)   ∅-*Palit-on*   *mo*   *ang pag-kaan para*   *sa*   *mga iso.*
       PFV-Buy-UV 2S.ERG ABS INF-eat   PURP OBL PL   child
       You will buy the food for the children.

(36) *Palit-an mo*   *ng*   *pag-kaan ang mga iso.*
      Buy-CV 2S.ERG ABS INF-eat   ABS PL   child
      You will buy food for the children.

2.6 Summary

The split-intransitive system of Kamayo makes recognition of macrorole type easy to identify. These macroroles are the PSA in intransitive clauses. I have shown that Kamayo has two transitive voice options. UV patterns after an ergative-absolutive and AV after a nominative-accusative case marking system. The under-goer of a transitive verb receives PSA status in UV, and the actor of a transitive verb receives PSA status in AV. A voice modulation occurs to form the antipassive

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[19] The morpheme *i-* is an example of an uncommon future tense/voice affix in Kamayo. It marks some verbs in UV. More reserach should be done to investigate this morpheme.

voice in which the undergoer loses macrorole status. The oblique second argument of a verb indicates a decrease in transitivity due to the loss of an undergoer macrorole. The PSA set includes not only the default undergoer but also non-default undergoers due to conveyance voice as an alternative voice option.

CHAPTER 3

Kamayo Reference Phrases

In Kamayo as in many other Philippine languages, the distinction between nouns and verbs is less clear than in English (Foley 2007, Shibatani 1988a). However, the case system greatly helps identify nouns and determine the function of an argument in a clause. In the Kamayo data analyzed, all arguments contain a noun or pronoun. Nouns and pronouns are overt, and a noun is an obligatory constituent of a reference phrase. A case marker or determiner indicates the beginning of a reference phrase. If a typical verb stem follows a case marker or determiner, the stem is analyzed as a nominalized constituent of the reference phrase.

The order of Kamayo reference phrase constituents identified from Kamayo data are presented in section 3.1 to outline the general structure of the Kamayo reference phrase (RP). Next, in section 3.2, Kamayo reference phrase examples are presented to provide evidence that the structures introduced in section 3.1 cover the data presented. Possessive reference phrases are then introduced in section 3.3 and shown how they fit into the reference phrase structure. In section 3.4, infinitives and nominalization are discussed, followed by section 3.5, which is an introduction to comparatives and superlatives.

3.1 Reference Phrase Constituent Order

Table 4 lists grammatical categories and their abbreviations. Kamayo reference phrases are composed of these grammatical categories. The abbreviations are used in examples to illustrate constituent order in reference phrases.

Table 4. Reference Phrase Elements

Abbreviation	Grammatical Category
CM	Case Marker
CLF	Classifier
D	Demonstrative
LIG	Ligature
M	Modifier
N	Noun
Num	Number
P	Phrase
PL	Plural Marker
Pro	Pronoun
Q	Quantifier

Demonstratives, case markers, modifier phrases, number phrases, and quantifier phrases all act as RP operators in the RRG sense. They modify a given constituent, such as the head noun in a reference phrase. When analyzing the structure of a reference phrase, nouns and pronouns are diagrammed in a different projection than operators. Nouns and pronouns appear in what is known as the *constituent projection*. Operators are shown in what is known as the *operator projection* so that it is clear what entity operators modify. These diagrams are not shown in this thesis.

Phrase structure rules are shown below so that the order of reference phrase elements is clear, but the reader should keep in mind that operators act upon nouns and pronouns to modify or specify a referent.

A demonstrative or case marker obligatorily precedes either an optional quantifier phrase or number phrase as (37) shows.

(37) RP–> {D/CM} + ({QP/NumP}) + (PL) + N + (LIG + MP)*

Recall from section 2.1 that demonstratives are marked by case in Kamayo and therefore do not need a separate case marker (such as *ang*) to specify case.[1] Following an optional quantifier or number phrase, an optional plural marker *mga* may precede an obligatory noun. Following the noun, an optional modifier phrase preceded by a ligature *na* may occur in succession depending on the number of modifiers in the phrase. Every MP is preceded by a ligature to separate it from the noun or other MPs. The asterisk in (37) above indicates that the entity in parentheses may occur more than once in the phrase.

A modifier phrase may contain an optional plural marker followed by an obligatory modifier shown in (38). There may be more than one plural marker in a reference phrase, but at least one plural marker must occur in the reference phrase when the noun is a plural entity.

(38) MP–> (PL) + M

A quantifier phrase is comprised of an obligatory quantifier followed by a ligature *na* as shown in (39). As Liao (2004) discusses, a ligature or *linker* as commonly termed in western Austronesian languages often links a head constituent to its modifier. In Kamayo, the ligature *na* links the head noun to a modifier.[2]

(39) QP–> Q + LIG

Referring back to (37), instead of a quantifier phrase, a number phrase may occur in the reference phrase. As (40) shows, a number phrase contains a number followed by a number classifier, in this case *ka*. In the reference phrase, a classifier always immediately follows cardinal numbers and precedes the head noun.

(40) NumP–> Num + CLF

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[1] Demonstrative locatives do not have case specified. They are glossed as DEM.
[2] *Na* also functions as a relativizer, which is not discussed in this work.

In contrast with the reference phrase template shown in (37), sometimes all elements in a reference phrase can occur before the head noun. This is shown in (41).

(41) RP–> {D/CM} + ({QP/NumP}) + (MP + LIG)* + (PL) + N

Instead of the modifier phrase following the plural marker and noun, it precedes them. If the modifier phrase precedes the noun, the ligature follows the modifier phrase in order to separate the modifier(s) and the noun. The structure in (41) can be combined with (37) since modifiers can occur on either side of the noun. This combination yields (42).

(42) RP–> {D/CM} + ({QP/NumP}) + (MP + LIG)* + (PL) + N + (LIG + MP)*

According to native speakers there is not any difference in meaning whether a modifier precedes or follows a noun in Kamayo, but modifiers tend to cluster together either before or after the noun. Further research may indicate a difference.

3.2 Examples of Kamayo Reference Phrases

In this section, I present examples from Kamayo narrative data and elicited sentences of Kamayo reference phrases. The structure is given to the right of the example citations.

A reference phrase may simply consist of a case marker along with the head noun as in (43).

(43) *ang tubig*
      ABS water
      'the water' (Agustin 86) RP–> CM + N

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In (44), the demonstrative *iyang* is in the absolute case, and its presence precludes a common noun article case marker in the reference phrase. The plural marker *mga* precedes the head noun.

(44) *iyang   mga humay*
        DEM.ABS PL   rice.kernel
        'those rice kernels' (Tanom 49) RP–> D + PL + N

A noun may be modified by a modifier (a noun or adjective). The modifier may either follow or precede the head noun and is separated from the noun by a ligature. (45)-(47) show the head noun preceding the modifier, but (48) shows the head noun following the modifier. In (46) and (47), the words functioning as modifiers (*daraga* and *pagkaan*, respectively) modify the nouns in each sentence even though they align with the nominal grammatical class. Thus, in Kamayo, nouns may modify other nouns.

(45) *ng   trapal na   badi*
        GEN tarp   LIG big
        'a big tarp' (Tanom 48) RP–> CM + N + LIG + MP

(46) *ng   anak na   daraga*
        GEN child LIG single.woman
        'the single daughter' (Agustin 110) RP–> CM + N + LIG + MP

(47) *ang andamon   na   mga pag-kaan*
        ABS preparing LIG PL   INF-eat
        'the food preparation' (Agustin 127) RP–> CM + N + LIG + MP

Numbers are another grammatical category that may exist in a phrase with both modifiers and a noun as shown in (48)-(50). The order of modifiers and their position before or after the head noun is not fixed. In the data analyzed, when there is more than one modifier as in (50), the modifiers tend to precede the head

noun. If there is just one modifier, the head noun may or may not precede the modifier. The head noun precedes the modifier in (49).[3]

(48)   *ang isa   ka   badi na   bahay*
     ABS one CLF big   LIG house
     'one big house' (Agustin 133) RP–> CM + NumP + MP + LIG + N

(49)   *ang tulo   ka   mga ido   na   badi*
     ABS three CLF PL   dog LIG big
     'the three big dogs' (Elicited) RP–> CM + NumP + PL + N + LIG + MP

(50)   *ang tulo   ka   badi na   mga brown   na   ido*
     ABS three CLF big   LIG PL   brown LIG dog
     'the three big brown dogs' (Elicited) RP–> CM + NumP + MP + LIG +
     MP + LIG + N

Example (51) shows the order in a reference phrase when there are many constituents including a number and a demonstrative. A demonstrative begins the reference phrase followed by a number. These constituents are followed by two modifiers and a noun as illustrated in (51).

(51)   *idtong   tulo   ka   mga badi na   brown   na   mga ido*
     DEM.ABS three CLF PL   big   LIG brown LIG PL   dog.
     'those three big brown dogs' (Elicited) RP–> D + NumP + MP + LIG +
     MP + LIG + PL + N

Just as numbers precede the head noun and modifiers, a quantifier may be substituted for a number and precede these other grammatical classes as shown in (52). The RP of interest is the absolute RP.

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[3] In some of the following examples, a borrowed English modifier, 'brown', is used. This could be substituted for a Kamayo modifier; the grammar is unchanged.

(52) *Ya-∅-dakop*   *ng*   *mga Kamayo ang mahamok na mga ido na*
NFUT-STAT-catch GEN PL   Kamayo ABS many   LIG PL   dog LIG

     badi.
     big
    'Many big dogs were caught by the Kamayo people.' (Elicited) Absolutive
     RP–> CM + QP + PL + N + LIG + MP

Although the absolutive case (*ang* in (52)) often indicates a definite RP, in this example, *mahamok* 'many' only indicates the idea that many dogs were caught. The uniqueness (a stronger form of definiteness) of the identities is not assumed (Latrouite & Van Valin 2014).

In (53), the quantifier still maintains its position, but the modifier and noun exchange places compared to (52). Another example of a common quantifier in Kamayo is *gamay* 'few' shown in (54).

(53) *Ya-∅-dakop*   *ng*   *mga Kamayo ang mahamok na badi na mga*
NFUT-STAT-catch GEN PL   Kamayo ABS many   LIG big LIG PL

     ido.
     dog
    'Many big dogs were caught by the Kamayo people.' (Elicited) Absolutive
     RP–> CM + QP + MP + LIG + PL + N

(54) *Ya-∅-dakop*   *ng*   *mga Kamayo ang gamay lang na mga gamay*
NFUT-STAT-catch GEN PL   Kamayo ABS few   only LIG PL   small

     na ido.
     LIG dog
    'Only a few little dogs were caught by the Kamayo people.' (Elicited) Absolutive RP–> CM + QP + MP + LIG + MP + LIG + N

3.3 Possessives

The default case that marks the possessor (N$_{\text{Poss}}$) in a possessive reference phrase (RP$_{\text{Poss}}$) is the genitive case. (55) contains the minimal required constituents of a possessive reference phrase: a case marker is followed by a noun.

(55) $RP_{Poss} \rightarrow \{D/CM\}_{[GEN]} + N_{Poss}$

If a determiner is included in a possessive reference phrase, it will also be marked as genitive.

Example (57) below shows the resulting structure if the possessive reference phrase is added to the structure given in (42) repeated here as (56).

(56) $RP \rightarrow \{D/CM\} + (\{QP/NumP\}) + (MP + LIG)^* + (PL) + N + (LIG + MP)^*$

(57) $RP \rightarrow \{D/CM\} + (\{QP/NumP\}) + (MP + LIG)^* + (PL) + N + (RP_{Poss}) + (LIG + MP)^*$

The possessive reference phrase can include all the constituents in a reference phrase, but the case marker of the RP_{Poss} will be genitive case. A possessive reference phrase is a possible optional constituent in a matrix possessive reference phrase. The template from (55) includes the obligatory and optional constituents here in (58).

(58) $RP_{Poss} \rightarrow \{D/CM\}_{[GEN]} + (\{QP/NumP\}) + (MP + LIG)^* + (PL) + N_{Poss} + (RP_{Poss}) + (LIG + MP)^*$

A simple reference phrase that contains a possessor and possessed noun is shown in (59b), and its structure shown in (59a). A case marker, noun, and an optional possessive reference phrase occur in this order to mark possession of an entity. In (59b), the head of the possessive reference phrase is *ginikanan* 'parents'. The head noun is marked by the case which determines the syntactic role of the phrase in the sentence. In this example, the oblique case marks the reference phrase. The possessor *bobay* is marked by the genitive case *ng*.

(59) a. $RP \rightarrow CM + N + (RP_{Poss})$

b. *Sa   ginikanan ng   bobay*
   OBL parents   GEN woman
   'the parents of the woman' (Tanom 101)
    'the woman's parents' (Tanom 101)

The above structure shown in (59a) is not the only reference phrase structure in which a possessive noun can occur. An exception allows pronominal possessors to precede a head noun. When a possessor precedes the head, the oblique class of pronouns is used instead of the genitive. In (60), the structure is shown in (60a). The case marker of a reference phrase is followed by an optional possessive pronoun, which is followed by an obligatory noun. An example is shown in (60b) where the oblique pronoun *kanaan* acts as a possessor when preceding the head noun of the reference phrase.

(60)   a.   RP–> CM + (Pro$_{[Poss,OBL]}$) + N

       b. *ng   kanaan karabaw*
          GEN 3S.OBL carabao
          'his carabao' (Tanom 15)

Notice in (61), that if the possessor follows the head, the possessor is no longer marked by oblique case, but rather is marked by the genitive case like in (59b). The possessor *naan* is the final word in the example below. The absolutive argument reference phrase will be discussed in section 3.4.3. [4]

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[4] The first *naan* is actually also a possessor. It possesses *amigo*. The *naan* in the middle of the sentence is the actor of the second clause. *Ang* is the undergoer of the second clause and nominalizes the stems that follow it. It precedes the verb, which is not the default word order.

(61) *Sa sunod kung idtong amigo ra isab naan ang*
OBL next.time HYP DEM.ABS friend ADV also 3S.GEN ABS

    ma-g-∅-latak agaw ma-g-∅-pa-daro
    FUT-AV-PFV-stomp or FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-plow

    pa-∅-bus-lon da isab naan ng karabaw naan.
    CAUS-PFV-borrow-FUT.UV ADV also 3S.ERG GEN carabao 3S.GEN
    'The next time when his friend is the one who will stomp or plow, he would
    let him borrow his carabao.' (Tanom 15 Modified)

The RP$_{Poss}$ structure shown in (55) is repeated here as (62) with an addition. (62) contains a final optional reference phrase.

(62)   RP$_{Poss}$−> CM$_{[GEN]}$ + N + (RP$_{Poss}$)

The optional possessive reference phrase in (62) allows for more possessive reference phrases to occur in a hierarchy of possession where one noun is possessed by the next. This is effectively a possessive reference phrase embedded in another possessive reference phrase. An example of this hierarchy is shown in (63). Notice the constituents at the end of the sentence. *Ng ama* is an addition compared to (61).

(63) *Sa sunod kung idtong amigo ra isab naan ang*
OBL next.time HYP DEM.ABS friend ADV also 3S.GEN ABS

    ma-g-∅-latak agaw ma-g-∅-pa-daro
    FUT-AV-PFV-stomp or FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-plow

    pa-∅-bus-lon da isab naan ng karabaw ng ama
    CAUS-PFV-borrow-FUT.UV ADV also 3S.ERG GEN carabao GEN father

    naan.
    3S.GEN
    'The next time when his friend is the one who will stomp or plow, he would
    let him borrow his father's carabao.' (Tanom 15 Modified)

Compare (62) with (64). (64) accounts for oblique case pronoun possessors that precede the head noun of a possessive reference phrase. An example with the structure of (64) is shown in (65).

(64) RP$_{Poss}$–> CM$_{[GEN]}$ + Pro$_{[Poss,OBL]}$ + N

Additional possessive reference phrases along with a pronoun possessor in oblique case are shown in (65).

(65) *Sa   sunod   kung idtong   amigo ra   isab naan   ang*
      OBL next.time HYP DEM.ABS friend ADV also 3S.GEN ABS

    ma-g-∅-latak   agaw ma-g-∅-pa-daro
    FUT-AV-PFV-stomp or   FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-plow

    pa-∅-bus-lon   da   isab naan   ng   karabaw ng   amigo
    CAUS-PFV-borrow-FUT.UV ADV also 3S.ERG GEN carabao GEN friend

    ng   kanaan ama.
    GEN 3S.OBL father
    'The next time when his friend is the one who will stomp or plow, he would let him borrow his father's friend's carabao.' (Tanom 15 Modified)

I do not have instances in the data or from elicited sentences of optional possessive reference phrases occurring in succession after a possessive pronoun (see the structure in (64)).

Combining the reference phrase structure from 3.1 with this section, the following structure is generated in (66).

(66) RP–> {D/CM} + ({QP/NumP}) + (MP + LIG)* + (PL) + ({Pro$_{Poss}$ + N /
    N + (RP$_{Poss}$}) + (LIG + MP)*

Possessive reference phrases in Kamayo show fascinating options. Exploring the factors that motivate possessive pronoun vs. possessive noun word choice would be a useful study.

3.4 Infinitives and Nominalization

The Kamayo language has a morpheme to form infinitives. The prefix *pag-* forms an infinitive when affixed to a root. This prefix is discussed in section 3.4.1. Speakers use other strategies to nominalize roots or stems. The prefix *pang-* nominalizes roots and is discussed in section 3.4.2. In addition, any constituent that a case marker precedes is part of a reference phrase, and as mentioned in section 3.1, the reference phrase definitely contains a noun. Even a typical verb stem can be nominalized when marked by a case marker or determiner. In my data, only the absolutive case carries out this function. The ability to nominalize typical verb stems may be limited to only the PSA case marker of a clause. The genitive/ergative or oblique cases, however, might also be able to nominalize stems that follow them if given more data. This topic is discussed in section 3.4.3.

3.4.1 Infinitive pag-

In their discussion on Mansaka, Svelmoe & Svelmoe (1974) refer to the morpheme, *pag-* as *neutral comprehensive* aspect marker. The authors argue that *p-* marks *neutral aspect* and *ag-* marks *comprehensive aspect* to form *pag-*. I parse the morphemes in Kamayo differently. I do not parse *pag-* because it is considered to be an infinitive prefix as a whole and parsing is unnecessary.

Pag- forms infinitive complements when affixed to a root (Velupillai 2012). For this reason, I gloss it INF *infinitive*. The following Mansakan examples shown in (67) with *pag-* from Svelmoe & Svelmoe (1974) illustrate the formation of non-finite forms. Kamayo renderings of each form are in the right column and can be compared to see the similarity to Mansaka in the middle column. I parse the Mansakan affix similarly to the Kamayo affix for easier interpretation of the data.

(67)	Mansakan Stem	Mansakan Pag + Stem (Non-finite)	Kamayo Pag + Stem (Non-finite)
	imo 'make'	*pag-imo* 'making' ~ 'to make'	*pag-himo* 'making' ~ 'to make'
	kaan 'food'	*pag-kaan* 'eating' ~ 'to eat'	*pag-kaan* 'eating' ~ 'to eat'

Back to Kamayo, in (68), *pag-* precedes the verb, *tanom* 'plant', rendering the verb non-finite, and more specifically, an infinitive. In (69), *pag-* precedes *parigo* 'bathe' to form an infinitive complement. In both of these examples a finite verb precedes the infinitive complement. The finite verb is 'help' in (68) and 'allow' in (69).

(68) *Mga paryente ma-∅-bulig   ngadi kanak pag-tanom ng   humay.*
     PL   relatives FUT-STAT-help here 1S.OBL INF-plant GEN rice.kernel
     'The relatives will be helpful to me here to plant the rice.' (Tanom 21-22)

(69) *Diri da   ako   ni   Nanay tugut-an pag-parigo sa   suba.*
     NEG ADV 1S.ABS ERG mother allow-CV INF-bathe OBL river
     'Nanay already would not allow me to bathe in the river.' (Grade4 62)

3.4.2 Prefix pang-

The prefix *pang-* attaches to a root to derive a new noun. A root derived by *pang-* has a meaning of "elements associated with" the pre-derived root. The *pang-* prefix affixed to a root is illustrated with the root *luto* 'cook' and the root *isda* 'fish.' *Pangluto* 'cooking supplies/ingredients' and *pangisda* 'fishing supplies' (such as a pole or net) are helpful examples that give a better understanding of the use of *pang-*. In (70), *pangluto* is shown in a phrase which encompasses 'cooking items.' In addition, *panghugas* refers to 'washing items'.

(70) *ngadto sa   bahay ng   bobay para pang-luto*
     DEM   OBL house GEN woman PURP NMLZ-cook
     'there in the woman's house for the cooking elements' (Agustin 85)

An entire sentence with *pangluto* and *panghugas* is provided in (71) to better understand the function of *pang-*.

(71) *Kinahanglan ma-g-∅-tabo   ng   tubig gikan sa   bubon*
     Need   FUT-AV-PFV-dip GEN water from OBL well

     ∅-hakot-on   *ngadto sa   bahay ng   bobay para*
     PFV-bring.back.and.forth-FUT.UV DEM   OBL house GEN woman PURP

     pang-luto   pang-hugas ug   upod   pa   na   kinahanglan ang tubig.
     NMLZ-cook NMLZ-wash CORD another yet LIG need   ABS water
     'They need to bring water back and forth from the well over there to the
     woman's house to be part of the cooking supplies and the washing supplies
     and other things that still need the water.' (Agustin 84-86)

In example (72), the root *asawa* takes the prefix *pang-* to form *pangasawa* 'marriage.' *Asawa* is dependent on cliticization or affixation to determine its word class. *Pangasawa* doesn't only mean 'marriage' but it also means 'elements associated with marriage.'

(72) *haw gusto ng   ama   na   sugton   dayon   ang pang-asawa*
     HYP want ERG father REL agreement right.away ABS NMLZ-spouse
     'if the father wants that the agreement of the marriage happen right away...'
     (Agustin 110)

3.4.3 Nominalization by Case Markers or Determiners

Referring back to example (61) repeated here as (73), notice how the case marker *ang* precedes the stems *maglatak* and *magpadaro*. *Ang* nominalizes these stems, and they function as the obligatory noun in the reference phrase. The second clause, which contains *ang* and the nominalized stems, is part of a UV construction in which *buslon* is the verb.

(73) *Sa   sunod   kung idtong   amigo ra   isab naan   ang*
OBL next.time HYP DEM.ABS friend ADV also 3S.GEN ABS

ma-g-∅-latak   agaw ma-g-∅-pa-daro
FUT-AV-PFV-stomp or FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-plow

pa-∅-bus-lon   da   isab naan   ng   karabaw naan.
CAUS-PFV-borrow-FUT.UV ADV also 3S.ERG GEN carabao 3S.GEN
'The next time when his friend is the one who will stomp or plow, he would let him borrow his carabao.' (Tanom 14-15 Modified)

In (74), the demonstrative *iyan* is the first constituent of the reference phrase and nominalizes the following stems to function as the obligatory noun.[5] The English translation shows that the word, 'who', must precede the nominalized words, but in Kamayo, this type of word is unnecessary. Speakers automatically understand the nominalized words to be part of the single reference phrase.

(74) *iyan   mga ya-g-∅-ani   ∅   ya-g-∅-hago*
DEM.ABS PL NFUT–AV-PFV-harvest CORD NFUT-AV-PFV-work
'those who harvested and worked' (Tanom 46)

The same type of example is shown in (75). The stem *magagalab* is nominalized by *iyang*.

(75) *iyang   ma-g-a-galab   awuyon   gihapon*
DEM.ABS FUT-AV-IPFV-harvest.rice reciprocal.help also
'those who will be helping each other also' (Tanom 39)

3.5 Comparatives and Superlatives

This section is to serve as an introduction to comparatives sand superlatives in Kamayo. More samples should be analyzed before making definitive conclusions. The Kamayo language uses both comparative and superlative words or suffixes. The words *mas*[6] 'more' and *pinaka* 'most' mark the comparative and superlative,

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[5] There are two nouns in this reference phrase separated by a null coordinating conjunction. Only one is obligatory.
[6] *Mas* is likely a borrowed word from Spanish.

respectively. In (76), the comparative word *mas* 'more' differentiates a quality or characteristic between two items. The attribute compared here is the simplicity of Kamayo life many years before the present time.

(76) *Mas   simple ang mga Kamayo sa   una.*
      CMPR simple ABS PL   Kamayo OBL before
      'The Kamayo people before this time were more simple.' (Agustin 56)

The superlative *pinaka* 'most' precedes the attribute or quality evaluated among three or more items/candidates in a domain. In (77), *iwit* 'last' refers to the place in a race. In (78), one item in a domain is closer than the others in proximity to a given place *apiki* 'nearest'.

(77) *Ang pinaka iwit na ma-∅-pildi*
      ABS SUP   last na FUT-STAT-lose
      'the last one will be the loser.' (Game1 14)

(78) *ang pinaka apiki*
      ABS SUP   near
      'the nearest' (Game1 3)

As an alternative to the superlative, a suffix *-i* may occur on *hamok* 'many' to indicate the degree 'among the most' rather than 'the most' of a particular quality. Other candidates of evaluation need not be referenced since this is a more general-ized degree designation. This contrasts with *pinaka*, where three or more items of evaluation must be mentally accessible to compare and contrast with each other to identify the highest ranked candidate with a certain quality. In (79), the suffix *-i* marks the quantifier 'many'.

(79) *hamok-i   permi   ang humay*
      many-DEG always ABS rice.kernel
      'always among the most amount of rice' (Tanom 65)

3.6 Summary

The case system is helpful to identify the syntactic role of reference phrases in a clause. Each reference phrase is marked by case since an article or demonstrative is obligatory. Separation of constituents by *na* likely helps interlocutors process the reference phrase. Reference phrases with a possessive noun are interesting because of the change in case when the possessor precedes a noun compared to when it follows. I presented some of the nominal morphology in Kamayo. Based on what I have read about Mansaka and heard from Kamayo speakers, there are more affixes and affix combinations to discover and analyze. The nominalization strategies are notable grammatical features. Especially the ability to place a case marker or determiner before a typical verb stem in order to nominalize it illustrates how functional the language can be.

CHAPTER 4

Kamayo Verbs

4.1 Introduction

Kamayo marks tense, modality, aspect, and voice predominately by affixes. Voice was discussed in section 2.3. Tense, modality, and aspect modify various syntactic units in Kamayo. Syntactic modifiers are termed *operators* in RRG. Operators discussed in this chapter occur at either the clause level, core level, or nuclear level. The clause and core have already been introduced in section 2.2.1. The *nucleus* is part of the core syntactic unit, but it is defined as only the verb or predicate of a clause and does not include arguments.

The tense system includes a future and non-future tense. The types of modality discussed in this thesis include status and deontic. The two types of status modality discussed here are the potential (possibility) and necessitative (necessity) epistemic modalities. The deontic modality discussed is the potential (abilitative). The indicative mood is the default mood in Kamayo when modality operators are not present. Aspects discussed in this work include the perfective, imperfective, and distributive. Both AV and UV construction examples illustrate evidence for tense, epistemic modality, deontic modality, and aspect in Kamayo.

Tense is a clause level operator; some modalities are clause level and others are core level operators; and aspect is a nuclear operator. Aspect markers occur closer to the verb root since they modify the verb itself. Tense and modal markers occur farther away from aspect markers since they modify either the entire clause or core, not only the verb (Van Valin 2005).

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I discuss an overview of the tense and aspect system in section 4.2, clause level operators in section 4.3, core level operators in section 4.4, nuclear level operators in 4.5, stative verbs in section 4.6, and valency changes in section 4.7.

4.2 Tense and Aspect System

In Kamayo, both tense and aspect have grammatical functions. I argue that Kamayo has a two-way tense system: a future and a non-future tense. Tense sets an event in time relative to a point of reference. It does not specify the internal structure of an action. Aspect, on the other hand, does specify internal structure by indicating, for example, if an event has just started, is continuing, or has stopped (Payne 1997). Aspect can also convey other information about the nature of an event or how it is carried out.

Tense and aspect interact to cover the range of past, present, and future. Non-future completed is comparable to a past, whole event. Non-future (action begun but not completed) is comparable to a present or habitual event. Future (completed) is comparable to a future, whole event, while future (not completed) is comparable to a future habitual or ongoing event.

Kamayo has a *relative* tense system. For example, an event may have taken place in the past, but could be coded future tense if it would occur after a point of reference. A story recounted about the past may contain events yet to occur from a point of reference. An example is shown in (80). The verb is marked by a future tense affix.

(80) *Ma-g-∅-baon   kami   ng   kanon.*
     FUT-AV-PFV-bring.food 1.PL.EXCL.ABS GEN cooked.rice
     'We would/will bring cooked rice.' (Grade4 16)

Tense affixes in Kamayo are clausal operators. Tense sets an entire clausal unit in the same time frame. It may be tempting to analyze the Kamayo verb system

as an aspect system without any tense operators. "Action begun" or "action not yet begun" would be possible aspects one could posit in a Kamayo analysis. However, evidence of the universal characteristics of operators contradicts this analysis.

Due to the observation of core operator root modals, which express ability (potential root modal), prefixes that occur farther away from the verb than potential modal prefixes cannot be analyzed as nuclear operators. Operators that occur farther away from a verb root must increase rather than decrease in the syntactic constituent scope they modify. Example (80) is modified here as (81) to illustrate the location of a potential root modal morpheme (*ka-*).

(81) *Ma-ka-baon*   *kami*   *ng*   *kanon.*
      FUT-AV.POT-bring.food 1.PL.EXCL.ABS GEN cooked.rice
      'We would/will be able bring cooked rice.' (Grade4 16 Modified)

The morpheme *ka-* is a core operator; therefore, *ma-* can either be a core or a higher level (such as a clausal) operator. It cannot be a nuclear operator. Since temporal information is specified by *ma-*, it is unlikely for it to be a core operator. (Core operators do not specify time (tense) or verbal internal temporal structure (aspect) of an event). The most reasonable conclusion is that Kamayo has tense operators which modify the clause.

The tense and aspect analysis of Kamayo has some similarities to the analyses of De Guzman (1978), Otanes (1966), and Zorc (1977) for the Bisayan language. De Guzman (1978) adopted Otanes' (1966) aspect subject categorization rules and uses features to describe the aspect system. According to De Guzman's (1978) and Otanes' (1966) analyses, a verb is either finite or non-finite. If a verb is finite, it will be marked to indicate that an event either has yet to begin or has begun. If a verb is non-finite, it lacks inflection for aspect, modality, voice, and tense (Kamayo infinitives are described in Section 3.4.1). A Kamayo non-finite verb *pag-parigo* is shown in (82).

(82) *Diri da ako ni Nanay tugut-an pag-parigo sa suba.*
NEG ADV 1S.ABS ERG mother allow-CV INF-bathe OBL river
'Nanay already would not allow me to bathe in the river.' (Grade4 62)

The difference in the Kamayo analysis is that I argue for evidence of tense operators to specify temporal information relative to a reference point rather than aspect operators, which give information about the internal structure of events such as "action begun" or "action not yet begun". Recall, tense operators modify an entire clause. On the other hand, aspect operators only modify the nucleus.

Zorc's (1977) analysis is more similar to the Kamayo analysis presented here because he identifies both tense and aspect distinctions. However, there are significant differences. He identifies three tenses: actual (corresponds to the Kamayo non-future), contingent (corresponds to the Kamayo future tense), and aorist (no Kamayo equivalent identified). The aorist tense relies on temporal references in the clause for time information. This tense was observed in Zorc's (1977) data in subjunctive mood. I have not observed this tense in Kamayo. Kamayo clauses without time references (see sections 4.4 and 4.7.2) are best described as tenseless clauses.

Zorc's (1977) analysis is also helpful because he identified *perfective* and *imperfective* aspects across each tense. In terms used here, both of these aspects occur in future and non-future tenses.

4.3 Clause Level Operators

Tense markers, the potential status operator *pwede,* and the necessitative status operator *kinahanglan* are clause-level operators in Kamayo. Tense markers occur as verb affixes. When nuclear or core operators are overt markers, the tense marker always occurs farther away from the verb root than core or nuclear level operators. The status operator, *pwede,* is not an affix, but rather a separate word. It indicates

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the possibility of an event to occur. Similarly, *kinahanglan* is a status operator and signifies the necessity of an event to occur.

4.3.1 Future and Non-Future Tense

In this section, I will show evidence of the Kamayo future and non-future tenses in AV and UV. The future tense is shown in (83) and (84), with morphemes *ma-* and *-on,* respectively. Either of these two tense affixes mark verbs depending on grammatical voice. *Ma-* marks AV verbs and *-on* marks UV verbs.

(83) *Ma-g-∅-baon*   *kami*   *ng*   *kanon.*
FUT-AV-PFV-bring.food   1.PL.EXCL.ABS   GEN   cooked.rice
'We would/will bring cooked rice.' (Grade4 16)

(84) *∅-kutan-hon*[1]   *ng*   *ama*   *ng*   *bobay*   *ang*   *mga*   *bisita*   *kung*   *uno*
PFV-ask-FUT.UV   ERG   father   GEN   woman   ABS   PL   visitor   HYP   what

     ang   *tuyo*   *niran.*
     ABS   purpose   3.PL.GEN
'The father of the woman would/will ask the visitors what their purpose was.' (Agustin 106)

There is some variation in UV future tense marking. An example of a verb not marked by *-on* but instead marked by *i-* is *baligya* 'sell'. I do not know how common this marking is on other verbs, but *baligya* appears to be an exception to the norm. An example is shown in (85).

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[1] The suffix *-hon* contains an *h* likely due to phonetic factors. This should be further explored.

(85) *Ang mga komprador o negosiyante na ma-∅-∅-palit ng*
      ABS PL buyer   or businessman REL FUT-AV-PFV-buy GEN

     humay   para ∅-himo-on   na
     rice.kernel.brown.husk PURP PFV-make-FUT.UV REL

     bugas   na i-baligya   na ∅-palit-on   da
     uncooked.white.rice REL FUT.UV.PFV-sell REL PFV-buy-FUT.UV ADV

     isab balik ng mga otaw na g-a-baligya ng
     also again GEN PL man REL AV-IPFV-sell GEN

     humay.
     rice.kernel.brown.husk
     'The buyers or businessmen who would buy rice in the brown husk in order to turn it into white rice which would then be sold to and would then be bought by (the same) people who (in the first place) were selling rice in the brown husk to them.' (Agustin 42-43)

The non-future tense, which codes for present or past events relative to a point of reference, must be distinguished by context in most cases. This differs from the related language, Mandaya, which does not distinguish between any tense; rather, tense must be interpreted by context (Estrera 2020). In Kamayo, as indicated by the alternative free translations in (86), the past vs. present tense distinction of the non-future tense is not morphologically encoded. The speaker must differentiate based on context. The non-future tense is marked by *ya-* in (86) and *ing-* in (87).

(86) *Ya-g-a-tanom   siran   sa   basakan.*
     NFUT-AV-IPFV-plant 3PL.ABS OBL rice.field
     'They were planting in the rice field.' (Tanom 36)
      'They are planting in the rice field.' (Tanom 36)

(87) *Ing-∅-tabang-an   naan   ako.*
     NFUT.UV-PFV-help-CV 3S.ERG 1S.ABS
     'She helped me.' (Grade4 37)

4.3.2 Potential Epistemic Modality Operator Pwede

The potential status operator is marked by the word *pwede* 'can'. *Pwede* was introduced to the language as a result of Spanish influence. Not only is it a borrowed word, but I believe it also affects Kamayo grammar with Indo-European influence. *Pwede* is not inflected, which is uncommon for Kamayo verbs. Additionally, it does not discriminate for voice. Either AV or UV constructions may follow the verb.

The AV construction is shown in (88). Even though the actor is not overt, the prefix *ng-* codes for AV. This example resembles a Spanish sentence construction where the verb precedes the action that the actor performs. A Spanish example with *poder* 'can' is shown for comparison in (89). The verb in Spanish is inflected whereas *pwede* is not inflected in Kamayo.

(88)   *Kay   pwede ma-ng-isda   ug   ma-ng-uha   ng   kinhason.*
       Because can   FUT-AV.DISTR-fish CORD FUT-AV.DISTR-get GEN shell
       'Because [they] can fish and get shells.' (Agustin 49)

(89)   Spanish
       Porque   pued-en pescar
       Because can-3PL fish.INF
       'Because they can fish.' (My example)

Alternatively, a UV construction may follow *pwede* (90). The following example was elicited. Since only AV constructions with *pwede* exist in my data, I would conclude that speakers primarily use *pwede* when highlighting the role of actor since actors are marked by absolute case in AV constructions.

(90)   *Pwede ko   ∅-kamang-on   ang isda.*
       Can   1S.ERG PFV-get-FUT.UV ABS fish
       'I can get the fish'.' (Elicited)

In section 4.4, the deontic modality core operator will be discussed.

4.3.3 Necessitative Modality

The necessitative modal is expressed with the word *kinahanglan* 'need'. In (91) the voice is UV and the main verb *kuha* is inflected. *Kinahanglan* is not inflected when the lexical verb is inflected.

(91) *Kinahanglan ∅-kuha-on   dayon   naan   ang tsinelas.*
      need   PFV-get-FUT.UV right.away 3S.ERG ABS sandals
      'He will need to get the sandals right away.' (Game1 26)

It is possible for *kinahanglan* to be inflected. The tense and voice affixes presented in 4.3.1 may mark *kinahanglan*. When *kinahanglan* is marked for tense and voice, the main verb is realized as an infinitive. Either the tense and voice affixes for UV or AV can mark *kinahanglan*. Example (91) is modified in (92) to show that when *kinahanglan* is inflected, the main verb is an infinitive. *Kinahanglan* is marked here by the future tense and UV suffix.

(92) *Kinahanglan-on pag-kuha dayon   naan   ang tsinelas.*
      need-FUT.UV   INF-get   right.away 3S.ERG ABS sandals
      'He will need to get the sandals right away.' (Elicited)

Likewise, *kinahanglan* can also be marked by AV affixes. In (93), the future tense and AV affixes mark *kinahanglan*.

(93) *Ma-g-∅-kinahanglan ako   pag-dakop ng   ambaw.*
      FUT-AV-PFV-need   1S.ABS INF-catch GEN rat.
      'I will need to catch a rat.' (Elicited)

Kinahanglan is a unique word. If it is not inflected, the main verb will be inflected. Alternatively, if it is inflected, then the lexical verb will be an infinitive. The former behavior resembles the word, *pwede*.

4.4 Core Level Operator

The core operator in Kamayo discussed here is the deontic modality operator, a root modal termed *potential*. The Kamayo potential root modal operators are affixes which differ depending on voice. They occur closer to the verb root than tense prefixes.

The potential (or abilitative) root modal is a core operator that is used when speakers describe the capacity of an actor to carry out an action. This modal is marked by morphemes *ka-*, *hi-* and *ka-...-an* in AV, UV, and CV respectively.

Notice in Table 5 that the tense morphemes discussed in sections 4.3.1 mark tense in AV. The prefix *ma-* marks future and the prefix *ya-* marks non-future tense.

Table 5. Potential Root Modal Affixes AV

Tense	Voice and Modality	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future	AV Potential	FUT-AV.POT
ma-	*ka-*	*ma-ka-*
Non-future	AV Potential	NFUT-AV.POT
ya-	*ka-*	*ya-ka-*

The following constructions closely resemble AV constructions discussed in 2.3; however, the affix *ka-* is substituted for *g-* to form this modal.[2] The verbs do not express definitive actions occurring in the future (94) or non-future (95); rather they indicate the ability of the actor.

(94) *Ma-ka-sulti   siran   ng   upod   na   sinultihan.*
      FUT-AV.POT-speak 3PL.ABS GEN other LIG language.
      'They will be able to speak another language.' (Tanom 16)

(95) *Ya-ka-dakop   kaw   gayud, ya-ka-patay   kaw   ng   ambaw.*
      NFUT-AV.POT-catch 2S.ABS really, NFUT-AV.POT-kill 2S.ABS GEN rat
      'You were really able to catch, you were able to kill a rat.' (Tanom 91)

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[2] Perhaps the AV marker *g-* deleted when preceding *ka-* due to identical place of articulation.

The potential modal may also be conveyed in UV. The only difference in verb marking is that the potential marker *hi-* follows the tense prefix. The summary table is illustrated in Table 6.

Table 6. Potential Root Modal Affixes UV

Tense	Voice and Modality	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future	UV and Potential	FUT-UV.POT
ma-	*hi-*	*ma-hi-*
Non-future	UV and Potential	NFUT-UV.POT
ya-	*hi-*	*ya-hi-*

The verb *kita* 'see' in (96) contains the causative prefix *pa-*, which forms the verb *pa-kita* 'show'. Causatives will be discussed in section 4.7.1. The potential marker *hi-* precedes the verb. The absolutive-marked argument of the verb is a complement clause. A non-future tense example is shown in (97) with *ya-* as the tense marker.

(96) *Ma-hi-pa-kita   mo   na   ya-ka-dakop   kaw   gayud*
     FUT-UV.POT-CAUS-see 2S.ERG REL NFUT-AV.POT-catch 2S.ABS really

     ng   ambaw.
     GEN rat
     'You will be able to show that you really were able to catch a rat.' (Tanom 91 Modified)

(97) *Ya-hi-baligya   ko   ang isda sa   otaw.*
     NFUT-UV.POT-sell 1S.ERG ABS fish OBL man
     'I was able to sell the fish to the man.' (Elicited)

A marked undergoer in UV (termed CV shown in Table 7), also has potential modal root affixes which allow a non-default undergoer to be PSA. The circumfix *ka-...-an* codes for the potential modal in CV. Without an overt morpheme preceding the circumfix, tense is not specified. However, *ing-* marks the non-future tense.

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Table 7. Potential Root Modal Affixes CV

Tense	Voice and Modality	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Tenseless	CV and Potential	CV.POT-...CIRC
	ka-...-an	*ka-...-an*
Non-future	CV and Potential	NFUT-CV.POT-...CIRC
ing-	*ka-...-an*	*i(ng)-ka-...-an*

I do not have an example from the data of the potential modal in CV in a tenseless construction, but according to native speakers, it is similar to the non-future construction but lacks the *i(ng)-* tense marker. The potential CV circumfix is identical to the stative conveyance circumfix in section 4.7.2; however, the difference is that roots with an inherent active meaning are abilitative verbs and those with a stative meaning maintain a stative interpretation when affixed to the circumfix.

An example of the non-future potential root modal is shown in (98).

(98) *Pag-tanaw mo   ngadto, pag-survey mo   sa   kanmo basakan*
      INF-look   2S.GEN   DEM   INF-survey 2S.GEN   OBL   2S.OBL rice.field

      i-ka-tanom-an   da.
      NFUT-CV.POT-plant-CIRC ADV
      'When you looked there, when you surveyed your rice field, it was already able to be planted.' (Tanom 31)

4.5 Nuclear Level Operators

Aspect markers are nuclear level operators. The aspects discussed in this section include the perfective aspect, imperfective aspect, and distributive aspect. These aspects are prefixes, which occur adjacent to the verb root. Charts are shown with perfective and imperfective aspects along with tense and voice markers to more clearly illustrate common verb stem affixation in Kamayo.

4.5.1 Perfective Aspect

The table below (Table 8) illustrates AV and perfective aspect affixes of Kamayo active verbs organized by tense. In AV constructions, tense is marked by *ma-* (future tense) and *ya-* (non-future tense).

The *perfective* aspect is used to describe an event as a whole (Payne 1997). The perfective aspect is marked by a null morpheme, which is the aspect position identified based on the presence of an overt imperfective aspect marker discussed in section 4.5.2. In future and non-future tense AV constructions, AV is marked morphologically by *g-*. It follows the tense prefix *ma-* or *ya-*.

Table 8. Perfective Verb Affixes Actor Voice

Tense	Voice	Aspect	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future	AV	Perfective	FUT-AV-PFV-
ma-	*g-*	∅-	*ma-g-∅-*
Non-future	AV	Perfective	NFUT-AV-PFV-
ya-	*g-*	∅-	*ya-g-∅-*

The future perfective aspect in AV is presented in (99) ((83) repeated here). The example comes from a personal narrative in the past, but the story is told using future tense relative to a point of reference. An event as a whole is described here.

(99) *Ma-g-∅-baon   kami   ng   kanon.*
      FUT–AV-PFV-bring.food 1.PL.EXCL.ABS GEN cooked.rice
      'We would/will bring cooked rice.' (Grade4 16)

Non-future AV constructions are also observed in Kamayo data as shown in a single argument clause (100). Since the other examples in the data are nominalized in a reference phrase, this example has been modified by placing a verb at the beginning of the clause.

(100) *Ya-g-∅-pahuway   iyan   siran   na   mga ya-g-∅-ani*
     NFUT-AV-PFV-rest   DEM.ABS   3PL.ABS   REL   PL   NFUT–AV-PFV-harvest

     ya-g-∅-hago.
     NFUT-AV-PFV-work
    'The ones who harvested and worked rested.' (Tanom 46 Modified)

UV constructions mark tense, voice, and aspect as well. Table 9 shows tense and UV affixes along with perfective aspect null morpheme. Future tense and UV are marked by *-on,* and non-future tense and UV are marked by *ing-*. A null morpheme ∅- marks perfective aspect in UV active constructions just like in AV constructions.

Table 9. Perfective Verb Affixes Undergoer Voice

Tense and Voice	Aspect	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future UV	Perfective	PFV-...-FUT.UV
-on	∅-	*∅-...-on*
Non-future UV	Perfective	NFUT.UV-PFV-
ing-	∅-	*ing-∅-*

UV may be chosen to describe a future event in perfective aspect as (101) shows ((84) repeated here). This type of construction is quite common when the undergoer is definite as explained in section 2.4 on grammatical voice.

(101) *∅-kutan-hon   ng   ama   ng   bobay   ang   mga bisita   kung   uno*
     PFV-ask-FUT.UV   ERG   father   GEN   woman   ABS   PL   visitor   HYP   what

     ang   tuyo   niran.
     ABS   purpose   3.PL.GEN
    'The father of the woman would ask the visitors what their purpose was.'
     (Agustin 106)

Alternatively, speakers may use the non-future prefix *ing-* to mark verb tense and UV in perfective aspect. Note that (102) is a marked UV construction in CV since the suffix *-an* is present.

(102) *Ing-∅-tabang-an   naan   ako.*
     NFUT.UV-PFV-help-CV 3S.ERG 1S.ABS
     'She helped me.' (Grade4 37)

4.5.2 Imperfective Aspect

The *imperfective* aspect signifies an ongoing progressive or habitual event. Tense and voice markers in Table 10 are the same as Table 8. The difference here is the imperfective aspect affix marker *a-*, which marks imperfective aspect in future and non-future tense. The presence of imperfective aspect *a-* after the AV marker indicates the location of the aspect slot. This observation illustrates why the null morpheme is proposed for perfective aspect in section 4.5.1.

Table 10. Imperfective Verb Affixes Actor Voice

Tense	Voice	Aspect	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future	AV	Imperfective	FUT-AV-IPFV-
ma-	*g-*	*a-*	*ma-g-a-*
Non-future	AV	Imperfective	NFUT-AV-IPFV-
ya-	*g-*	*a-*	*ya-g-a-*

The imperfective aspect in future tense AV is shown in (103) and the imperfective aspect in non-future AV is shown in (104). Speakers use AV imperfective aspect to describe an action in progress or a habitual action. With a progressive action, context directs interpretation to be either a one-time progressive action or a repetitive progressive action. For active verbs, speakers prefer UV imperfective aspect to encode a habitual action since it leads to an unambiguous interpretation that the action must occur more than one time. This is contrasted with AV, which leads to ambiguity about whether an action is repetitive or not.

(103) *Iyang   mga thresher na   ma-g-a-giok   ng   humay.*
     DEM.ABS PL   thresher REL FUT-AV-IPFV-separate GEN rice.kernel
     'Those threshers are the ones who will be separating the rice kernels.' (Tanom
      58)

(104) *Ya-g-a-tanom   siran   sa   basakan mo.*
     NFUT-AV-IPFV-plant 3PL.ABS OBL rice.field 2S.GEN
     'They were planting in your rice field.' (Tanom 36)

It is possible to infer tense from context and only see AV and imperfective aspect *g-a-* precede the verb without tense marked (instead of *ma-g-a-* or *ya-g-a-*). The interpretation may either be future or non-future tense. Interlocutors never interpret *g-a-* to mark both AV and UV constructions. It may only mark AV constructions as shown in (105a). Note how (105b) is ungrammatical. This gives clear evidence that *g-* marks AV.

(105) a. *G-a-kuha   ako   ng   sowat.*
       AV-IPFV-get 1S.ABS GEN letter
       'I will be/am/was getting a letter.' (Elicited)

    b. **G-a-kuha   ko   ang sowat.*
       UV-IPFV-get 1S.ERG ABS letter
       'I will be/am/was getting the letter.' (Elicited)

To form the imperfective aspect in UV, the prefix *paga-* affixes to the verb stem as shown in Table 11. Recall that future tense and UV are marked by *-on* and non-future tense and UV are marked by *ing-*. When *ing-* is not present, tense must be inferred. Additionally, based on conversations with native speakers, it is best not to parse *paga-* further to form morphemes *pa-g-a-* because *g-* marks AV. We are clearly dealing with UV, and *paga-* may not be parsed further. However, the precise meaning(s) of *paga-* should be investigated more because according to native speakers, there are discourse interpretations involved.

Table 11. Imperfective Verb Affixes Undergoer Voice

Tense and Voice	Aspect	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future UV	Imperfective	IPFV-...-FUT.UV
-on	*paga-*	*paga-...-on*
Non-future UV	Imperfective	NFUT.UV-IPFV-
ing-	*paga-*	*ing-paga-*

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Imperfective aspect in future tense and UV is shown in (106). The actor 'the family' is implied by context and is glossed as 3S.ERG. *Planuhon* is a borrowed word from Spanish, but it does not alter the Kamayo grammar.

(106) *Ang pag-bisita sa mga paryente paga-planu-hon ∅.*
     ABS INF-visit OBL PL relative IPFV-plan-FUT.UV 3S.ERG
     '[The family] would be planning the visit of the relatives.' (Agustin 67-68)

A non-future elicited example of a habitual action in UV is shown in (107). I do not have a non-future UV example from the narrative data analyzed. The first word of the sentence *ing-paga-gamit* is the verb of interest.

(107) *Ing-paga-gamit naan ang martilyo sa pag-himo ng mga bangko*
     NFUT.UV-IPFV-use 3S.ERG ABS hammer OBL INF-make GEN PL chair

     na amoy kanaan negosyo.
     REL the.one 3S.OBL business
     'He was using the hammer to make chairs for that which is his business.'
     (Elicited)

The following example (108) illustrates a habitual action in CV. It is shown here since I do not have a UV example in the narrative data. The clause pertinent to this section begins with *paga-tanoman*, but the initial potion of the sentence is present for context. The absolutive argument *ang basakan* 'the rice field' of the verb *paga-tanoman* is inferred by context and not overtly stated. Tense must be interpreted by context because neither the affix *-on* nor *ing-* is present before *paga-tanoman*. The tense of the clause with *paga-tanoman* is future in this example.

(108) *Aron pagani mga higayon na iyang   limpyo ra   na basakan*
      EXIST even PL   situation REL DEM.ABS clean ADV REL rice.field

      mo   na andam da   tanom-an paga-tanom-an ng   kanmo mga
      2S.GEN REL ready ADV plant-CV IPFV-plant-CV ERG 2S.OBL PL

      amigo o mga paryente na wa   kaw   ma-∅-tigam.
      friend or PL   relative REL NEG.EXIST 2S.ABS FUT-STAT-know
      'There were situations that with your already-cleaned rice field ready for
      planting, your friends or relatives would be planting it, which was without
      you even knowing it.' (Tanom 25.2-29)

4.5.3 Distributive Aspect

The distributive aspect follows the tense marker, but precedes the verb. The
distributive aspect *ng-* likely evolved from a nasal that assimilated to the velar stop
g- (AV marker), which later deleted.[3] The aspectual meaning of *distributive* is "an
iterative aspect which expresses that an event is applied to members of a group
one after another" (Pei & Gaynor 1954:59). The set of members are usually the
single argument of an intransitive verb or the undergoer of a transitive verb (Pei
& Gaynor 1954). 'One-by-one' is a helpful English equivalent.

Kamayo examples of distributive aspect are given in (109) and (110) in future
tense. In (109), the distributive aspect is used to indicate catching one fish after
another and collecting one shell after another.

(109) *Kay   pwede ma-ng-isda   ug   ma-ng-uha   ng   kinhason.*
      Because can   FUT-AV.DISTR-fish CORD FUT-AV.DISTR-get GEN shell
      'Because [they] can fish and get shells.' (Agustin 49)

In another example, the priest will hand out items in sequence to the people
in (110).

(110) *Ang pari bali   amoy   ma-ng-hatag   sian   sa mga otaw.*
      ABS priest basically the.one FUT-AV.DISTR-give DEM.GEN OBL PL   man
      'The priest basically will give that one-by-one to the people.' (Tanom 83)

---

[3] The morpheme *ng-* may have arisen from /n/ + /g/ to form *ngg* and then the [g] became deleted.

4.6 Stative Verbs

The most common Kamayo stative construction is the same construction as a single undergoer argument intransitive construction described in section 2.3. Verbal stative clauses describe a state or condition. The state may have come about as a result of a process or change, but a dynamic action is not occurring at the point in time to which the stative verb refers (Velupillai 2012, Svelmoe & Svelmoe 1974). Speakers may describe the state of an entity in either the future or non-future tense.

How can one identify a stative construction? First of all, a typical stative construction definitely contains an undergoer or an entity that experiences a state. Secondly, the verbal *Aktionsart* should not involve inherent change, telicity, or punctuality. For example, predicates that meet stative *Aktionsart* criteria include 'sleep' or 'is happy' (Van Valin 2005, Velupillai 2012).

After a stative verb has been identified, case marking and verb affixes are both used to categorize the type of the Kamayo stative construction. Stative case marking and verb affixes are discussed in the following sections. Each type of stative construction is marked by distinct affixes. The constructions include the default stative construction discussed in section 4.6.1, stative prospective construction discussed in section 4.6.2, and stative conveyance construction discussed in a subsection (section 4.7.2) of valency changes in section 4.7.

4.6.1 Default Stative Constructions

Kamayo has a default stative construction which includes an undergoer marked by absolutive case and either verbal prefixes *ma-∅-*, which mark future tense states or *ya-∅-*, which mark non-future tense states. Recall the morphological difference between stative and AV constructions (in future tense): the prefixes *ma-∅-* affix to

stative verbs (since ∅- marks states), while the prefixes *ma-g-* affix to non-stative verbs in AV (since *g-* marks AV).

In (111), the non-stative verb is marked by the future AV prefixes *ma-g-* while in (112), the *ma-∅-* prefixes mark a stative verb in future tense. Notice the difference in semantic role of the argument in absolutive case, which is the pronoun *ako* in both examples. It functions as the actor in (111), but it is the undergoer in (112). The syntactic difference between these examples is discussed in section 2.3.

(111) *Doon, kung ma-g-∅-tanom   ako*
     Now, HYP FUT-AV-PFV-plant 1S.ABS
     'now, when I plant,' (Tanom 19 Modified)

(112) *Hapit   ako   ma-∅-lumos.*
     Almost 1S.ABS FUT-STAT-be.drowned
     'I almost would be drowned.' (Grade4 54 Modified)

As shown below in Table 12, the prefixes *ma-* and *ya-* encode the tense which marks a stative verb, and the argument marked by absolutive case is the semantic undergoer. The *ma-∅-* prefixes mark a state that has not yet occurred from the point of reference. The *ya-∅-* prefixes mark a past or present state. (See prior information about tense in section 4.2). If a number phrase with a numeral greater than one is present in the undergoer reference phrase, the speaker attaches the infix *-nga-* to these prefixes to form *manga-∅-* and *yanga-∅-*.

Table 12. Stative Voice

Tense	Voice	ABS Semantic Role	Morphological Affixes
Future	Stative	Undergoer	*ma-∅-...* (S); *manga-∅-...* (PL)
Non-future	Stative	Undergoer	*ya-∅-...* (S); *yanga-∅-...* (PL)

Below in (113), a simple stative clause similar to (112) shows that the absolutive first-person plural pronoun *Kami* undergoes the state described by the verb *anod* 'float away'.

(113) *Kami   ma-∅-anod.*
     1.PL.EXCL.ABS FUT-STAT-float.away
     'We would be carried away.' (Grade4 40)

The difference between (113) and (114) is the presence of the plural agreement marker: *duha* 'two'. Since *duha* is expressed in (114), the verb shows agreement by a plural agreement marker: *-nga-* 'PL.' I would have expected (113) to also have plural verbal agreement since the pronoun is plural, but this rule likely only applies in certain situations, such as if a number phrase with a numeral greater than one is present.

(114) *Hapit   kami   ma-nga-∅-matay   duha.*
     Almost 1PL.EXCL.ABS FUT-PL-STAT-be.dead two
     'We two would almost be dead.' (Grade4 55)

In (115) the *ya-* prefix is used to signify the non-future tense. The speaker's point of reference is that a boat had already arrived and docked. The dynamic actions of "arriving" and "docking" had already occurred and the state at the time of reference is an 'arrived' and 'docked' ship.

(115) *Na aron ya-∅-abot   na ya-∅-dagsa.*
     REL EXIST NFUT-STAT-arrive REL NFUT-STAT-docked
     'That one which arrived that docked.' (Trabaho 79)

4.6.2 Stative Prospective

Table 13 lays out the stative prospective construction. A Kamayo speaker may form this construction via the circumfix *ka-...-on* to refer to a state that logically

precedes a change in state. It is a tenseless construction, and tense must be identified by context or a phrase in the sentence. The argument marked by absolutive case is the undergoer just as the default stative.

Table 13. Stative Prospective

Tense	Voice	ABS Semantic Role	Morphological Affix
No Tense	Stative Prospective	Undergoer	*ka-...-on*

In (116) the participant has not yet achieved the state of sleep but rather currently feels sleepy. When the participant actually falls asleep, the resulting change in state would be the default stative construction coded with *ma-∅-* or *ya-∅-* (depending on tense) shown in (117).

(116) *Ka-turog-on   da   yaan.*
       STAT.PRSP-sleep-CIRC already 3S.ABS
       'She is sleepy already.' (Elicited)

(117) *Ya-∅-turog   da   yaan.*
       NFUT-STAT-sleep already 3S.ABS
       'She is already asleep.' (Elicited)

Another stative construction, stative conveyance, will be discussed in section 4.7.2 since it falls under the category of valence changes in Kamayo.

4.7 Valence Changes

Kamayo uses at least two different affixes to increase verbal valency. The first is the causative *pa-* prefix, which increases verbal valency to mark a causative relationship. The second is the suffix, *-an*, which increases the verbal valency of states.

4.7.1 Causative pa-

Kamayo speakers use a causative prefix *pa-* which increases verbal valence to include a causative agent argument. This marking also occurs in Mansaka (Svelmoe & Svelmoe 1974). I include an example in (118) to show that the authors came to the same conclusion as I have for Kamayo. In Kamayo, a verb such as 'eat' may be converted to 'cause to eat' ('feed') by inserting the causative prefix *pa-* as shown in (119). In (120), a causative agent *ako* '1S' will cause another individual to carry out the action specified by the verb *tanom* 'plant.'

(118) Mansaka
    pa-ka-rutuy
    CAUS-STAT-slow
    'caused a state of slowness' (Mansaka p. 24: 2.8 (2)) (Svelmoe & Svelmoe
      1974)

(119) *pa-kanon ng   libre*
    CAUS-eat GEN free
    'feed [them] for free' (Tanom 46)

(120) *Ma-g-∅-pa-tanom   ako.*
    FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-plant 1S.ABS
    'I would get someone to plant.' (Tanom 21)

Examples (121)-(123) are given to illustrate that *pa-* must be affixed to a verb to increase valency. A simple transitive sentence without *pa-* is shown in (121).

(121) *Ing-∅-tanaw   niran   ang baon ko.*
    NFUT.UV-PFV-see 3PL.ERG ABS lunch 1S.GEN
    'They saw my lunch.' (Elicited)

If the '1S' pronoun below is the causative agent, adding another argument *kaniran* leads to an ungrammatical sentence as (122) shows.

(122) *Ing-∅-tanaw   ko   kaniran ang baon ko.
       NFUT.UV-PFV-see 1S.ERG 3PL.OBL ABS lunch 1S.GEN
       'I let them see my lunch.' (Grade 20 Modified)

The verb in (123) contains the *pa-* prefix, which increases the valency of the verb and requires a third core argument. The sentence is now grammatical.

(123) *Ing-∅-pa-tanaw*   ko   kaniran ang baon ko.
       NFUT.UV-PFV-CAUS-see 1S.ERG 3PL.OBL ABS lunch 1S.GEN
       'I let them see my lunch.' or 'I showed my lunch to them.' (Grade 20)

4.7.2 Stative Conveyance

Stative conveyance voice is a stative transitive construction that has syntactic verbal valency for two arguments. This voice is used to describe the same phenomena in other Austronesian languages (Himmelmann 2005a). There are likely more factors involved than what I present here. More data will shed light on understanding these constructions better.

The circumfix *ka-...-an* allows a stative root to take more than one argument and is similar to the potential root modal operator introduced in section 4.4. This construction is transitive in that both an actor macrorole and undergoer macrorole have a place in the construction. The actor is the experiencer of a state and the undergoer is the stimulus, unlike intransitive statives where the experiencer is undergoer. As undergoer in transitive constructions, the stimulus is the PSA and so is marked by absolutive case. The experiencer is marked by ergative case. The ergative-absolutive pattern is observed here: the undergoer of a single argument clause patterns the same way as the undergoer in a transitive clause.

Why is the experiencer undergoer in an intransitive clause but actor in a transitive clause? The reason for this difference has to do with the relative evaluation of the experiencer and the thematic role of the additional argument in a transitive clause. If the additional argument is less agent-like than an experiencer, then it

will be assigned as undergoer. A stimulus is less agent-like than an entity that has the ability to perceive a stimulus (Van Valin 2005).

This construction is not observed in the Kamayo narrative data analyzed, but I have some instances below from elicited sentences and one from a conversation. In the tenseless construction, the stative conveyance voice in Kamayo is encoded by *ka-...-an*. The *-an* affix is optional in casual speech. It is obligatory if the cause of the state is present in the clause. This construction is also quite similar to the stative prospective voice circumfix identified in section 4.6.2; however, the final vowel is *a* instead of *o*. The clause can have either a future or present meaning. If the speaker refers to a non-future state, the prefix, *ing-* is used. In Table 14, the affixes that form the stative conveyance voice are organized by tense.

Table 14. Stative Conveyance

Tense	Voice	ABS Semantic Role	Morphological Affixes
No Tense	Stative Conveyance	Undergoer	*ka-...-an*
Non-future	Stative Conveyance	Undergoer	*i(ng)-ka-...-an*

In (124) the actor and experiencer *ko* is **not** marked by absolutive case but is in the ergative case. *Pagabot mo* 'your coming home', the stimulus of the happiness, is marked by absolutive case.

(124) *Ka-lipay-an   ko   ang pag-abot mo.*
      CVST-happy-CIRC   1S.ERG ABS INF-home 2S.GEN
      'I will be/am happy about your coming home.' (Elicited)

If *-an* is not present, then the stimulus is an optional part of the clause as shown in (125). This would be an answer to a question, but could not stand alone without context. The absolutive argument that is not overtly present is assumed.

(125) *Ka-lipay-∅   ko.*
      CVST-happy-CIRC 1S.GEN
      'I will be/am happy.' (Elicited)

In the tenseless construction (126), the actor and experiencer *naan* is **not** marked in absolutive case but is in the ergative case and *tingog* 'noise'—the stimulus of the fear—is marked by absolutive case.

(126) *Ka-hadok-an   naan   ang tingog.*
      CVST-fear-CIRC 3S.ERG ABS noise
      'The noise will frighten her.' (In conversation example)

A non-future construction of stative conveyance voice is also possible as shown in (127). The non-future prefix *ing-* precedes the root *hadodk*.

(127) *Ing-ka-hadok-an naan   ang tingog*
      CVST-fear-CIRC 3S.ERG ABS noise
      'The noise frightened her.' (In conversation example Modified)

4.8 Summary Charts

In this chapter, I discussed tense, modality, aspect, states, and valence changes. The following sections show summary charts of how affixes attach to both active verbs (section 4.8.1) and stative verbs (section 4.8.2).

4.8.1 Summary Chart Tense and Aspect

As the first portion of this chapter has shown, Kamayo is analyzed to have both a tense and aspect system. Evidence for this analysis regards verbal morphology. Aspect markers are expected to occur closer to the verb since they modify the verb itself. Tense markers should occur farther away from aspect markers since they specify time by modifying the clause (Van Valin 2005). AV verbs show a clear

separation of tense and aspect markers. The actor voice morpheme *g-* separates aspect markers from tense markers. Additionally, the potential root modal operator separates tense and aspect operators when present in a clause.

Two summary charts organized by voice, tense, and aspect are shown below. Table 15 shows the AV affixes presented in the tense and aspect portions (sections 4.3 and 4.5) of the chapter and Table 16 shows the corresponding affixes in UV.

Table 15. Perfective and Imperfective Verb Affixes Actor Voice

Tense	Voice	Aspect	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future	AV	Perfective	FUT-AV-PFV-
ma-	*g-*	∅-	*ma-g-∅-*
Non-future	AV	Perfective	NFUT-AV-PFV-
ya-	*g-*	∅-	*ya-g-∅-*
Future	AV	Imperfective	FUT-AV-IPFV-
ma-	*g-*	*a-*	*ma-g-a-*
Non-future	AV	Imperfective	NFUT-AV-IPFV-
ya-	*g-*	*a-*	*ya-g-a-*

Table 16. Perfective and Imperfective Verb Affixes Undergoer Voice

Tense and Voice	Aspect	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future UV	Perfective	PFV-...-FUT.UV
-on	∅-	∅-...-*on*
Future UV; Perfective aspect	Perfective	FUT.UV.PFV-
i- (*baligya*)		*i-...*
Non-future UV	Perfective	NFUT.UV-PFV-
ing-	∅-	*ing-∅-*
Future UV	Imperfective	IPFV-...-FUT.UV
-on	*paga-*	*paga-...-on*
Non-future UV	Imperfective	NFUT.UV-IPFV-
ing-	*paga-*	*ing-paga-*

The distributive aspect discussed in section 4.5.3 is summarized in a chart below. This aspect only occurs in AV. A similar construction *pang-* is discussed in section 3.4.2. It may have been connected to UV many years ago.

Table 17. Distributive Verb Affixes Actor Voice

Tense	Voice and Aspect	Combined Affixes with Gloss
Future	AV and Distributive	FUT-AV.DISTR-
ma-	*ng-*	*ma-ng-*
Non-future	AV and Distributive	NFUT-AV.DISTR-
ya-	*ng-*	*ya-ng-*

4.8.2 Stative Verb Chart

Table 18 below summarizes statives by tense, voice, absolutive case marked argument, and morphological affixes. The stative voices include the default stative voice, stative prospective voice, and stative conveyance voice. The circumfix affixes are tenseless and must receive a prefix for tense assignment.

Table 18. Stative Chart Summary

Tense	Voice	Absolutive Semantic Role	Morphological Affixes
Future	Stative	Undergoer	*ma-∅-...* (S); *manga-∅-...* (PL)
Non-future	Stative	Undergoer	*ya-∅-...* (S); *yanga-∅-...* (PL)
No Tense	Stative Prospective	Undergoer	*ka-...-on*
No Tense	Stative Conveyance	Undergoer	*ka-...-an*
Non-future	Stative Conveyance	Undergoer	*i(ng)-ka-...-an*

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

5.1 Summary

The Kamayo language data collected, transcribed, parsed, and analyzed in this study is useful for typological studies, linguistic comparisons, and language documentation purposes. These contributions are especially useful since Kamayo currently has little language data available. In this thesis, I discussed the case marking and voice system in Kamayo. I also discussed reference phrase constituents and their order. In the last major section I discussed verb morphology, which marks tense, modality, and aspect in Kamayo.

Kamayo is a symmetrical voice language that also has an antipassive voice. The PSA for simple constructions is [S, U_τ, A_τ, d-S]. Although ergative and genitive cases are the same phonological form, ergative case is used to distinguish the actor of UV transitive clauses from a genitive-marked possessor and genitive-marked undergoer of a transitive AV clause, which is why there is an ergative/genitive gloss distinction.

One of the most notable contributions regarding the case marking system and grammatical voice analysis is the characterization of AV as intransitive (S), transitive (A_τ), and antipassive (d-S) depending on the arguments involved and the case marking of the arguments. Characterizing AV across Austronesian languages is helpful for typologists to compare AV morphological marking and transitivity. Adding one more language (Kamayo) to the AV spectrum (of transitive to intransitive (antipassive)) increases our understanding of AV behavior.

Reference phrases in Kamayo have some flexibility in constituent order and *na* separates modifiers and the head noun from each other. Possessive reference phrases marked by genitive case follow a possessed noun by default. However, in instances where the possessor is a pronoun, it can precede the possessed noun, and if it precedes, it will be marked by oblique case. Case markers and determiners nominalize any constituent that follows, including a verb stem. This contributes to the functionality of the language.

Whereas some Philippine languages are analyzed as having only an aspect system, Kamayo is a good example of a language with both a tense and aspect system. The tense operators modify the clause while aspect operators modify the nucleus. A relative two-way tense system of future and non-future clearly covers the data and provides separation from the aspect system of perfective, imperfective, and distributive. The presence of deontic modality operators in some voice constructions provides strong evidence that tense operators are correctly analyzed as tense rather than aspect operators. Operators that occur further away from the verb than core operators would be either core level or higher.

5.2 Future Directions

This analysis of Kamayo relies on the theoretical framework of RRG. For future work, a study about discourse motivations for variable word order and fronting would be enlightening. Analyses around this topic should lead to helpful conclusions about the voice system, relative clause strategies, and nominalization. For example, an ergative pronoun may be fronted in Kamayo. When fronted, the pronoun is marked by oblique case. However, the pronoun maintains the semantic role of actor. Analyzing fronting could provide new insights into multiple different areas of grammar.

As shown in the reference phrase section (chapter 3), modifiers and nouns are separated by *na*. *Na* also is a relative clause marker. Some researchers have

79

shown that in other Philippine languages, *na* relative clauses can only modify an absolutive-marked reference phrase (Mithun 1994). It would be interesting to see if the same restriction occurs in Kamayo.

This thesis provides groundwork for future Kamayo grammar research. The stories recorded, transcribed, translated, and analyzed are useful for language documentation purposes and are available for future research.

Maguuma 'The Farmer'

Maguuma by Emeverta Gomez-Panis

Maguuma by Emeverta Gomez-Panis

1

Ok, ready, Oh Sigi
ok   ready   oh   yes
Ok, ready, Oh, yes

2

Sa   una   na   panahon ang mga otaw
OBL before REL time   ABS PL   man
Long before, the men

3

kung ma-g-a-tanom   ng   humay[1]
HYP   FUT-AV-IPFV-plant GEN rice.kernel
when they would be planting rice

4

ang paga-gamit-on   kung uno ang kaniran   aron na   mga gamit.
ABS UV.IPFV-use-FUT HYP what ABS 3PL.OBL EXIST REL PL   use
they would be using whatever they had available.

5

Parihas ng   karabaw, kung ma-g-∅-daro   ng   basakan
like   GEN carabao HYP FUT-AV-PFV-plow GEN rice.field
Like carabao, when they plow the rice field

6

karabaw ang ∅-gamit-on
carabao ABS PFV-use-FUT.UV
they would use carabao

7

para   ma-∅-lata   ang mga sagbot
PURP FUT-STAT-rot ABS PL   grass
in order for the grass to be rotted

---

[1] This is rice kernels in a brown husk.

8

na	i-∅-daro		ng	karabaw,	i-∅-pa-latak		da
REL	NFUT.UV-PFV-plow		ERG	carabao	NFUT.UV-PFV-CAUS-stomp		ADV

isab	sa	karabaw	gihapon	para	ma-∅-dunot	ang	sagbot
again	OBL	carabao	also	PURP	FUT-rot	ABS	grass

that the carabao plowed, [they] needed to have the carabao stomp on it so the grass would be rotted.

9

Kung	isa	ra	ang	karabaw	siang	ma-g-∅-uuma
HYP	one	ADV	ABS	carabao	DEM.OBL	FUT-AV-PFV-farm

If there's only one carabao from that farmer who will farm

10

o	ma-g-∅-tanom-ay,		ma-∅-kig		awuyon[2]	yaan	sa
or	FUT-AV-PFV-plant-NMLZ		FUT-STAT-enter.into		help.occasion	3S.ABS	OBL

kanaan	mga	amigo
3S.OBL	PL	friend

or plant, he would have an agreement with his friends

11

na	aron	isab	upod	na	karabaw	bali
REL	EXIST	also	another	REL	carabao	basically

that there is also another who has a carabao, it is like

12

ma-g-∅-buhos		yaan	ng	karabaw	ng	upod	para
FUT-AV-PFV-borrow		3S.ABS	GEN	carabao	GEN	another	PURP

ma-∅-hamok		ang	ma-g-∅-latak
FUT-STAT-many		ABS	FUT-AV-PFV-stomp

he would borrow a carabao from others so that there would be more who would stomp

13

ng	kanaan	basakan
GEN	3S.OBL	rice.field

his rice field farm.

14

Sa	sunod	kung	idtong	amigo	ra	isab	naan	ang
OBL	next.time	HYP	DEM.ABS	friend	ADV	again	3S.GEN	ABS

ma-g-∅-latak
FUT-AV-PFV-stomp

The next time when his friend is the one who will stomp

---

[2] A specific agreement with helping each other.

15

agaw	ma-g-pa-daro	∅-pa-bus-lon	da	isab	naan
or	FUT-AV-CAUS-plow	PFV-CAUS-borrow-FUT.UV	PFV	again	3S.GEN

ng	kanaan	karabaw
GEN	3S.OBL	carabao

or plow, he would let him borrow his carabao.

16

Waray	sa	una	ma-g-∅-laong	na	pletihan	o	rentahan	ang
NEG.EXIST	OBL	before	FUT-AV-PFV-say	REL	lease	or	rent	ABS

karabaw
carabaw

There's no such thing before that you could say to pay or to rent the carabao

17

∅-pa-bus-lan	lamang,	amo	iyan	ang	bayanihan
PFV-CAUS-borrow-CV	only	the.one	DEM.ABS	ABS	helping.each.other

just to let you borrow, that is called "bayanihan"[3]

18

na	pamaagi	ng	mga	otaw	ngadi
REL	way	GEN	PL	man	DEM

which is the way of people of this place.

19

Doon	kung	ma-g-∅-tanom,
now	HYP	FUT-AV-PFV-plant

Now, when planting,

20

waray	isab	ma-g-∅-pa-sweldo	awoyon	gihapon	ang
NEG.EXIST	as.well	FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-salary	help.for.occasion	also	ABS

paga-himu-on
IPFV-make-FUT.UV

there is no one who would pay, it's still the helping each other that they will be doing.

21

Kung	ma-g-∅-pa-tanom	ako	duon	idtong	mga	kilaha
HYP	FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-plant	1S.ABS	now	DEM.ABS	PL	know.personal

ko	na	mga	paryente
1S.GEN	REL	PL	relative

If I will have planting this time, those I know, who are relatives,

---

[3] Helping each other--specifically when moving a house/nipa hut from one place to the other.

22

ma-∅-bulig   ngadi kanak   pag-tanom ng   humay
FUT-STAT-help DEM   1S.OBL INF-plant   GEN rice.kernel
will be helpful to me here to plant rice.

23

Pag siran   da   isab   ang ma-g-∅-pa-tanom   ma-∅-kadto
PTCL 3PL.ABS ADV again ABS FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-plant FUT-STAT-be.at

   ra   isab ako   agaw kami   ma-g-∅-asawa
   ADV again 1S.ABS or   1PL.EXCL.ABS FUT-AV-PFV-couple
When it is time for them again to have planting, I would be there or both of us,
   husband and wife

24

para   ma-∅-bulig   kaniran pag-ibut o pag-tanom ng   humay,
in.order.to FUT-STAT-help 3PL.OBL INF-pull or INF-plant   GEN rice.kernel

   amo   iyan   sa una   waray   sweldo sweldo
   the.one DEM.ABS OBL before NEG.EXIST salary   salary
to be helpful to them to pull or to plant rice, that's how it was before when
   there was no paying [for labor].

25.1

Hurot lamang awuyon.
all   only   help.occasion
It was only helping each other.

25.2

Aron   pagani mga
EXIST even   PL
There were even

26

higayon na iyang   limpyo ra   na   basakan mo   na
situation REL DEM.ABS clean   ADV REL rice.field 2S.GEN REL
situations, that with your already-cleaned rice field

27

andam da   tanom-an
ready   ADV plant-CV
ready for planting,

28

paga-tanom-an
IPFV.UV-plant-CV
your friends or relatives would be planting it, which was without you even
   knowing it[4]

---

[4] Almost a surprise

29

ng	kanmo	mga	amigo	o	mga	paryente	na	wa	kaw
GEN	2S.OBL	PL	friend	or	PL	relative	REL	NEG.EXIST	2S.ABS

ma-∅-tigam
FUT-STAT-know

30

Bali	amo	iyan	ang	laong	niran,	i-kawat	pag-tanom
basically	the.one	DEM.ABS	ABS	say	3PL.GEN	NFUT.UV-steal	INF-plant

That is basically what is called, "stolen planting".

31

Pag-tanaw	mo	ngadto,	pag-survey	mo	sa	kanmo	basakan,
INF-look	2S.GEN	DEM	INF-survey	2S.GEN	OBL	2S.OBL	rice.field

When you looked there, when you surveyed your rice field,

32

i-ka-tanom-an	da
NFUT-CV.POT-plant-CIRC	ADV

it was already able to be planted.

33

'so'	igo	da	kaw	lahang	kuman	ma-g-pa-salamat	agaw
'so'	so	ADV	2S.ABS	only	just	FUT-AV-∅-PFV-CAUS-thank	or

so you would just have to thank them or

34

ma-g-∅-tangway	ng	tuba
FUT-AV-PFV-buy.liquor	GEN	coconut.wine

or buy them coconut wine.

35

ma-∅-∅-palit-ay	ng	isda	para	pasumsumun	siran
FUT-AV-PFV-buy-POL	GEN	fish	PURP	snack.with.wine	3PL.ABS

[Or] buy fish for them to munch

36

kay	ya-g-a-tanom	siran	sa	basakan	mo	na
because	NFUT-AV-IPFV-plant	3PL.ABS	OBL	rice.field	2S.GEN	REL

wara	ma-g-∅-pa-sweldo
NEG.EXIST	FUT-AV-PFV-CAUS-salary

because they were planting your rice field without [you] paying them.

37.1

amo	iyan	sa	una.
the.one	DEM.ABS	OBL	before

That is how [it was] before.

37.2

Tapos,
then
Then,

38

pag-abot da   ng   ting-ani
INF-come ADV GEN harvest time
when the harvest comes

39

iyang   ma-g-a-galab   awuyon   gihapon o
DEM.ABS FUT-AV-IPFV-rice.harvest help.for.occasion also   or

boluntaryo.
volunteer
those who will be harvesting rice would again help each other or volunteer.

40

Idto   gihapon mga amigo mo   idtong   mga ka-kilaha
DEM.ABS also   PL   friend 2S.GEN DEM.ABS PL   NMLZ-know.personal

mo
2S.GEN
Again, those of your friends or those that you knew

41

mga paryente mo   amoy   ma-g-∅-boluntaryo   ra   isab
PL   relative   2S.GEN the.one FUT-AV-PFV-volunteer ADV again

pag-ani.
INF-harvest
your relatives, they are the ones who would volunteer again to harvest.

42

Amo   ko   isab haw   siran   ang ma-g-∅-ani,
the.one 1S.GEN also when 3PL.ABS ABS FUT-AV-PFV-harvest
The same with me, when they will harvest,

43

ma-g-∅-boluntaryo   kaw   isab ma-∅-kig   awoyon   isab
FUT-AV-PFV-volunteer 2S.ABS also FUT-STAT-enter.into help.occasion also

kaniran.
3PL.OBL
you would also volunteer, also will enter into the helping with them.

44

Usahay
sometimes
sometimes

45

ma-g-a-andam   ng   paniudto agaw uno   na   ma-hi-andam
FUT-AV-IPFV-prepare GEN lunch   or   what REL FUT-POT.UV-prepare

idtong   ya-g-a-pa-ani,
DEM.ABS NFUT-AV-IPFV-CAUS-harvest
he would prepare lunch or whatever that, the one who had the harvest, would
    be able prepare,

46

pa-kan-on   ng   libre isab iyang   mga ya-g-∅-ani
CAUS-food   GEN   free   also DEM.ABS PL   NFUT-AV-PFV-harvest

   ya-g-∅-hago
   NFUT-AV-PFV-work
feed them for free, those who harvested, who worked.

47

Ang pag-giok   ng   humay   sa   una,
ABS INF-thresh.rice.by.foot GEN   rice.kernel OBL before
Before, the threshing of rice kernels (by foot) from the stalks,

48

kung ma-∅-hamok   ang ing-∅-ani   burat-an   lamang
HYP   FUT-STAT-many   ABS NFUT.UV-PFV-harvest spread.out-CV   only

   iyan   ng   trapal na   badi
   DEM.ABS GEN   tarp   LIG big
when there was a lot harvested, it would just be covered with a big tarp spread
    out

49

i-∅-butang   ngaon iyang   mga humay
NFUT.UV-PFV-put DEM   DEM.ABS PL   rice.kernel
The rice kernels were put there.

50

Tapos
then
Then

51

pagin-an sa   karabaw para   ma-nga-tang~tang   iyan
step.on   OBL carabao PURP FUT-DIST.PL-taken.off~ITER DEM.ABS

   humay   gikan sa   kanaan
   rice.kernel from   OBL 3S.OBL
let the carabao step on it so rice kernels would be taken off from its

52

uhay.
stalks.of.rice
stalks of rice.

53

Manda kuman otrohun idtong ing-∅-latak ng karabaw,
just.only just.only repeat DEM.ABS NFUT.UV-PFV-stomp ERG carabaw

na
REL

It would just then be repeated: that which the carabao stepped on,

54

kuan na humay iginan~ginan manda kuman otrohun
um REL rice.kernel step.on~ITER just.only just.only repeat

um the rice kernels that were stepped on, which would just then

55

ng mga otaw pag-tak~tak
GEN PL man INF-shake.out.of~ITER

by the people be shaken out

56

para ma-∅-tipon da ang humay.
PURP FUT-STAT-gather ADV ABS rice.kernel

in order that the rice kernels would be gathered.

57

Amo iyan ang mga pamaagi sa una.
the.one DEM.ABS ABS PL way OBL before

That is the way it was [done] before.

58

Wara pa iyang mga thresher na ma-g-a-giok ng
NEG.EXIST yet DEM.ABS PL thresher REL FUT-AV-IPFV-separate GEN

humay ma-g-∅-tang~tang.
rice.kernel take.off~ITER

There were not yet threshers that would separate rice kernels from off [the
stalks].

59

[Pause]
[Pause]

60

Tapos wara pa iyang mga makinariyas na ma-g-a-daro
then NEG.EXIST yet DEM.ABS PL machine REL FUT-AV-IPFV-plow

ng basakan
GEN rice.field

And then there were not yet machines that [people] would be plowing the rice
field with.

61

Wara   pa   iyang   mga harvester, parehas doon, aron   day
NEG.EXIST yet DEM.ABS PL   harvester like   now   EXIST ADV

thresher.
thresher
There were no harvesters, not like this time, there are threshers.

62

Aron   day   harvester, aron   day   tractor na   ma-g-∅-daro
EXIST ADV harvester   EXIST ADV tractor REL FUT-AV-PFV-plow
There are now harvester[s], there are now tractor[s] that will plow.

63

Amo   iyan   ang mga moderno ra   na   mga pamaagi duon na
the.one DEM.ABS ABS PL   modern PFV REL PL   way   now   REL

pag-tanom
INF-plant
These are now the modern ways of planting.

64.1

Lahi   sa   una.
different OBL before
It was different before.

64.2

Pero ma-∅-tingaha   kaw   kay   sa   una
but   FUT-STAT-wonder 2S.ABS because OBL before
But you wonder because before

65

hamok-i   permi   ang humay   ng   mga otaw.
many-DEG always ABS rice.kernel GEN PL   man
there was always a lot of rice kernels for the people.

66

Ma-g-∅-himo   siran   ng   bodega na   badi para   butang-an ng
FUT-AV-PFV-make 3PL.ABS GEN storage REL big   PURP put-CV   GEN

humay,
rice.kernel
They would make big storage to put the rice kernels in,

67

na   amo   idtong   una   ko   na   istorya,
REL the.one DEM.ABS before 1S.GEN REL speaking
which, as I was saying before,

68

na   hangtud sa   sunod   tingani
REL until   OBL next.time harvest.time
that even the next harvest time

69

aron   pa   gihapon   ang   humay   niran   di   pa   ma-∅-hurot.
EXIST   yet   also   ABS   rice.kernel   3PL.GEN   NEG   yet   FUT-STAT-consume
they would still have the rice kernels, which could still not be all consumed.

70

Pero
but
But

71

aroy   isab   isa   ka   panahon
EXIST   also   one   CLF   time
there was also one time

72

na   waray   ani   ng   mga   otaw   gumikan   sa   ambaw.
REL   NEG.EXIST   harvest   GEN   PL   man   because   OBL   rats
that there was not a harvest for the people because of rats.

73

Arang   na   ambaw.
Many   REL   rats
There were so many rats.

74

Pang-anon   ang   mga   humay,   pang-anon   ang   mga   kamote,
NMLZ-food   ABS   PL   rice.kernels   NMLZ-food   ABS   PL   sweet.potato

   hasta   pilay.
   indcluding   banana
[The rats] would eat rice, would eat sweet potatoes, including bananas.

75

Way   ma-∅-kaan   ng   mga   otaw.   I-pang-gutom
NEG.EXIST   FUT-STAT-eat   GEN   PL   man   NFUT-NMLZ-hungry

   i-pang-banlos   ang   mga   otaw.
   NFUT-NMLZ-starve   ABS   PL   man
There was nothing to eat by the people. [They] went hungry, the people went
   starving.

76

Amo   idto
the.one   DEM.ABS
That was it

77

na   aroy   ing-∅-mabot   na   mga   relief   goods
REL   EXIST   NFUT-STAT-arrive   REL   PL   relief   goods
that there were relief goods that arrived.

78

Gikan sa   America, na   parehas siang   mga powdermilk
from   OBL America, REL like   DEM.OBL PL   powdermilk
From the USA, like that of powdermilk

79

mga bulgor, mga harina,
PL   wheat PL   flour
wheat, flour,

80

mga oil, amo   iyan   ang ing-∅-mabot.
PL   oil the.one DEM.ABS ABS NFUT-STAT-arrive
oil, that's what arrived.

81

ing-∅-mabot   iyan   ngadto sa   adto
NFUT-STAT-come DEM.ABS DEM   OBL DEM
These arrived there at that time.

82

Ing-∅-hatag   iyan   sa   pari.
NFUT.UV-PFV-give DEM.ABS OBL priest
These were given to the priest.

83

Ang pari bali   amoy   ma-ng-hatag   sian   sa   mga otaw.
ABS priest basically the.one FUT-AV.DISTR-give DEM.GEN OBL PL   man
The priest basically will give them to the people.

84

Ang i-∅-himo   ng   pari   ∅-pa-trabaho-an.
ABS NFUT.UV-PFV-do ERG priest PFV-CAUS-work-CV
What priest did, he asked the people to work [for them to have the supplies].

85

∅-tag-an   kaw   ng   harina, ∅-tag-an   kaw   ng   bulgor agaw
PFV-give-CV 2S.ABS GEN flour   PFV-give-CV 2S.ABS GEN wheat or

uno ang gusto mo.
what ABS please 2S.GEN
[He would] give you flour, you would be given wheat, or whatever you would
like.

86

agaw powdermilk, agaw mantika,
or   powdermilk or   oil
or powdermilk, or oil,

87

pero ∅-trabaho-an mo.
but   PFV-work-CV 2S.ERG
but you would have to work for it.

88

Ma-ng-dakop kaw ng ambaw para ma-puho ang ambaw.
FUT-AV.DISTR-catch 2S.ABS GEN rats PURP eradicate ABS rats

Amo idto ang style niran.
the.one DEM.ABS ABS style 3PL.GEN

You would catch rats, so the rats would be eradicated. That was their style.

89

Diri da kinahanglan ∅-dad-on ang entiro adlaw aw entiro
NEG ADV need PFV-to.bring-FUT.UV ABS entire day oh entire

ambaw
rats

They did not have to bring the whole day, oh [I mean], whole/entire rat

90

Diri da ∅-dad-on ngadto para i-∅-pa-kita na
NEG ADV PFV-bring-FUT.UV DEM PURP FUT.UV-PFV-CAUS-see REL

proof mo
proof 2S.GEN

You would not have to bring to show as your proof

91

o bali ma-hi-pa-kita mo na ya-ka-dakop kaw
or basically FUT-POT.UV-CAUS-see 2S.GEN REL FUT-POT.AV-catch 2S.ABS

gayud, ya-ka-patay kaw ng ambaw
really NFUT-POT.AV-kill 2S.ABS GEN rats

or basically for you to be able to show that you really were able to catch, you
were able to kill rats.

92

∅-ut-don ang ikog ng ambaw.
PFV-cut-FUT.UV ABS tail GEN rat

[You] had to cut the tail of the rat.

93

Ang ikog lamang amoy ∅-dad-on ngadto sa pari.
ABS tail only the.one PFV-bring-FUT.UV DEM OBL priest

The tail was only what you would have to bring to the Priest.

94

Tapos ∅-tag-an da kaw dayon siang bulgor
then PFV-give-CV ADV 2S.ABS right.away DEM.OBL wheat

Then you would be given the wheat right away

95

ug iyang mga harina na relief gikan sa America.
and DEM.ABS PL flour REL relief from OBL America

or the flour that also was a relief good from the USA.

96

America sa   idtong   laong niran   na   ing-∅-gikan-an
America OBL DEM.ABS say 3PL.ERG REL NFUT.UV-PFV-from-CV

sidto.
DEM.GEN

From America as they said that was where they came from.

97

Amo   idto   na
the.one those REL
That is why

98

ya-nga-∅-wara   da   mga ambaw kay
NFUT-PL-STAT-NEG.EXIST ADV PL   rat   because

i-∅-tagbu-an   bali   ng   mga otaw
NFUT-PFV-ambush-CV basically ERG PL   man

rats were gone because they were basically ambushed by the people.

99

Amo   iyan   ang laong "Na   aroy
the.one DEM.ABS ABS say   REL EXIST
That is what is called, "There is

100

food for work" na   ∅-tag-an   siran   ng   ma-∅-kaan   gumikan
food for work REL PFV-give-CV 3PL.ABS GEN FUT-STAT-food from

sa   kaniran i-∅-trabaho-an
OBL 3PL.OBL NFUT-PFV-work-CV

food for work," which they were given food because of work they did.

101

Ya-nga-∅-wara   ang ambaw.
NFUT-PL-STAT-NEG.EXIST ABS rats
The rats were gone.

102

Ya-ka-tanom   da   ang mga otaw.
NFUT-POT.AV-plant ADV ABS PL   people
People were now able to plant.

103

Ya-∅-balik   da   isab ang kaniran
NFUT-STAT-return ADV again ABS 3PL.OBL
The "abundance of living through the rice" returned to them.

104

Laong pa "Ka-abunda   ng   pang-inabuhi-an gikan sa   humay."
say   yet NMLZ-abundance GEN NMLZ-life-CV   from OBL rice.kernel

106.1

Amo	ra	iyan	naay	taman	ngaon	sunod	da	isab.
the.one	ADV	DEM.ABS	wait	untiil	DEM	next.time	ADV	again

That is all it, until next time again.

106.2

Salamat-ers
thank-DEG
Thank you so much

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