Chapter V
Valency Changing Operations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the morphosyntax of two of the semantic classes of verbs in central Ifugao dialect, namely the posture and the affect verbs. For practical reason, only the posture verb ***ʔumbun*** 'sit' and the affect verb ***hoŋpal*** 'hit with one's fist' and the valency changing operations they undergo. I choose to study more both valency changing operations and Some additional combinations of two affixes and the addition of reduplication on affect verb root ***hoŋpal*** and their respective additional senses they bring into the inflected verb. For posture verb root ***ʔumbun*** only its affixes would be discussed, for reason of limited time. Posture verb *ʔumbun* would be discussed first.

5.1 **Valency changing operations in a posture verb**

Posture verbs in the language encode positions that Agents execute. A representative sample of some of the roots that function as base forms for posture verbs in the central Ifugao language are given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 ROOTS OF POSTURE VERBS

Root	Basic Affix	Gloss	Root	Basic Affix	Gloss
taddog	<um>/ <imm>	'stand'	***tattaŋŋad***	muN-/nuN-	'lie on one's back'
ʔubun	<um>/ <imm>	'sit'	***tallukbub***	muN-/nuN-	'lie on one's stomach'
bakilang	mi-/ni-	'lie down'	***tallumpag***	muN-/nuN-	'lie prostrate'
halikummod	muN-/nuN-	'sit w/ feet closed'	***pukuh***	muN-/nuN-	'lie curled up'
hilupittak	muN-/nuN-	'sit w/ open feet'	***tiggiŋ***	muN-/nuN-	'lie on one's side'
hukkun	muN-/nuN-	'kneel'	***dukug***	muN-/nuN-	'turn one's back (to a referent)'
hippih	muN-/nuN-	'sit on one's side'	***haŋŋab***	ʔi-/ʔiN-	'face (a referent)'
tukʔaŋ	ʔi-/ʔiN-	'raise one's buttocks'	***yuʔʔuŋ***	muN-/nuN-	'head-bend'
hekkeŋ	muN-/nuN-	'stand with one foot'	***ligguh***	muN-/nuN-	'face to the side'
tiyad	ʔi-/ʔiN-	'stand on one's toes'	***ʔipiŋ***	ʔi-/ʔiN-	'lie/rest one's head on something'
ʔuyyad	muN-/nuN-	'stretch (one's feet)'			

The above base forms are inherently verbal roots. Their meaning range from simple postural notion, e.g. 'sit' ; to complex postural notions, e.g. 'lie curled up'; to postural notions over-arcing manner notions, e.g. 'lie on one's side; or orientation, e.g. 'lie on one's back'. The three basic human postures are 'stand', 'sit', and 'lie down'. The above base forms for posture verbs basically refer to human posture, and all, except *tallumpag* 'lie prostrate' are all volitional. The three basic postures roots are also used to describe postures of mammals/animals.

Table 5.2 SUMMARY OF AFFIXES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS ON AFFECTS VERBS

Affix		Syntactic Information	Semantic Information
Type/Function	Form		
A. Basic	*-um/<iNm>*	INTR.AG	
B. Non-basic			
1. .Antipassive	*?iCVC-/?iNmCVC-*	V S E	MAN
2. Causative Non-vol	*?ipa-*	V A O	NVOL
3. Causative Volitional	*pa-*	V A O	VOL
4. Passive INST.*Passive of causative*	*mipa-*	V O	
Other semantic Information			
5. .Antipassive (ABL)	*mi-/ni-*	V S	ABL
	mi?i-/ni?i-	V S	ASSO
	?i-	V S	Rest
	?i-	V S	Concentrate
	mangmang-	V S	immediate present
	CinVm?<um>	V S	*immediate past*
	CimmVCV-	V S	DUR.long
	nangnang-	V S	DUR.short
	CimmanVC-	V S	*MAN*.leisurely

5.1.2 Basic construction

Posture verbs in central Ifugao language are basically intransitive verbs and they take *<um>/<iNm >; mun-/nun- or ?i-/?in-* affixes as basic. The basic clause in which posture verbs occurs are clauses that only require an S argument that functions as Agent of action. Two base forms 'stand' and 'sit' take *<um>/<iNm>* as their basic affix, while 'lie down' *takes ?i-/?in-* . Table 5.2 list all possible affixes base form for posture verb *?ubun* 'sit' can take and the syntactic and semantic information each of the affix encodes in the verb and in the clause they occur in terms of the minimum number of valences an affix requires. For posture verb *?ubun,* example (5.1) and (5.2) illustrate uses of *<um>/<iNm>* affix.

(5.1) ***umbun*** ***hi*** ***Lagutaw*** ***hinan*** ***teteh***
[?<um>bun]$_V$ [hi lagutaw]$_S$ ([hinan teteh]$_{P)}$
INTR.AG..IMPF.sit ABS.SG. PN.lagutaw LOC.DEF ladder
'Lagutaw sits (on the ladder).'

(5.2) ***inumbun*** ***nan*** ***tagu*** ***hinan*** ***dakdak***
[?<iNm> ubun]$_V$ [nan tagu]$_S$ ([hinan dakdak]$_P$)
INTR.AG..PERF.sit TRM.DEFSG human LOC.DEF stone.floor
'The man sat (on the stone floor).'

5.1.3 Basic construction with additional semantic information

5.1.3.1 Basic construction in abilitative mode

To convey that the Agent is able to execute the action referred to by the posture verb root like *?ubun* 'sit' the affix *maka-/naka-* is used. Example (5.3) illustrates this.

(5.3) ***makabun*** ***moh*** ***Tukling***
[maka-?ubun mo]$_V$ [-hi tukliŋ]$_S$
INTR.ABL.IMPF.sit PAR.now ABS.DEF.SG PN.tukliŋ
'Tukling can now sit.'

5.1.3.2 Basic construction focused on ability/usability of an instrument

To convey that the relevant body part ‘buttocks’ is able to execute the action referred by the posture verb like root *?ubun* 'sit' the affix *mi-/ni-* is used. Example (5.4) illustrates this.

(5.4) ***mibun*** ***moy*** ***tipana***
[mi-?ubun mo]$_V$ [-di tipa =na]$_S$
INTR.ABL.IMPF.sit PAR.now TRM.INDEF.SG buttock.2SG.POSS
'His buttock can now be seated.'

Some posture verbs can encode non-postural meaning. The verb *liggu* 'turn one's head' for instant may be used to encode the semantic sense of 'reject' or 'snub', and *?ubun* 'sit' may take the affix *?i-* to changes the primary meaning to other senses and the precise meaning would then depend on the context. The verb *?ubun* plus prefix ?i- may change the primary meaning to 'rest' or 'concentrate' (5.5) and (5.6).

V S plus rest

(5.5) ***ibundah*** ***kittay***
[?i- ?ubun]$_V$ [=da]$_S$ [-hi kittay]$_{RC}$
INTR.AG.IMPFsit.rest 3PL LK little
'They will rest for a while.'

V S plus concentration (does not allow distraction)

(5.6) ***ibun*** ***nan*** ***munlaga*** ***ta*** ***ingganah*** ***magibbuh***
[?i- ?ubun]$_V$ [nan mun- laga]$_S$ [ta ingganah magibbuh]$_{RC}$
INTR.AG.IMPF.sit TRM.DEF.SG NOM. weav PUR until IMPF.finish
'The weaver will sit and concentrate (until it is finished).'

5.1.4 **Basic construction plus somekind of time element**

5.1.4.1 **Basic construction (**V S) plus some the notion of progressiveness of the event.
The additional semantic notion of progressiveness of the event (immediate present time or immediate past time) is encoded by duplicating the affix *maN- /naN-* (5.7) and (5.8). The affix maŋ is usually used in cohortative construction (5.8)

(5.7) ***mangmangbun*** ***nadan*** ***immalih***
[maŋmaŋ- ?ubun]$_V$ [nadan immalih]$_S$
INTR.AG..IMPF.PROG..sit. TRM.DEF.PL PERF.come
'Those who came are presently sitting.'

5.8) ***nangnangbun*** ***ni*** ***nan*** ***lalaki***
naŋnaŋ- ?ubun ni?]$_V$ [nan lalaki]$_S$
INTR.AG..PROG.PERF.sit PAR.a.while TRM.DEF.SG male
'The man had been siting for a short while.'

(5.9) ***mangbun*** ***tau*** ***ni*** ***dih***
[maŋ- ?ubun]$_V$ [ta?u]$_S$ ([ni dih]$_{RC}$)
INTR.AG..IMPF.sit 1PL PAR.a.while PAR.please
'Let us sit (for a while, please.)'

5.1.4.2 **Basic construction (**V S) plus non-specific time duration of the event.
The addition of the time element like "non-specific time" can be included as part of the semantic meaning of a posture verb can be encoded by affix <*in*>CVm-/<*iNm*>CV*m*-. The posture verb *?ubun* can be inflected with these affixes to include these various semantic notion. Example (5.9) illustrates this.

(5.10) ***inum'umbun*** ***nadan*** ***mangili***
[<iNm>CVm- ?ubun]$_V$ [nadan mangili]$_S$
INTR.AG.PERF.sit.sometime TRM.DEF.PL visitor
'The visitors sat for some time.'

5.1.4.3 **Basic construction** (V S) plus the time element of long time duration
Posture verb like *?ubun* take the affix <*iNm*>CVCV- / <*in*>CVCV- to includes the notion of "long time duration" of the event. Consider example (5.10). Note that short time duration can not be achieved by any kind of inflection, rather time words are used like the particle *ni?* As illustrated in (5.12) and (5.13).

(5.11) ***immubu'ubun*** ***nan*** ***lalaki***
[<iNm>CVCV- ?ubun]$_V$ [nan lalaki]$_S$
INTR.AG.DUR.PERF.sit TRM.DEF.SG male
'The man sat for a long time.'

(5.12) ***inumbun*** ***ni*** ***nan*** ***lalaki***
[<iNm>?ubun]V ([ni?]$_{RC}$) [nan lalaki]$_S$
INTR.AG.DUR.PERF.sit PAR.a.while TRM.DEF.SG male
'The man sat (for a while).'

(5.13) ***inumbun*** ***ni*** ***hi*** ***kittay*** ***nan*** ***lalaki***

[<iNm>?ubun]$_V$ ([ni? hi kittay]$_{RC)}$ [nan lalaki]$_S$

INTR.AG.DUR.PERF.sit PAR.a.while LK small TRM.DEF.SG male

'The man sat (for a short while).'

5.1.4.4 **Basic construction** (V S) plus the manner of action

Posture verb like *?ubun* may also take the affix <*iNm*>CVCCVC- / <*iN*>CVCCVC- to include the notion of "leisurely manner" of sitting in the semantic of the posture verb. Consider example (5.12).

(5.14) ***immanub'ubbun*** ***nan*** ***lalaki***

[<imman>CVCCVC- ?ubun]$_V$ [nan lalaki]$_S$

INTR.IMPF.AG.leisyrely.sit TRM.DEF.SG male

'The man sat leisurely.'

5.1.5 Causative Construction, a Valency Increasing Operation

Causative construction in the language make use of the verb affixes *?ipa-/iNpa-* and *pa- -on / pina-* to introduce a causer into the clause. The clause then become a transitive clause wherein the causee in the intransitive clause now becomes the Patient in the O argument. The first pair affix focuses on what the Patient did or undergone, while the second pair affix focuses on the action of the causer or Agent of the verb. Consider derivation of a causative in (5.13) from the basic clause in (5.2). Example (5.2) is copied below.

(5.2) ***inumbun*** ***nan*** ***tagu*** ***hinan*** ***dakdak***

[?<iNm> ubun]$_V$ [nan tagu]$_S$ ([hinan dakdak]$_P$)

INTR.AG..PERF.sit TRM.DEFSG human LOC.DEF stone.floor

'The man sat (on the stone floor).'

(5.13) ***impabunda*** ***nan*** ***tagu*** ***hinan*** ***dakdak***

[?<iNpa> ubun]$_V$ [=da]$_A$ [nan tagu]$_O$ ([hinan dakdak]$_P$)

TR.AG..PERF.sit 3PL. TRM.DEFSG human LOC.DEF stone.floor

'They had the man sat (on the stone floor).'

(5.14) ***ipabunda*** ***nadan*** ***tinatagu***

[?ipa- bun]$_V$ [=da]$_A$ [nadan <in>CV- tagu]$_O$

TR.CAU.IMPF.sit 3PL TRM.DEF.PL PLR. human

'They (will) make the people sit.'

5.1.4.2 Causative in permission mode

Some verbs like posture verb *?ubun* may take the affix *pa- -on / pina-* to include the semantic sense of granting permission by the causer to the causee or Patient to do or perform an action. Like all other causative construction an A argument is required. Example (5.15) illustrates this.

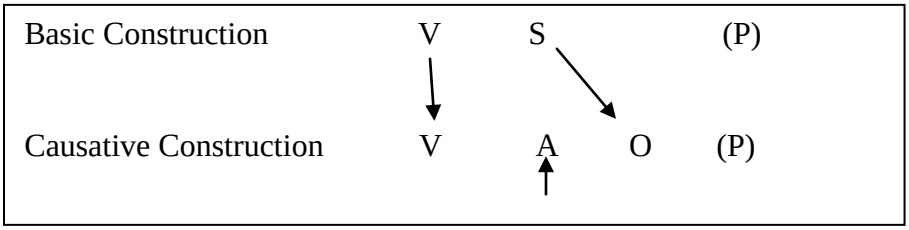
(5.15) ***pabunon*** ***nan*** ***lalaki*** ***nadan*** ***binabai***

[pa- -on bun]$_V$ [nan lalaki]$_A$ [nadan b<in>abai]$_O$

TR.AG..IMPF.sit TRM.DEF.SG. male TRM.DEF.PL PLR.female

'The man (will) allows the women/girls to sit.'

The derivation of causative clause construction from basic clause looks like the figure below:



5.1.4.5 Passive of causative

Causative clause construction that requires additional A argument and an O argument as contrasted with the its basic clause construction counterpart, may be turned into a middle voice where the A argument acting as the causer of the event is made implicit in the surface structure. Posture verb root like ?ubun take the affix mipa- / nipa- is used for this purpose. Consider (5.16).

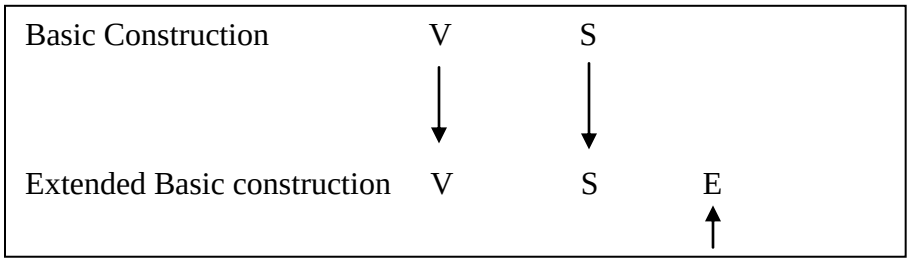
(5.16) ***mipabunda*** ***nan*** ***tinataguh***
[mipa- bun]$_V$ [=da]A [nan <in>CV-taguh]$_O$
INTR.IMPF.sit 3PL TRM.DEF.SG. PLR. human
'They (will) make the people sit.'

5.1.5 Basic construction with associative sense

5.1.5.1 **Basic construction plus extended argument**

To convey that the Agent do similar acts that others had already done and join them, posture verb root ?*ubun* 'sit' takes the affix *maki-/niki-* is used. This verb and the clause it occur requires an E argument acting as associates or co-doer of the action in addition to the S argument. Consider example (5.17) below.

(5.17) makibun nadan mangili i ditau
[maki-?ubun]$_V$ [nadan mangili]$_S$ [?i ditau]$_E$
INTR .ASSO.IMPF.sit TRM.DEF.PL visitor with 3PL.INC.
'The visitors will sit with us.'



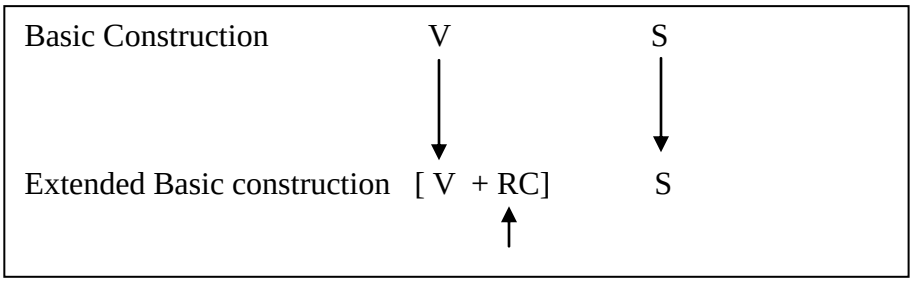
5.1.5.2 **Basic construction plus association**

Most of the three posture verbs do not allow the use of affix to encode reciprocal, except for *haŋŋab* 'face (a referent)' and *dukug/dukkug* 'turn one's back (to a referent)'. Even these two base forms are generic in terms of the kind of specific posture; it either mean 'standing', 'sitting', 'lying

down' or 'sleeping'. In any case, context or the specific posture has to be specified. These verbs require the addition of a relative clause to encode some kind of associated action. The verb and the clause would then require an S argument and an E argument. Example (5.18) illustrates this.

(5.18) ***mundukkugandan dawan umbun***
[mun- -an- dukkug]V [=da [?an dawa]CC]S [?an [<um>?ubun]V [ ]S]RC
INTR.REC.IMPF.turn.ones.back 3PL LK two REL INTR.IMPF.sit
'The two of them will sit back to back.'
Lit. 'They, the two, will turn their on back to each other sitting.

The compliment clause ***?an duwa*** 'the two' is optional in surface structure, but it is still part of the deep structure (the notional level). On the other hand, the relative clause ***?an ?umbun*** 'sitting' is required to clarify the kind of position the participants would be turning their back. This relative clause slot may be change with 'stand', 'sleep', 'eat', etc without making the clause ungrammatical.



5.2 Valency changing operations in affect verbs.

5.2.1 Affects verbs refers to actions performed by Agent that affect Patient physically. A list of sample roots that function as base forms of affect verbs in the language is given in Table 5.3. The affixes that occur with these roots and their respective functions are found in Table 5.4. Some of these affects verbs are observed to encode specific instrument or kind of instruments and/or the manner it would be used/applied.

Table 5.3 ROOTS OF AFFECTS VERBS

Root	Gloss	Root	Gloss
boŋwa	'cut off'	*Pudit*	'flatten s.t/s.o'
putul	'cut to shorten'	*Luhit*	'kill so/s.t by pressing it against a surface'
ha?it	'sharpen'	*Pulida*	'press to kill/wound s.o/s.t along a surface'
poton	'cut in two'	*Ditdit*	'strike to kill/wound s.o with an instrument'
buhhak	'split'	*Dulidul*	'press to wound s.o/s.t against a surface'
tommaŋ	'split in two'	*Ludih*	'break s.o/s.t with an instrument'
hodyap⃗	'cut to be	*Leleh*	'over-stretch s.t'

	pointed'		
gudigud	'crumple'	*ʔinat*	'pull to stretch s.t'
biklih	'tear'	*hupdut⃗*	'break s.t by pulling'
loŋat⃗	'cut a hole'	*tulik⃗*	'make a hole'
dahdah	'cut off bark'	*tuwik⃗*	'prick/stab s.t/s.o'
pateh	'kill, butcher'	*Toboŋ*	'place on a stick s.t'
hoŋpal	'hit with one's fist'	*dappip⃗*	'kick with toes'

Table 5.4 SUMMARY OF AFFIXES AND THEIR FUNCTIONS ON AFFECTS VERBS

Affix		Syntactic Information	Semantic Information
Type/Function	Form		
A. Basic	*-on/<in>*	TR.PAT	
B. Non-basic			
1. .Antipassive	*<um >/ <imm >*		
2. .Antipassive (ABL)	*maka-/naka-*		
3. Passive	*ma- / na-*		
4. Passive PAT	*ʔipa-/ ʔimpa-*		
5. Passive INST.	*pan-/nan-*		
6. Applicative	*ʔi- / ʔin-*		
7. Detransitivized	*mi- / ni-*		
8. Causative	*ʔipa- / ʔinpa-*		
9. Antipassive of a causative	*muNpa- / nuNpa-*		
10. Basic reflective	*mun-/nun*		
11. Basic reciprocal 2-parti	*mun- -an/nun- -an*		
12. Basic reciprocal +2-parti	*mun.CV-/nun.CV-*		
C. Basic plus other semantic information			
13. Iterative/Repetitive	*CVC.CV*		
14. Habitual	*<an >*		
15. Reciprocal	*-hinCV-*		
	pa-/pina-		
	pun?i-/nun?i-		

5.2.2 Basic construction

Affect verbs in Central Ifugao language variety are basically transitive verbs. The basic clause in which affect verbs occurs are clauses that require an A argument and an O argument. Except for the root *dulidul*, all of the other roots listed in Table 5.3 take affix *-on* (or *–an* in the case of *hodyap and luŋat*) in the imperfective aspect and affix *<in >* in the perfective aspect. These two affixes mark the verb and the clause it occurs in as transitive and cross-reference the semantic role of the O as Patient. Examples (5.19) to (5.22) illustrate this.

(5.19) ***hongpalon Juan nan ungah.***
[hoŋpal -on]$_V$ [juan]$_A$ [nan ʔuŋa]$_O$
hit-TR.AG.IMPF PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG child
'Juan hits the child.'
Or 'Juan will hit the child.'

(5.20) ***hinongpal nan tagu nan ungah***
[<in> hoŋpal]V [nan tagu]A [nan ʔuŋah]O
TR.AG..PERF.hit TRM.DEF.SG human TRM.DEF.SG child

(5.21) ***hongpalon nan lalaki nan ungah.***
[hoŋpal -on]$_V$ [nan lalaki]$_A$ [nan ʔuŋa]$_O$
hit-TR.AG.IMPF TRM.DEF.SG lalaki TRM.DEF.SG child
'The male/man will hit the child.'

(5.22) ***longatan nan babbayong nan dinangal***
[loŋat –an]V [nan babbayong]A [nan dinangal]O
bore.hole –TR.AG.IMPF TRM.DEF.SG. bee TRM.DEF.SG girder
'The bee is boring a hole on the girder.'

The basic affix for *dulidul* and *piluda* are *ʔi-* / *ʔin-* respectively for imperfect and perfect aspects. These affixes also mark the verb and the clause it occurs in as transitive in syntax. In this case, either the Patient taking O argument or the location occurring as an Extended argument will be made explicit and the other is left implied or both may be made explicit as in (5.23). Example (5.24) and (5.25) are alternative possibilities.

(5.23) ***idulidul nan baba?i nan lubuŋ (hinan luta)***
ʔi-dulidul [nan baba?i]$_A$ [nan lubuŋ]$_O$ [(hinan luta)]$_E$
TR.AG.IMPF.press TRM.DEF.SG female TRM.DEF.SG clothe (DEF.LOC.ground)
'The girl/woman will press the clothes on the ground.'

(5.24) ***idulidul nan baba?i nan lubuŋ***
ʔi-dulidul [nan baba?i]$_A$ [nan lubuŋ]$_O$
TR.AG.IMPF.press TRM.DEF.SG female TRM.DEF.SG clothes
'The girl/woman will get the clothes dirty.'
Lit. 'The girl will press (something-on-something) the clothes.'

(5.25) ***idulidul nan baba?i hinan luta***
ʔi-dulidul [nan baba?i]$_A$ [(hinan luta)]$_E$
TR.AG..IMPF.press TRM.DEF.SG female DEF.LOC.ground
'The girl/woman will press on the ground.'

5.2.2.1 Basic construction with habitual notion. Basic clause construction may be expanded to include habitual notion in the verb. This is achieved by the addition of affix <*an*> to the basic affixes like -on/ <iNm>, and <*um*>/ <*in*>. The is no valence change even with this additional inflection. Consider examples (5.26) and (5.27).

(5.26) ***hanongpalon*** ***Juan*** ***nan*** ***ungah.***
[<an> -on hoŋpal]$_V$ [juan]$_A$ [nan ʔuŋa]$_O$
TR.AG.HAB.IMPF.hit PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG child
'Juan <u>habitually</u> hits the child.'

Similar happens with affix <an> is added to the other affixes like the causative affix *ipa-* and *pa-* and antipassive affix *ma-* as in (5.27).

(5.27) ***humanongpal*** ***hi*** ***Juan*** ***hi*** ***u''unga***
[<uman>.hoŋpal]$_V$ [hi Juan]$_S$ [hi CVC-ʔuŋga]$_E$
INT.AG..HAB.IMPF. hit ABS PN.juan TRM.IND.SGS .PLZ.child
'Juan <u>habitually</u> hits (children).'

5.2.2.2 Basic construction with habitual and durative notion. Basic clause construction can still be expanded to include the additional notion of duration in addition to the extended notion of habituality. This time, it make use of an inflected roots like ***hanoŋpalon*** as in (5.26) and ***humanongpal*** as in (5.27) and reduplicate parts of these verbs to achieved the notion of duration. Consider the effect of this when used in combination with the basic affixes *–on*/*in and <um>/<in>*. The requirements of the verb and the clause remains, an A argument and an O argument. Examples (5.28) and (5.29) illustrate this.

(5.28) ***hanohanongpalon*** ***Juan*** ***nan*** ***ungah.***
hano + hanongpalon ***Juan*** ***nan*** ***ungah.***
[C<an>Vh<an>oŋpal -on]$_V$ [juan]$_A$ [nan ʔuŋa]$_O$
TR.AG..HAB.DUR.IMPF.hit. PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG child
'Juan <u>habitually</u> hits the child <u>for a long time</u>.'

(5.29) ***hongpahongpalon*** ***Juan*** ***nan*** ***ungah.***
[CVCCV.hoŋpal -on]$_V$ [juan]$_A$ [nan ʔuŋa]$_O$
HAB.hit.TR.AG..IMPF PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG child
'Juan <u>repeatedly</u> hits the child.'

Similar happens when similar reduplication is added to the other inflections like the causative and antipassives as in (5.30).

(5.30) ***humanohanongpal*** ***hi*** ***Juan*** ***hi u''unga***
huma<noha>nongpal ***hi*** ***Juan*** ***hi u''unga***
[C<um><an>V- h<an>oŋpal]$_V$ [hi Juan]$_S$ [hi ʔu??uŋga]$_E$
INT.AG.HAB.DUR. hit ABS Juan E_{ET} CVC.PL.child
'Juan <u>habitually</u> hits (children) <u>for a long time</u>.'

Antipassive-deliberative Construction.
Basic clause headed by an affect verb root, as in the above examples, requires two arguments; an Agent and a Patient. However, when the same affect verb root takes the imperfective affix <*um*> or the perfective affix <*imm*>, the Agent becomes an S argument, and the Patient becomes optional. The verb inflected with this affix and the clause it occurs became an intransitive. The added nuance of the affix is the volitional choice on the part of the Agent. Consider examples (5.31) and (5.32) below.

(5.31) ***humongpal*** ***hi*** ***Juan*** ***hi*** ***u''unga***
[h<um>oŋpal]$_V$ [hi Juan]$_S$ ([hi CVC-ʔuŋga]$_O$)
INT.AG.IMPF.hit ABS PN.juan TRM.INDF.SG PLZ. child
'Juan hits (children).'

(5.32) ***himmongpal*** ***hi*** ***juan*** ***hinadan*** ***nala??uh***
[h<imm>oŋpal]$_V$ [hi Juan]$_S$ ([hinadan mala??uh]$_O$)
INT.AG..PERF.hit ABS Juan TRM.DEF.PL passer.bye
'Juan had hit one (of those who passed bye).'

5.2.3.1 Antipassive- Abilititive Construction. **A**nother variant antipassive construction is encoded when the root takes the affix *maka-* (IMPFT) and *naka-* (PERF). It is very similar to the antipassive-deliberative construction in all respect except that the added nuance in the affix is no longer focus on volition but on the capacity or ability of the Agent to do or perform an act. Example (5.33) illustrates this.

(5.33) ***makahongpal*** ***hi*** ***Juan*** ***hi*** ***u''unga***
[maka- hoŋpal]$_V$ [hi Juan]$_A$ [hi CVC-ʔuŋga]$_O$
INT.AG..IMPF.hit ABS Juan TRM.IND.SG PLZ.child
'Juan might hit children.'

A situational context of the above statement might be that Juan is not a boxer but he is just imitating a professional boxer punching air amidst children playing around.

5.2.3.2 Antipassive with notion of habitual and duration. An antipassive verbs (inflected) may be modified to include the sense of habitualness and extended time duration of the event or action. Here it involves the affix *man-* (or affixes *ma-* and <*an*>) and CV reduplication that resulted to *manoŋpal* or *ma-<an>hoŋpal* → *manhoŋpal* → *manhomanoŋpal* → *manhomanhoŋhoŋpal* or manCVmanCVCpal → *manomanoŋhoŋpal* or *manVmanVChoŋpal* , phoneme /h/ was in the reduplicated syllables.

(5.34) ***manomanonghongpal*** ***nadan*** ***u''unga***
[man~~C~~VmanCVC-hoŋpal]$_V$ [nadan CVC- ʔuŋa]$_S$
INT.PAT.HAB.IMPF.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child
'The children keep on hitting (others).'

5.2.4 Basic Passive construction
Intransitive clause has two types. One type is where the Agent of a verb occurs in S function. The second type is where a Patient similarly occurs in S function. This is referred to as (basic) passive

construction. Passive construction requires only one argument that occurs in S function. That Agent becomes non-obligatory and when ever it occurs, it occurs in a prepositional phrase and in the form of an extended argument. An example of this is given (5.35). In basic passive construction, affect verbs like *hongpal* takes the affix *ma-/na-* and cross-referencing S argument as a Patient. Consider the illustrative example (5.36) presented below.

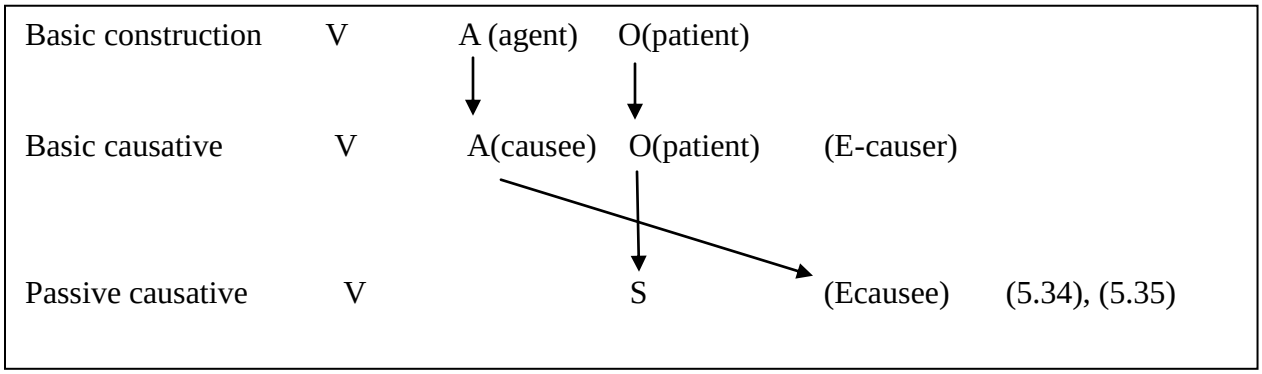
(5.35) ***mahongpal*** ***hanadan*** ***u''unga*** ***hinadan*** ***mn'a'awit***
[ma-hoŋpal]$_V$ [nadan CVC- ʔuŋa]$_S$ [hi- [ ]V [nadan munCV-ʔawwit]E]$_{CC}$
INT.PAT.IMPF.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child REL [ ] TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.fight
'The children would be hit (by/from those who are fighting).'

(5.36) ***mahongpal*** ***nadan*** ***u''unga***
[ma-hoŋpal]$_V$ [nadan CVC- ʔuŋa]$_S$
INT.PAT.IMPF.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child
'The children would be hit.'

5.2.4.1 A passive of a causative (with the notion of volition). A passive of a causative is a variant of the passive construction. In affect verb roots like hongpal, it take affix *pa-* (IMPFT) and *na-* (PERF) for this construction. This pair of affixes turn the verb and the clause they occur into intransitive where the required argument is an S argument taking the function of a Patient. In addition to this, the pa-/na- affixes encode the sense of volitional choice on the part of the Patient. Example (5.37) illustrates this.

(5.37) ***pahongpal*** ***nadan*** ***u''uŋga*** ***i*** ***Juan***
[pa-hoŋpal]$_V$ [nadan CVC-ʔuŋga]S ([ʔi juan]$_E$)
INTR.IMPF.PAT..hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child E_{ET} PN.juan
'The children allow themselves to be hit (by Juan).'

Semantic. The children place themselves in a situation where they are likely to be hit by someone (Juan in the above example). They were aware of the potential danger, but for some reason remained or choose to stay in the path of danger. In basic passive construction as in example (5.36), the sense of volitional choice is absent. It just happen that potential Patient are in a situation where they are likely to be hit by someone's fist. In both examples, the potential agents of the action are not required syntactically, and when they are made explicit they take the Extended E argument slot.



5.2.5 Applicative construction

Affect verb roots like *hongpal* takes affix *?i-/?in-* to cross-reference the Instrument into the verb. In this clause, the verb takes O argument that encoded the semantic role of Instrument, the A argument remained as the Agent, and the Patient may be absent in the clause and when it is made explicit it occurs in the peripheral prepositional phrase. Consider example (5.38).

(5.38) ***inhongpal*** ***Pacyao*** ***di*** ***iniggidnah*** ***pangal Morales***
[?in- hoŋpal]$_V$ [pakyaw]$_A$ [di ?iniggid =na]$_O$ [-hi paŋal morales]$_E$
TR.INS.PERF.hit PN.pakyaw TRM.DEF.SG left 2SG..POS TRM chin PN.morales
'Pacyao used his left hand to hit (the chin of Morales).'
Lit. 'Pacyao hit with his left (the chin of Morales).'

5.2.6 Antipassive construction

An otherwise transitive clause can be detransitivized or made intransitive with the use of affixes *mi-/ ni-* and affix *pun-/nun-*. There are two type of detransitivized construction: one takes affix *mi-/ ni-* that encoded ability and the other take *pan-/nan-* that encode instrument.

5.2.6.1 Antipassive with abilititive notion. An otherwise transitive clause can be detransitivized or made intransitive with the use of affix *mi-/ ni-*. Affect verb roots like *hongpal* take affix *mi- (or ni-)* makes the verb and the clause it occurs in as detransitivized intransitive and cross-reference the semantic role of the A argument as Agent in the sense of ability or capability. Example (5.39) illustrate this.

(5.39) ***mihoŋpal*** ***moy*** ***taklen*** ***Juan***
[mi- hoŋpal mo]$_V$ [-di takle =na juan]$_S$
INT.ABL.IMPF.hit ADV.now TRM.DEF.SG hand.2SG.POS PN.juan
'Juan's hand can now hit.'
Or 'Juan's hand can now be used to hit.'

5.2.6.2 Antipassive with habitual and/or durative notion. To add the notion of habitual prefix *man-* plus reduplication of the first syllable of the stem is employed as in (5.40). The onset phoneme was dropped in the process. (What is thought to be a prefix man- is not used alone. I suspect that this affix form was a combination of two affixes that has undergone morphological changes, but it could not be pinpointed up to now.) To add the notion of habitualness and duration, infix <um> combined with CVCCV reduplication is employed as in (5.41) and (5.42).

(5.40) ***manonghongpal*** ***nadan*** ***u''unga***
[manCVC-hoŋpal]$_V$ [nadan CVC-?uŋa]$_S$
INT.PAT.HAB.IMPF.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child
'The children <u>had the habit of</u> hitting (others).'

(5.41) ***humongpahongpal*** ***hi*** ***Juan*** ***hi*** ***u''unga***
[<um>CVCCV.hoŋpal]$_V$ [hi Juan]$_S$ ([hi CVC-?uŋga]$_O$)
INT.AG.HAB.IMPF. hit ABS PN.juan TRM.IND. PLZ. child
'Juan <u>repeatedly</u> hits (children).'

(5.42) ***himmongpahongpal hi Juan hinan nalana??uh***
[<imm>CVCCV.hoŋpal]$_V$ [hi juan]$_S$ ([hinan na- <na> la??uh]$_O$)
INT.AG.HAB.PERF. hit ABS.SG PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG PERF. PLZ. passer-bye
'Juan had repeatedly hit (one of those who passed bye).'

Note that in the transitive construction, the verbs *hinanoŋpaŋpal and hinoŋpahoŋpal* have similar notion of habitual, and habitual plus durative respectively.

Another way of adding either the notion of habitualness or habitual plus duration is the employment of another form of reduplication along with the basic affix *ma-*. This makes use of the additional affix <*an*> and reduplication of the inflected verb. Morphophonemic operation requires that the first consonant of the reduplicated syllable be dropped as in (5.43). (My theory is that *man* came from two distinct affexes *ma* and *an* and when then are combined one, probably the second vowel /a/ dropped.

(5.43) ***manomanonghongpal hanadan u''unga***
[man~~C~~VmanCV- hoŋpal]$_V$ [hanadan CVC- ?uŋa]$_S$
INT.HAB.AG.IMPF.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ.child
'The children had the habit of hitting (others) until now.'

5.2.6.3 Extended antipassive

When affix *pan-/nan-* is used in affect verbs like *hongpal,* the focus is on the instrument used in the act or event. The verb and the clause it occurs in require an extended argument O that takes the function of Instrument. The A argument remains the Agent. Example (5.44) and (5.45) illustrate this.

(5.44) ***panoŋpal mon Juan di taklena***
[pan- hoŋpal mo]$_V$ [juan]$_A$ [di takle =na]$_O$
INT.INST.IMPF.hit PAR.now PN.juan TRM.IND.SG hand.2SG.POS
'Juan can now hit with his hand.'

(5.45) ***nanoŋpal Juan nan iniggidna***
[nan- hoŋpal]$_V$ [juan]$_A$ [nan ?iniggid =na]$_O$
INT.INST.PERF.hit PN.juan TRM.DEF.SG left 2SG.POS
'Juan used his left hand to hit.'

The deep structure of the clause has no indication that the O argument is affected or a Patient like, but may be understood as affected when Agent made used of this instrument in the act. In the surface structure, the case or nominal markings may indicate that the O arguments in the above examples are the objects of the verbs. The above examples above may need further studies.

5.2.7 Basic Causative construction

There are three types of basic causative constructions: simple causative construction, causative with habitual notion, and causative with notions of habitualness and extended duration. Each in turn will be discussed below.

5.2.7.1 Simple habitual construction. Affect verbs can take affixes *?ipa-/?iNpa-* and *pa-/pina-* to encode the presence of a causer into the clause. These affixes do not distinguished

whether or not the causer is one's own self or another person nor do they distinguished whether the act was done to oneself or to another nor the part to be affected or location the act would be applied. Affect verb roots and the clause they occur in requires an A argument taking the role as Causer (the brain), and an O argument that take the role of the Patient of the verb. The Causee (the one who perform the action) is optional. Consider (5.46).

(5.46) ***ipahongpal Juan hi Pedro hinan tataguh***
[?ipa- hoŋpal]$_V$ [juan]$_A$ [hi pedro]$_O$ [hinan CV-taguh]$_E$
TR.CAUS.IMPF.hit PN.Juan ABS PN.Pedro TRM.DEFSG PLZ.taguh
'Juan caused Pedro to be hit (by the people).'

The patient in O function can be a person or the body part of a person as in (5.47) and (5.48).

(5.47**)** ***ipahongpal'uy putun Pedro.***
[?ipa-hoŋpal]$_V$ [=?u]$_A$ [-di putu =na pedro]$_O$
TR.CAUS.IMPF.hit 1SG TRM.IND.SG abdomen. 2SG.POS PN.pedro
'I will cause the abdomen of Pedro to be hit.'

(5.48) ***pahongpal'uh Pedro***.
[pa- oŋpal]$_V$ [=?u]$_A$ [-hi pedro]$_O$
TR.CAUS.IMPF.hit 1SG ABS PN.Pedro
'I will cause Pedro to be hit.'

5.2.7.2 Causative with habitual notion. Basic causative construction may include the extended meaning of habitualness of the action. This is achieved by reduplicating parts of the root in addition to the basic affix for causative. Here CVCCV is reduplicated as illustrated in example (5.49). We may conclude that the notion of habituality of the action or event is encoded in the CVCCV reduplication. It was mentioned somewhere that CV reduplication can achieved the same notion.

(5.49) ***ipahongpahongpal'uh Pedro.***
[?ipaCVCCV- hoŋpal]V [=?u]A [-hi pedro]O
TR.CAUS.REP.IMPF.hit 1SG TRM PN.pedro
'I repeatedly have Pedro be hit.'

5.2.7.3 Causative with notion of habitual action and duration. Habitual notion can still be extended to included extended duration of the action or event. This is achieved with the use of two affixes: (a) prefix *?ipa- (or ?iNpa-),* and infix <*an*>; along with CVCCV reduplication. The additional infix <*an*> encode the notion of an undetermined time duration 'for sometime'. Example (5.50) illustrates this.

(5.50) ***ipahanongpahongpal'uh Pedro.***
[?ipa- <an>CVCCV- hoŋpal]V [=?u]A [-hi pedro]O
TR.CAUS..HAB.IMPF.hit 1SG TRM PN.pedro
'I habitually have Pedro be hit (for sometime).'

When we compare and analyze (5.49) and (5.50), we can conclude that the difference (/h/ moving two phonemes forward) we see in the later is a result of morphological process called metathesis. See section 2.xx.xx in chapter II for some discussion on metathesis.

5.2.8 Antipassive of causative-reflective construction

When affect verb is affixed by *muNpa-/nuNpa* (or *mumpa-/numpa-*), the S argument is the Causer or initiator of the action and at the same time the Patient of the action. The affix can be divided into two components; *muN-* is the reflective morpheme and *pa-* is the causative morpheme. The two affixes when combined have the effect of an antipassive. The affect verb roots like *hongpal* takes affix *muNpa-* to turn the argument S as the Causer and the Patient of the action. Example (5.51) illustrate this.

(5.51) ***mumpahongpal hi Pedro.***
[muNpa- hoŋpal]$_V$ [hi pedro]s
INTR.REF.CAUS.IMPF.hit ABS PN.pedro
'Pedro cause himself to be hit.'

Note that most of basic affixes, including the above *muNpa-* affix , can be farther expanded by adding other affix like <an> , and/or reduplication CVC, CV or CVCCV similar to examples (5.49) to include in the inflected verb the semantic notion of habitualness and/or extended time duration of the action or event. Here, *mumpahoŋpal* can be expanded to *mumpah<an>oŋpal* (repeatitive) and *mumpahoŋpahoŋpal* (*mumpa-CVCCV-hoŋpal)* repeatedly allows himself to be hit for some extended time period', and *mumpahoŋhoŋpal* (*mumpa-CVC-hoŋpal)* ' willfully allows himself to be hit'.

5.2.9 Reciprocal construction

Affects verbs may take affix *mun- -an/nun- -an* to indicate that two participants in an event are executing the action on or against each other. Reciprocal construction take the form of a plain intransitive clause where the S argument id always plural. (5.52) illustrates this.

(5.52) ***nunhongpalan da Pedro i Juan***
[nun- hoŋpal -an]$_V$ [da pedro ?i juan]$_S$
INTR.RECP.PERF. hit 3PL PN.pedro CON. PN.juan
'Pedro and Juan hit each other.'

5.2.9.1 Reciprocal with more than two participants. When more than two participants are involved in an action, CV reduplication is combined with the basic affix *mun- -an/nun- -an* of reciprocal construction. Example (5.53) illustrates this.

(5.53) ***nunhohongpalan da nadan i Daligi ya nadan i Lohot.***
[nun- -an CV-hoŋpal]$_V$ [da nadan ?i daligi ya nadan ?i lohot]$_S$
INTR.RECP.PERF.PLZ.hit 3PL TRM.DEF.PL from PLN.daligi CON TRM from PLN.lohot
'Those (people) from Daligi and those from Lohot hit each other.'

5.2.9.2 Reciprocal with repetitive

When two or more participants repeatedly do an action toward each other, affix <*hin* > is added to the reciprocal affixes to add the semantic sense of a reflexive action. Both pairs of affixes *mun-/nun-* and *mun--an/nun--an* take along with them the additional affix <*hin*>. CV reduplication on the verb root add the semantic sense of repeated (pluralized) action, and may,

along with affix <*hin*>, be added to the basic affix *mun- -an/nun- -an* of reciprocal construction. Examples (5.54) and (5.55) illustrate this. The additional notion of repetitive action was encode by the pluralizer (PLZ) duplication in the verb root. Suffix *–an* as in (5.55) refers (cross referenced) to the more than one pair of participants.

(5.54) ***nunhinhohongpal da Pedro i Juan***
[nunhinCV- hoŋpal]$_V$ [da pedro ?i juan]$_S$
INTR.RECP.PERF.PLZ. hit 3PL PN.pedro CON. PN.juan
'Pedro and Juan repeatedly hit each other.'

(5.55) ***nunhinhohongpalan da nadan i Daligi ya nadan i Lohot.***
[nunhin- -an.CV-hoŋpal]$_V$ [da nadan ?i daligi ya nadan ?i lohot]$_S$
INTR.RECP.PERF. PLZ.hit 3PL TRM. from PLN.daligi CON TRM from PLN.lohot
'Those (people) from Daligi and those from Lohot repeatedly hit each other.'

5.2.10 Residual Data : Other additional semantic information encoded by the addition of CVC reduplication. Most of the above basic and extended clause construction can allow CVC reduplication to modify or add additional semantic information to the clauses. Affixes like *-on, ma-, maka-, mi-, ?i-, ?ipa- , pa-, mun-* can be combined with CVC or CV or CVCCV reduplication. Selected samples from the preceding examples illustrate some of the additional semantic information the CVC reduplication adds to existing information. Some of the data below are not discussed here for luck of sufficient time.

(5.56) ***honghongpalon Juan nan ungah.***
hoŋhoŋpalon Juan nan ungah.
[CVC.hoŋpal -on]$_V$ [juan]$_A$ [nan ?uŋa]$_O$
TR.PAT.IMPF. hit PN.juan TRM.DEF child
'Juan slightly hits repeatedly the child.'

(5.57) ***mahonghongpal nadan u''unga***
mahoŋhoŋpal nadan ?u??unga
[maCVC- hoŋpal]$_V$ [nadan CVC- ?uŋa]$_S$
INT.PAT.HAB.IMPF.hit TRM.DEF.PL PLZ. child
'The children would repeatedly be hit.'

(5.58) ***ipahonghongpal'uh Pedro.***
?ipahoŋhoŋpal'uh Pedro.
[?ipaCVC- hoŋpal]V [=?u]A [-hi Pedro]
CAUS.PAT.ITER.IMPF.hit 1SG ABS.SG PN.pedro
'I cause Pedro be hit repeatedly.'

Affix *mi* and *CVC* reduplication and the additional semantic information it carries.

(5.59) ***mihonghongpal moy taklen Juan***
mihoŋhoŋpal moy taklen Juan
[miCVC- hoŋpal mo]$_V$ [-di takle =na juan]$_S$
INT.ABL.IMPF.hit ADV.now TRM.DEF.SG hand 2SG.POS PN.juan
'Juan's hand can now <u>slightly</u> hit.'
Or 'Juan's hand now be slightly used to hit.'

Affix *maka-* plus CVC reduplication and the additional semantic information it carries

(5.60) ***makahonghongpal hi Juan hi ?u??unga***
makahoŋhoŋpal hi Juan hi ?u??unga
[makaCVC- hoŋpal]$_V$ [hi Juan]$_A$ [hi CVC- ?uŋga]$_O$
INT.AG.IMP.hit ABS Juan TRM.IND.SG PLZ.child
'Juan <u>feel like</u> hitting children.'