

Grammar Sketch

This Grammar Sketch largely consists of edited excerpts from the full grammar, *The Communicative Grammar of Tuwali Ifugao*.

Abbreviations

ADJM	adjective marker	LK	linker
ADJU	adjunct	MOD	modal
ASP	aspect	NEG	negative
C	consonant	NOM	nominalizer
CAUS	causative	NP	noun phrase or non-past tense
COMP	comparative	O	object - in affix gloss, the object is cross-referenced; in pronoun gloss, it is the object
CONT	continuative		
CR	cross-reference/ing	P	past tense
CV	reduplication form	PART	participatory
CV(C)	reduplication form	PASS	passive
DEM	demonstrative (the number following refers to the set)	PL	plural in pronoun gloss; topicalized place in affix gloss
DEMPRED	demonstrative predicate	POSS	possessive
DET	determiner	PROC	process
DEV	derivation	REC	reciprocal
DEV-N	derived noun	REFL	reflexive
DIST	distributive	S	subject - in affix gloss, the subject is cross-referenced; in pronoun gloss, it is the subject
DO	direct object		
DUAL	dual pronoun	SG	singular
EXC	exclusive	STA	stative
EXIS	existential predicate	T	topicalizer
FT	free translation	V	verb or vowel
HAB	habitual	1	first person
IN	inclusive	2	second person
INC	inceptive aspect	3	third person
INT	intensifier		
INTPRO	interrogative pronoun		
IO	indirect object		

1.0 Introduction to Morphophonology

1.1 Phonological changes resulting from affixation

1.1.1 Consonants

Assimilation

Prefixes ending in a nasal consonant assimilate to the point of articulation of the consonant which follows, i.e. the root initial consonant. The canonical forms of the dictionary entries for three prefixes are as follows: *muN-*, *nuN-*, *iN-*.

<i>nuN-</i> + <i>pulig</i>	→	<i>numpulig</i>	‘rolled down’
<i>muN-</i> + <i>dadaan</i>	→	<i>mundadaan</i>	‘to prepare’
<i>muN-</i> + <i>kadap</i>	→	<i>mungkadap</i>	‘to crawl’
<i>iN-</i> + <i>bayu</i>	→	<i>imbayu</i>	‘pounded with instrument’
<i>iN-</i> + <i>dikhal</i>	→	<i>indikhal</i>	‘split wood with an ax’
<i>iN-</i> + <i>gakod</i>	→	<i>inggakod</i>	‘tied with a specific tie’

When the infix *-in-* co-occurs with roots of the Co.CV(C) pattern and there is syncope of the *o* vowel in the root form, the infix nasal assimilates to the medial C of the root.

<i>-in-</i> + <i>domog</i>	→	<i>dimmog</i>	‘trampled it’
<i>-in-</i> + <i>bolak</i>	→	<i>binlak</i>	‘spilled water on a surface’
<i>-in-</i> <i>-an</i> + <i>boka</i>	→	<i>bingkaan</i>	‘dug the yam’

The alveolar nasal can be postulated as the underlying form since no assimilation occurs before the glottal stop, and the alveolar nasal is the coda consonant of the prefixes noted above.

<i>mun-</i> <i>-amo</i>	→	<i>mun-amo</i>	‘to bathe’
<i>mun-</i> <i>-ang-ang</i>	→	<i>mun-ang-ang</i>	‘to see’

Another kind of assimilation to the medial consonant of a root occurs when one of the members of the prefix set, *maN-*, *naN-*, or *paN-*, is prefixed to a root of the form Co.CV(C). A member of this set of affixes assimilates to the root initial consonant according to the assimilation rule above, but following assimilation the prefix invokes deletion of the root-initial consonant (see Deletion below). Following that deletion, syncope of the *o* vowel occurs and that process brings the nasal of the prefix into the proximity of the medial consonant of the root. If the medial consonant is an alveolar or bilabial, the assimilated or unassimilated consonant of the prefix does not usually assimilate to the point of articulation of the medial consonant, but if the medial consonant is a velar, the consonant of the prefix usually assimilates to the velar point of articulation.

<i>maN-</i> + <i>gopak</i>	→	<i>mangpak</i>	‘he will be the one to stamp’
<i>maN-</i> + <i>domog</i>	→	<i>manmog</i>	‘he will be the one to trample’
<i>maN-</i> + <i>dongol</i>	→	<i>mangngol</i>	‘he will be the one to hear’
<i>maN-</i> + <i>poka</i>	→	<i>mangka</i>	‘he will be the one to hold in his hand’

This particular assimilation rule differs with individual speakers and may even alternate in its application with a single speaker. This evidence would indicate that assimilation to the medial consonant with this set of prefixes is optional.

Deletion

The members of the prefix set, *maN-*, *naN-*, *paN-*, when attached to a root invoke a deletion of the root-initial consonant. Before deletion of the initial consonant, the alveolar nasal of the prefix assimilates to the point of articulation of the root-initial consonant.

<i>maN-</i> + <i>kapya</i>	→	<i>mangapya</i>	‘he will be the one to make’
<i>maN-</i> + <i>banno</i>	→	<i>mamanno</i>	‘he will be the one to borrow’
<i>maN-</i> + <i>tibo</i>	→	<i>manibo</i>	‘he will be the one to see’
<i>maN-</i> + <i>hu-up</i>	→	<i>manu-up</i>	‘he will be the one to fasten together’

Insertion

When verbs ending in a vowel are suffixed (all suffixes are vowel initial) or have the vowel-initial pronoun, *ak* 'I' attached as a clitic, a consonant is inserted between the root-final vowel and the initial vowel of the suffix or pronoun.

Verbs ending in the front vowels *i* and *e*: the semivowel *y* is inserted between the root-final vowel and the vowel of the suffix or the pronoun.

<i>umali</i> + <i>-ak</i>	→	<i>umaliyak</i>	'I will come'
<i>duke</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>dukkayon</i>	'to lengthen'
<i>hani</i> + <i>-an</i>	→	<i>haniyan</i>	'to hide/protect something'
<i>pili</i> + <i>-an</i>	→	<i>piliyan</i>	'to chose something'

Verbs ending in the central vowel *a*: the glottal stop, i.e. the hyphen symbol -, is inserted between the root-final vowel and the vowel of the suffix or pronoun.

<i>dala</i> + <i>-an</i>	→	<i>nadala-an</i>	'covered with blood'
<i>dapa</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>dapa-on</i>	'to feel it'
<i>hangga</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>hangga-on</i>	'to face something'
<i>humiga</i> + <i>-ak</i>	→	<i>humiga-ak</i>	'I am exhausted'
<i>mumbaga</i> + <i>-ak</i>	→	<i>mumbaga-ak</i>	'I am asking'

Verbs ending in back vowels *u* or *o*: the semivowel *w* is inserted between the root-final vowel and the vowel of the suffix or pronoun.

<i>bayu</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>bayuwon</i>	'to pound the rice'
<i>damu</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>damuwon</i>	'to meet someone'
<i>amo</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>amowon</i>	'to tame it'
<i>bano</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>banowon</i>	'to scoop the food out of the cooking pot'

Metathesis

When roots of the form *-oCV(C)* are prefixed with CV forms resulting in a vowel immediately preceding the root, the *o* vowel of the root is lost and the initial consonant, a glottal, metathesizes with the medial consonant.

<i>na-</i> + <i>-ogah</i>	→	<i>nag-a</i>	'it was dropped'
<i>ka-</i> + <i>-opat</i>	→	<i>kap-at</i>	'the fourth'
<i>paki-</i> + <i>-odon</i>	→	<i>pakid-on</i>	'to join in carrying'
<i>na-</i> + <i>-odop</i>	→	<i>nad-op</i>	'extinguished fire'

Gemination

The members of the prefix set, *naka-*, *maka-*, *paka-*, invoke a gemination of the root-initial consonant.

<i>maka-</i> + <i>higid</i>	→	<i>makahhigid</i>	'loves to sweep'
<i>maka-</i> + <i>keke</i>	→	<i>makakkeke</i>	'he loves to swim'
<i>impaka-</i> + <i>gatang</i>	→	<i>impakaggatang</i>	'intensive – buying everything'
<i>paka-</i> + <i>dongol</i>	→	<i>pakaddonglon</i>	'listen very well'

Another gemination rule is that for root medial voiceless stops. When roots are affixed, if the medial voiceless stop is positioned between two central vowels, **a**, the stop geminates.

<i>iN-</i> + <i>gatang</i>	→	<i>inggatang</i>	‘he sold it’
<i>ma-</i> + <i>gatang</i>	→	<i>magatang</i>	‘the merchandise can be bought’
<i>naka-</i> + <i>laka</i>	→	<i>nakalakka</i>	‘it’s very easy’
<i>idat-</i> + <i>-an</i>	→	<i>idattan</i>	‘will give some’

1.1.2 Vowels

Syncope

The **o** vowel is the usual one to undergo the syncope process. Prefixes of the form CV- and infixes of the form -VC- when affixed to roots of the form Co.CV(C) invoke syncope of this vowel in the first syllable of the root.

<i>ma-</i> + <i>pohod</i>	→	<i>maphod</i>	‘good’
<i>impaka-</i> + <i>dongol</i>	→	<i>impakadngol</i>	‘heard everything’
<i>na-</i> + <i>bodad</i>	→	<i>nabdad</i>	‘loosened tie’
<i>-um-</i> + <i>bole</i>	→	<i>bumle</i>	‘to be tired’

Roots of the form CV.Co(C) when suffixed may lose the **o** vowel in the second syllable of the root.

<i>ki-</i> <i>-an</i> + <i>tibo</i>	→	<i>kitib-an</i>	‘sign’
<i>-an</i> + <i>datong</i>	→	<i>datngan</i>	‘arrival place’
<i>na-</i> <i>-an</i> + <i>gakod</i>	→	<i>nagakdan</i>	‘it is tied’

Roots of the form Co.CoC when suffixed lose the **o** in the second syllable of the root.

<i>homok</i> + <i>on</i>	→	<i>homkon</i>	‘to pity someone’
<i>hogop</i> + <i>an</i>	→	<i>hogpan</i>	‘entrance’
<i>pohod</i> + <i>on</i>	→	<i>podhon</i>	‘to like/want/love something’

When circumfixes are added to roots of the form Co.Co(C), the vowel **o** in the first syllable of the root is the one that is lost.

<i>ki-</i> <i>-an</i> + <i>pohod</i>	→	<i>kiphodan</i>	‘benefit’
<i>mi-</i> <i>-an</i> + <i>kodo</i>	→	<i>mikdowan</i>	‘to be asked for something’
<i>mi-</i> <i>-an</i> + <i>dongol</i>	→	<i>midngolan</i>	‘to be influenced’

There are some examples of words with high back vowel **u** which follow the **o** vowel syncope pattern.

<i>impa-</i> + <i>-ubun</i>	→	<i>impab-un</i>	‘caused to sit’
<i>naka-</i> + <i>lu-um</i>	→	<i>nakal-um</i>	‘it is very ripe’

Deletion of one vowel

When a prefix of the form *Ci-* is affixed to a root with the initial syllable being of the form glottal stop and vowel *i*, the initial syllable is deleted.

<i>mi-</i> + <i>-an</i> + <i>-idat</i>	→	<i>midattan</i>	‘it will be given’
<i>mi-</i> + <i>-ilmu</i>	→	<i>milmu</i>	‘one can sense it’

When roots of the form *Co.Ca* are suffixed by *-an* or *-on* the *a* vowel of the second syllable is lost. The insertion of the glottal stop between the two vowels takes place first with the glottal stop remaining in the final form.

<i>boka</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>bok-on</i>	‘to dig in the ground’
<i>moma</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>mom-on</i>	‘to chew the betel nut’
<i>dopa</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>dop-on</i>	‘to measure it with outstretched arms’
<i>hoka</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>hok-on</i>	‘to rest hand on someone’

Vowel harmony

Root final vowel *e* moves back to become *a* when suffixed with an *-an* or *-on*. The insertion of the semivowel *y* takes place first and remains in the final form.

<i>bihe</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>bihayon</i>	‘will divide and share it’
<i>boge</i> + <i>-an</i>	→	<i>bogayan</i>	‘to plant rice seedling bed’
<i>duke</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>dukkayon</i>	‘to make it long’

Root final vowel *o* may optionally become *a* when suffixed. The insertion of the semivowel *w* takes place first and remains in the final form.

<i>amo</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>amawon</i>	‘to bathe someone’
<i>banno</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>banawon</i>	‘to scoop food out of pot’
<i>ako</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>akawon</i>	‘to steal it’
<i>kodo</i> + <i>-on</i>	→	<i>kodawon</i>	‘to ask for something’

1.2 Phonological changes resulting from clitic attachment

1.2.1 Pronoun attachment

The vowel *u* of the pronouns *ku* ‘I’ and *mu* ‘you’ deletes when the pronouns are attached to verbs and nouns that end in a vowel.

<i>ingkeke</i> + <i>mu</i>	→	<i>ingkekem</i>	‘you swam across it’
<i>ibaga</i> + <i>ku</i>	→	<i>ibagak</i>	‘I will ask it’
<i>tibo</i> + <i>mu</i>	→	<i>tibom</i>	‘you look at it’
<i>huki</i> + <i>ku</i>	→	<i>hukik</i>	‘my foot’
<i>kadwa</i> + <i>mu</i>	→	<i>kadwam</i>	‘your companion’

The *n* of suffixes *-an* and *-on* deletes when pronouns are attached.

<i>guyudon</i> + <i>na</i>	→	<i>guyudona</i>	‘he will pull it’
<i>kalyon</i> + <i>ku</i>	→	<i>kalyok</i>	‘I will say it’
<i>gabuton</i> + <i>mu</i>	→	<i>gabutom</i>	‘you will pull the weeds’

1.2.2 Linker attachment

When the linker **di** is attached to a word ending in a vowel, the **d** is deleted and the **i** becomes semivowel **y**.

<i>wada di</i>	→	<i>waday</i>	‘there is’
<i>duwa di</i>	→	<i>duway</i>	‘two’
<i>Pedro di</i>	→	<i>Pedroy</i>	‘Peter’
<i>ad-adi di</i>	→	<i>ad-adiy</i>	‘something is not done well’

1.2.3 Determiner attachment

The **i** vowel of the determiner **hi** and the **a** vowel of the determiner **ad** are deleted when the determiners are attached to words ending in a vowel.

<i>imme + hi</i>	→	<i>immeh Pedro</i>	‘Peter went’
<i>kumali + hi</i>	→	<i>kumalih Pedro</i>	‘Pedro was speaking’
<i>imme + ad</i>	→	<i>immed Kiangang</i>	‘He went to Kiangang’
<i>immali + ad</i>	→	<i>immalid Kiangang</i>	‘He came to Kiangang’

2.0 Introduction to Morphology

Tuwali Ifugao is a polysynthetic language with the fusion of morphosyntactic features in the morphemes. Morphemes are considered to be the smallest meaningful units of the language; they code referential, syntactic, and semantic information. Some forms can be easily segmented, and in this case a one-to-one relationship can be distinguished between segments of the form and morphosyntactic features, but in other forms the fusion is complete.

Types of morphemes. Roots,¹ words, affixes, reduplicants, and geminates are different types of morphemes in the language and are distinguished by form, position within words, and distinctive syntactic and semantic features. Every morpheme is treated as a lexeme within the dictionary. Each lexeme is entered as a major entry or subentry.

Morphemes may be decomposed into semantic and functional components. On the basis of both types of components, root and word morphemes have been classified into four functional categories: predicational, referential, modificational, and relational. Parts of speech are related to these functional categories.

Semantic components. The semantic components of morphemes are defined as those that are correlated with the features of referents in the Ifugao referential world and differentiate one lexical unit from another. These semantic components also distinguish primary, secondary, and figurative senses of lexemes. Semantic components provide the meaning needed to write the definitions in the dictionary entries. They are also the basis for the semantic categorization displayed in the Classified Dictionary (see 2.0 Entry Fields, Section 2.11 Semantic Domains) and decisions regarding Lexical Relations (see 2.0 Entry Fields, Section 2.10).

1 In this grammar, the term “root” refers to the base form of a word stripped of all affixes and is the form that undergoes word formation processes.

Functional components. The functional components of morphemes are those that relate to feature assignment, selectional restrictions, and inflectional and derivational potential. It is these functional components that distinguish the morphosyntactic characteristics of lexical categories from one another; they predict and explain affix selection possibilities, and constrain which words can co-occur within phrases, clauses, and sentences. Functional components also provide the basis for Part of Speech classification (see 2.0 Entry Fields, Section 2.1) and Stem classes (see 2.0 Entry Fields, Section 2.13).

2.1 Roots and words

2.1.1 Roots

Roots are subdivided into two types: bound and free; this division is based on form in context, i.e. whether or not they may occur without affixation. Verbal roots functioning as predicates, with very few exceptions, are bound forms, i.e. they do not occur without affixation. One subclass of adjectives requires affixation, but the other adjective classes and nouns are free forms, i.e. they may occur without affixation.

Pronouns, demonstratives, determiners, adverbs, adjuncts, and conjunctions are also free forms and do not undergo inflectional or derivational processes. However, adverbs, adjuncts, and conjunctions may undergo a compounding word formation process.

Although nouns and adjectives may be inflected and undergo derivational processes, verbal roots, in particular, have highly patterned and very productive word formation processes. The number and types of affixes which may co-occur and the functions and change of meaning resulting are statistically higher with verbal roots than any other lexical category. The resulting verbal predications govern the semantic role and grammatical relations of co-occurring NP constituents and the referential ranking of those constituents in discourse.

2.1.2 Words

The term “word” in Tawali Ifugao refers (1) to any free form that does not require affixation, and also (2) to the final form of affixed roots. As mentioned previously, nouns, most classes of adjectives, pronouns, demonstratives, determiners, adverbs, adjuncts, and conjunctions are all free forms and therefore are considered to be words without affixation.

2.2 Affixes

There are six morphological processes by which Tawali Ifugao roots and words can be formally altered to adjust their meanings to fit their syntactic and communicational contexts: prefixation, suffixation, infixation,² reduplication, gemination, and compounding. Many affixes have multiple functions depending on the semantic and functional components of the roots with which they co-occur.

2.3 Word formation processes

Tawali Ifugao words have been analyzed as being members of four functional categories: predicational, referential, modificational, and relational. Each of the functional categories consists of the following lexical categories (Parts of Speech):

2 Tawali Ifugao also has discontinuous morphemes which are called circumfixes. In this grammar we include infix and suffix combinations as circumfixes, along with the usual prefix and suffix combinations that linguists call circumfixes. Both types are combinations of affixes that function as single morphemes, and fit within paradigmatic affix sets.

- Predicational – verbs, adverbs, nouns, adjectives, demonstratives
- Referential – nouns, determiners, and personal, demonstrative, and interrogative pronouns
- Modificational – adjectives, adverbs, adjuncts
- Relational – linkers, conjunctions

There are three word formation processes that members of these lexical categories may undergo:

- Inflectional – The inflectional process adds one or more affixes to a root. The lexical category of the root does not change. It retains the semantic and functional characteristics that resulted in its being classified as a member of that category.
- Derivational – The derivational process also adds one or more affixes to a root. However, the lexical and functional categories of a root are changed with the derivational process.
- Compounding – The compounding process is a less productive word formation process in that it applies only to three lexical categories: conjunctions, adverbs, and adjuncts; demonstratives and determiners compound only with the plural morpheme *da*.

2.3.1 Inflection

Tuwali Ifugao inflection is an important process in the word formation of the members of three lexical categories: verbs, nouns, and adjectives. Verbs have the most extensive and complex range of potential inflectional possibilities; the range for nouns and adjectives is less broad and less complex.

2.3.1.1 Verb inflection

There are eight classes of Tuwali Ifugao inflectional affixes. Their classification has been based on their grammatical and rhetorical functions. There are six verbal root classes. Each root class and each of its associated subclasses own certain sets of the inflectional affixes from each of the eight classes. One set of affixes from the Basic Cross-Referencing Class is assigned as the default set for each of the six verbal root classes. The reason for this is that the functional properties of the default set of affixes match the inherent properties of their verbal root class. This combination of the inherent properties of the root class and the functional properties of the default set of affixes results in the least morphosyntactic complexity in a clause. See 4.2 Inflectional affixes for tables showing the forms and an explanation of their functions.

Tense

Tuwali Ifugao has a binary tense system: past and non-past. The binarity of affix forms is obvious in the forms that are used. However, the actual relationship between the tense features of affix forms and time reference in context is much more complex.³ The use of tense affix forms is always related to a communication situation that is set at the “now” point on a time line, but which specific affix form is chosen is dependent on 1) whether there are time settings in the constructions in the context and 2) whether the construction in which the verb occurs

3 There has been a long-term debate among linguists that is still ongoing as to whether such affixes in Austronesian languages are encoding tense or aspect. Although we have chosen to define the affixes as encoding tense with further description of their functions in context, we acknowledge that there often seems to be an aspect component that would introduce a binarity between completive and incompletive aspect. Also, the affixes that co-occur with Class 6 stative and process verbs, and affixes that derive passive verbs, are clearly encoding completive or incompletive aspect, rather than tense.

is dependent or independent. The greatest complexity is in the use of the non-past forms that co-occur with active and activity verbal roots. Also, the default affixes encoding tense have inherent aspect components that parallel the durative or punctiliar aspect components in the verbal roots that own them.

Except for the past form *-imm-*, all other prefix and infix forms encode past tense with the formative⁴ *n*.

There is an intentional modal morpheme, *ahi*, which reflects a future tense time concept when added to a construction.

Aspect (see 4.2.4 Time aspect affixes)

Verbal roots are partly classified on the basis of their inherent time aspect components. Active verbal roots have either inherent punctiliar or durative aspect components, while stative and stative-process verbal roots allow for either complete or incomplete aspect; the co-occurring affix form encodes the appropriate aspect in context. Affixes and reduplication forms can add aspect meaning or change the inherent time aspect of verbal roots. The reduplication forms co-occur with tense inflectional forms. There are four main aspects:

- Inceptive - refers to the beginning of a state or activity immediately preceding the “now” point on a time line.
- Iterative - refers to an action done repeatedly; the aspect usually refers to a punctiliar aspect action and, in contrast to the habitual aspect, may have reference to a time.
- Continuative - refers to an action or activity that continues over a period of time in reference to a time line; the aspect expresses a single uninterrupted continuing act.
- Habitual - refers to an action or activity that is customary but has no reference to a time line.

Mode (see 4.2.3 Modal affixes)

The modality system encoded in the inflection of verbs characterizes one of the following:

- the ability, expertise, or pretense of the agent of the action or activity
- the tendency or facility of an experiencer or undergoer to be affected by an action or activity
- the intensity of the action, experience, or state encoded by the verb.

2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system

There is a correlation in each Tuwali Ifugao clause between the affixes occurring on the verb, and one of the NPs in the clause. However, affix selection and cross-referencing in Tuwali Ifugao is a complex system. Discourse reference, morphosyntactic processes, and lexical semantics all relate to verbal morphology and the cross-referencing of a NP in a clause. The selection of affixes in any context will have morphological constraints, grammatical relations constraints, and referential constraints.

Morphological constraint – lexical semantics, verbal root classes, and affix selection

There is an inherent morphological preference for matching certain components of roots and affixes (see 4.1 Verbal root classification).

- Default affixes – Each verbal root class has a set of default affixes. The default affixes match certain inherent semantic components of the class relating to aspect, spatial notions, valence, and the set of semantic roles owned by the root class. A non-default

4 The word “formative” is used to refer to a single part or segment of a morpheme.

affix may co-occur with a verbal root, but when it does so, that affix modifies the expression of the inherent components of the root.

- Aspect – Each verbal root class has one inherent aspect component. In the case of Classes 1-5 active verbs, this aspect is either punctiliar or durative, and in the case of Class 6 stative and stative-process verbs, this aspect is either completive or incomplete. A default affix will have the same inherent aspect as the verbal root with which it co-occurs. If a non-default affix co-occurs, the verb has a marked aspect that changes the inherent aspect of the verbal root.
- Spatial – Most of the verbal root classes have inherent spatial components that are related to the direction of an action or activity, e.g. away from or toward the agent, a path, a site, a source, or a goal-destination.
- Lexical valence and semantic role sets – Each verbal root class has an established number of valents (1-3) that match a set of core semantic roles. Valents are obligatorily encoded in argument NP constituents in clauses, having one or more of the grammatical relations, subject, direct object, and indirect object depending on the transitivity of the verbal root (see Table 3 Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations). Many verbal root classes also have some peripheral semantic roles that may be promoted and encoded as an argument constituent. The resulting constructions are considered to be derived.
- Transitivity – Roots that are inherently intransitive may undergo derivation to become verbs that we call derived-transitive verbs and roots that are inherently transitive may undergo derivation to become verbs that we call derived-intransitive. We use the term “derived” because the verbs do not lose their inherent transitivity features. The derived constructions are motivated by pragmatic rhetorical strategies that control referential identifiability and prominence ranking of co-occurring NP constituents. See 11.6 Morphosyntactic derivation for further discussion and explanation.

Table 3 Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations

Semantic Role	Definition	Grammatical Relations
Agent	A volitional doer of an activity, action, or action-process.	Subject
Causative Agent*	An agent who causes another agent to do an action or causes an experiencer to respond cognitively or emotionally.	Subject
Experiencer	One who undergoes an emotion or process.	Subject
Participatory Agent*	A participatory agent is one that participates in an action, along with the agent.	Subject
Existent	A thing, person, or place about which existence is asserted.	Subject
Statant	A thing, person, or place that is identified or described.	Subject
Ambient	Meteorological phenomenon.	Subject is not expressed

Conveyed	A thing that undergoes movement from one place to another.	Direct Object
Patient	A thing that undergoes a structural or state change or a person that is affected by an action.	Direct Object
Site	A place that undergoes a change of state.	Direct Object
Instrument*	An implement that is used in an action.	Indirect Object
Benefactive*	One who benefits from another's action.	Indirect Object
Source*	The beginning point of a movement.	Direct Object
Goal and Path*	The goal tends to express the purpose for the movement, and the path expresses the way through which an agent passes.	Direct Object

*The semantic roles that are marked with an asterisk are peripheral roles, and are considered to be derived grammatical relations. The constructions that encode the roles in constituent NPs are also considered to be morphosyntactically derived. See 3.2 for a description of morphosyntactic derivation.

Grammatical relations constraints

There are three grammatical relations in Tuwali Ifugao: subject, direct object, and indirect object. Each is defined on the basis of 1) the canonical word order of clauses, 2) the contrastive semantic roles that each relation may encode, 3) the cross-referencing of NP core arguments by verbal affixes, and 4) the syntactic processes that are related to pragmatic reference. The evidence for these grammatical relations constraints is the following:

- Affixes cross-reference either subjects or objects, except when a fronted⁵ constituent is a time or place; in this latter type of construction the time or place is cross-referenced.
- The core semantic roles of verb classes are those that are generally encoded as grammatical relations arguments and cross-referenced by default affixes. However, if a discourse context requires the preferential treatment of a peripheral semantic role, it will be promoted to a grammatical relations argument, and will be cross-referenced by a non-default affix.
- The number of obligatory argument constituents in a non-derived construction matches the valence of the verbal root class. For example, a trivalent verbal root will have three obligatory argument constituents: subject, direct object, and indirect object.

Referential constraint – rhetorical strategies in discourse

Rhetorical strategies in discourse express two referential goals:

- to introduce and track referents
- to indicate the significance of each referent at any point in a discourse through prominence ranking

The affix selection and cross-referencing system described above feeds into the goals of Tuwali Ifugao rhetorical strategies. The deictic system works in conjunction with the morphological and

5 An NP that is fronted occurs preceding the verb, and is pragmatically cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.

grammatical relations constraints. Determiners, personal pronouns, and demonstrative pronouns occurring in subject and object positions are cross-referenced by affixes. Although every affix cross-references a subject or an object NP, there are two sets of affixes, basic and complex, that help to define this cross-referencing system more clearly. These two sets are related to two rhetorical strategies – Focusing Referential Strategy and Topicalizing Referential Strategy.

Referential focusing. The Basic Cross-Referencing Affixes function at the clause level to cross-reference the subject or object NP. The cross-referenced NP expresses the semantic role that has preferential treatment in the clause. This preferential treatment focuses attention on the NP in question and is motivated by either identificational tracking or prominence ranking at that point in a communication context. See 4.2.1 Basic cross-referencing affixes for a table showing the forms and sentence examples.

Referential topicalizing. The Complex Topicalizing Affixes coordinate with the syntactic movement of an NP to the pre-verb position in constructions. The members of this set may cross-reference a subject, an object, a time, or a place. The set functions rhetorically to indicate the introduction, reintroduction, or contrastive reference to a discourse participant, prop, time, or place. See 4.2.2 Complex topicalizing affixes for a table showing the forms and sentence examples.

2.3.1.3 Affix combining

Affixes that function independently may combine to form multimorphemic units that function differently than the independent forms. This process can be compared to the compounding of words in order to form new linguistic units that have unique functions and meanings. In some cases, the combined affixes result in circumfix forms; each of these circumfixes functions as a single morpheme. Also, there are some combinations of affixes, reduplicants and/or geminates that have single meanings or functions.

2.3.1.4 Noun inflection

There are three quantifying notions encoded in the inflectional affixes of Tuwali Ifugao nouns: number, grouping, and distributive concepts. Number is encoded in a reduplicant form. The grouping concept is encoded in a prefix, and the distributive concept is encoded in a combination prefix and reduplicant. These are the only three forms used to inflect nouns (see 7.1.1 Inflectional affixes).

2.3.1.5 Adjective inflection

The lexical category of adjectives is small in comparison to verbs and nouns. There are two subcategories of adjectives: qualifying and quantifying. The quantifying category of adjectives is the most productive. This subcategory is classified into three categories: dimension, size, and number. Dimension adjectives require the prefix *a-/an-*. This category may also take intensifier, comparative, and superlative inflection (see 8.1.3 Inflectional affixes).

2.3.2 Derivation

Lexical derivation has traditionally been called grammatical derivation. In Tuwali Ifugao, lexical derivation is the process by which the lexical category of a word is changed. There are three main types of lexical derivation in Tuwali Ifugao.

2.3.2.1 Denominalization – noun → verb

The derivational operation of denominalization is an extremely productive one in Tuwali Ifugao. There are semantic classes of nouns which, with affixation, form predictable verbal paradigms.

<i>babuy</i> ‘pig’	→	<i>mumbabuy</i> ‘to raise pigs’
<i>kail</i> ‘wine’	→	<i>mungkail</i> ‘to make wine’
<i>allama</i> ‘crab’	→	<i>mangallama</i> ‘to catch crabs’

2.3.2.2 Verbalization – adjective → verb

<i>duke</i> ‘long’	→	<i>dukkeyon</i> ‘to lengthen something’
<i>godwa</i> ‘half’	→	<i>godwaon</i> ‘to halve something’

2.3.2.3 Nominalization

There are two main types of nominalizing derivational operations: lexical and clausal. Lexical nominalization is the term used to refer to the process of forming a noun from a verb or adjective. Clausal nominalization refers to a process of forming a nominalized clause from an underlying verbal clause; this latter type of nominalization is considered to be a morphosyntactic process, rather than a simple lexical process. See 3.2 Morphosyntactic derivation, 4.3 Derivational affixes, and 12.2 Nominalized clauses for more information about nominalization.

Lexical nominalization

Verb → Noun

<i>hagob</i> ‘to fetch water’	→	<i>hagoban</i> ‘a place to fetch water’
<i>hable</i> ‘to hang something’	→	<i>hablayan</i> ‘a place to hang things’

Adjective → Noun

<i>bilog</i> ‘wide’	→	<i>kabilog</i> ‘width’
<i>duke</i> ‘long’	→	<i>kadukke</i> ‘length’

2.3.3 Compounding

The compounding word formation process in Tuwali Ifugao is one in which linguistic units that may function independently combine to form a unique unit both grammatically and semantically. Only adverbs, adjuncts, and conjunctions may undergo the compounding word formation process, and it must be noted that not all members of these three lexical categories can undergo the process. The plural morpheme *da* may become a pro-clitic or an enclitic of demonstratives and determiners, but this does not appear to be the same type of word formation process as compounding.

There are two types of compounding: 1) compounding within a lexical category, e.g. two conjunctions or two adjuncts, and 2) compounding across lexical categories, e.g. a conjunction and an adjunct or an adverb and an adjunct.

3.0 Morphosyntactic Processes

3.1 Valence⁶

Lexical valence refers to the number of arguments that are inherently owned by a verbal root. Verbal roots may be aivalent, monovalent, bivalent, or trivalent. The valent arguments express core semantic roles that are encoded in subject, direct object, or indirect object grammatical relations in a clause. Each verbal root also owns a set of peripheral semantic roles that may be encoded as non-argument NP constituents. The core semantic roles that are encoded in grammatical relations have natural pragmatic prominence. However, there are morphosyntactic derivational strategies for pragmatically 1) increasing the prominence of a peripheral semantic role, e.g. adding a causative agent, or 2) decreasing the prominence of a grammatical relations argument, e.g. deleting an agent-subject in a passive construction. See 11.6.1 Augmentation of syntactic arguments and 11.6.2 Reduction of syntactic arguments for discussions about changes in valency.

3.2 Morphosyntactic derivation

3.2.1 Clausal nominalization

A verb may be nominalized resulting in a nominalized clause. An intransitive verb that is nominalized has one argument which appears in the subject position if the agent-subject is definite or specific. A transitive verb that is nominalized has two arguments, one in the NP subject position and the other in the NP object position. Nominalized clauses may occur as the argument of equative or existential predicates or as subordinate clauses in complex sentences. See 4.3.2 Clausal nominalizing affixes for the two sets of affix forms and more sentence examples. Also, see 12.2 Nominalized clauses for a description of their rhetorical function.

bayad ‘to pay’ + *paN-* → *pamayad* ‘the paying for/payment of’

Opat an gatut an pihuh di pamayad na nah luta.
Four hundred pesos was his **payment** for the land.

koga ‘to cry’ + *puN-* *-an* → *pungkogaan* ‘place of someone crying’

Hidiyen kaiw ya nginadanan dah pungkogaan da
As for that tree, they named it the place of **their crying**.

3.2.2 Syntactic derivation

In this grammar, **syntactic derivation** refers to a process that is related to the addition or reduction of NP arguments in a sentence, and to the ranking of NP arguments for referentiality and prominence. The lexical categorization of the roots expressing the predicate does not change. For this reason, this type of derivation is in contrast to **lexical derivation**, the process that changes the lexical category of roots. For a more in-depth description, see 12.0 Introduction to Complex Sentences.

6 Crystal (1997, 407) defines valency as follows: A valency grammar presents a model of a sentence containing a fundamental element (typically the verb) and a number of dependent elements (variously referred to as arguments, expressions, complements or valents) whose number and type is determined by the valency attributed to the verb.

3.3 Changes in basic meaning concepts

3.3.1 Renominalization

The renominalization process is another type of lexical derivation. In this case, affixation changes the semantic class of a noun, not its lexical category. For example, the circumfix *puN-an* derives container-nouns from those referring to entities that are conceptually associated with placement in containers.

ahin ‘salt’ + *puN- -an* → *pun-ahinan* ‘salt container’

4.0 Verbal Predicates

Verbs have the most extensive and complex range of morphological variety, making use of affixation, reduplication, and gemination word formation processes.

4.1 Verbal root classification

Six classes of verbal roots have been semantically and grammatically classified. The following are factors to be considered in understanding the classification of verbal roots.

- Verbal roots may refer to actions, activities, experiences, processes, or states in the referential world.
- There are subclasses of the six main classes, and the meaning components of each class constrain the choice of co-occurring affix, reduplicant, and geminate morphemes.
- Verbal roots have inherent time aspect components and those components are particularly important in determining which reduplicant morphemes encoding other aspects may co-occur.

Affixes:

- Each verbal root class has a set of default affixes that are compatible with the meaning and grammatical components inherent to the members of the class. For example, durative and punctiliar aspects are inherent in both roots and default affixes; non-default affixes that co-occur signal changes or modification of the inherent components of the root.
- Each default affix cross-references either the subject or an object (direct or indirect) of a clause. This particular grammatical component of the affixes matches the transitivity component of the members of the root classes. The application of a non-default affix can change the cross-referencing process. Nevertheless, all affixes, whether default or non-default, cross-reference either the subject or object with one exception. The affixes that co-occur with verbs in clauses with topicalized fronted times or places cross-reference the fronted time or place. See 4.2.2 Complex topicalizing affixes, Tables 6, 7, and 8.

With that background, consider the six classes of verbal roots and their characteristics.

4.1.1 Class 1

Class 1 verbal roots are active,⁷ intransitive verbs; they are classified as activity⁸ verbs because a durative time aspect is inherent to them. The primary valent of the members of

7 The term “active” is used in contrast to “stative” and “passive”.

8 The term “activity” is used in contrast to “action”. These terms are used to differentiate verbal root classes that contrast in regard to inherent durative (activity) and punctiliar (action) aspects.

Class 1 is a volitional agent-subject.⁹ The default affix set for Class 1 is *muN-/nuN-*. These prefixes cross-reference the agent-subject in a sentence.

There are five subclasses; two of the subclasses refer to movement from one place (source) to another (destination). Subclass 1A has a manner component that is important, and the other, 1B, has a directional component that is important. Subclass 1C is a general class; the members of this subclass have criterial components that are unrelated to movement, and are varied in their criterial components. Subclass 1D has the criterial component of sound. The members of subclass 1E have the criterial component of physiological functions.

Class 1A Movement with a manner component

The categorizing semantic components for Class 1A verbal roots are:

- Agentive movement
- Durative aspect
- Manner, i.e. the manner in which one moves is criterial

Examples of 1A are: *dalan* ‘to walk’, *keke* ‘to swim’

Class 1B Movement with a directional component

The categorizing semantic components for Class 1B verbal roots are:

- Agentive movement
- Durative aspect
- Directional, i.e. the direction in which one moves is criterial

Examples of 1B are: *dayyu* ‘to descend’, *tikid* ‘to ascend’

Class 1C General class

The categorizing semantic components for Class 1C verbal roots are:

- Agentive involvement
- Durative aspect

This class has several different criterial components that differentiate the following subclasses:

- Types of work, e.g. *abono* ‘to work without pay’, *adod-on* ‘to do housework’
- Types of behavior, e.g. *taldong* ‘to be still, not moving’, *ihhik* ‘to argue’
- Types of attitudes, e.g. *hinnun* ‘to be hesitant or undecided’, *ngohe* ‘to be obstinate’
- Purposeful activities or actions, e.g. *dag-u* ‘to stop someplace’, *talinaad* ‘to reside permanently in a place’
- Tastes, odors, and other features of entities, e.g. *tablo* ‘to be tasteless’, *aguteet* ‘to have a bad odor’
- Appearance of someone or something, e.g. *hubul* ‘to resemble’, *mukaag* ‘to be in disarray’, *huliyap* ‘to look angry or displeased’

Class 1D Sounds

The categorizing semantic components for Class 1D verbal roots are:

- Sounds
- Agentive - human, animal or inanimate thing
- Durative aspect

⁹ In this Grammar Sketch an agent is defined as someone or something that is capable of producing an effect.

Examples of 1D verbal roots are: *alagaag* ‘for pigs to squeal’, *kililing* ‘to make a tinkling sound’

Class 1E Physiological functions

The categorizing semantic components for Class 1E verbal roots are:

- Agentive involvement
- Durative aspect
- The body’s physiological functions

Examples of 1E verbal roots are: *yaop* ‘to gasp’, *al-al* ‘to pant, as a dog’, *aminul* ‘to salivate’

4.1.2 Class 2

Class 2 verbal roots are also active, intransitive verbs; they are divided into three main subclasses: actions, experiences, and processes. The actions subclass is divided into two movement subclasses: both have a punctiliar time component, but one encodes movement from one place to another, and the other encodes simply a change of position. The experiences subclass is further divided into verbs encoding emotions and sensations and verbs encoding physiological functions. The emotions subclass is further divided into verbs encoding feelings and verbs encoding sounds that are made related to those feelings; with these subclasses, the punctiliar time component might be better described as an episodic time component. The final subclass, processes, is divided into those verbs encoding meteorological phenomena and those encoding non-meteorological processes. The primary valent of all Class 2 verbs is a volitional agent-subject. For all Class 2 verbal roots, the default affix set is **-um-/-imm-**. These infixes cross-reference the agent-subject in a sentence.

Class 2A Movement from one place to another

The categorizing semantic components for Class 2A verbal roots are:

- Agentive movement from one place to another
- Punctiliar aspect

Examples are: *ali* ‘to come’, *e* ‘to go’

Class 2B Movement, change of position

The categorizing semantic components for Class 2B verbal roots are:

- Agentive movement resulting in change of position
- Punctiliar aspect

Examples are: *taddog* ‘to stand up’, *ubun* ‘to sit down’

Class 2C Emotion and sensation

The categorizing semantic components for Class 2C verbal roots are:

- An agentive-experience of an emotion or sensation
- Punctiliar aspect

Examples are: *takut* ‘to be afraid’, *amo* ‘to be jealous’

Class 2D Vocal sounds expressing feeling

The categorizing semantic components for Class 2D verbal roots are:

- An agentive response or reaction to an emotion or sensation
- Punctiliar aspect

Examples are: *palak* ‘to groan’, *koga* ‘to cry’

Class 2E Body/Physiological functions

The categorizing semantic components for Class 2E verbal roots are:

- Agentive physiological function
- Punctiliar aspect

Examples are: *uk-uk* ‘to cough’, *tuppa* ‘to spit’

Class 2F Meteorological

Although we have set up a class for meteorological verbal roots, they may be derived from nouns; as nouns, the roots may occur unaffixed.

The categorizing semantic components for Class 2F verbal roots are:

- Meteorological events
- No explicit subject constituent
- Punctiliar aspect

Examples are: *udan* ‘to rain’, *kidul* ‘to thunder’

Class 2G Processes

The categorizing semantic components for Class 2G verbal roots are:

- A gradual change of something that brings about a resultant state
- Non-volitional experiencer role encoded as subject, may be an animate or inanimate experiencer
- Processes that are durative
- Incompletive and completive aspect expressed, rather than tense

Examples are: *bayak* ‘to fade’, *kapuy* ‘to become weak’

Class 2H Behavior

The categorizing semantic components for Class 2H verbal roots are:

- Agentive behavior in social situations or social interaction
- Punctiliar aspect

Examples are: *bahhut* ‘to disturb or disrupt’, *ila-ila* ‘to court trouble’

4.1.3 Class 3

The core meaning component of Class 3 verbal roots is the movement of an object away from the agent. Each subclass has a core component expressing what is done with the object after being moved, e.g. positioned, released, combined, or attached. Punctiliar aspect is an inherent component of all members of Class 3. The core semantic roles associated with this class are agent-subject, conveyed-object, site-object. Other possible semantic roles are causative agent, and participatory agent. The default affix set for this verbal root class is *i-/iN-*. This affix set cross-references the conveyed-object. The passive affix set for this class is *mi-/ni-*. Some of the subclasses are ditransitive and allow for a site semantic role to be

cross-referenced, and in that case, the non-past suffix *-an* or past circumfix *-in- -an* is used to cross-reference the site-object. The affix set *mi- -an/ni- -an* cross-references an indirect object that is promoted to subject in a passive construction. In a discourse context, when the agent-subject is being reintroduced or contrasted with another, it is preposed before the verb and the inflectional affix set *mangi-/nangi-* is used to cross-reference it with this verbal root class.

Class 3A Move and position object at site

The categorizing semantic components for Class 3A verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Movement of a conveyed object
- Release of conveyed object at a site
- Most of the members of this class are ditransitive.

Examples are: *talu* ‘to hide something’, *ha-ad* ‘to place something’

Class 3B Move and release object

The categorizing semantic components for Class 3B verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Movement of a conveyed object
- Release of conveyed object

Examples are: *wahit* ‘to scatter something’, *wele* ‘to throw away something’

Class 3C Move something and combine it with or attach it to something else

The categorizing semantic components for Class 3C verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Movement of a conveyed object
- Combine or attach conveyed-object to site-object

Examples are: *kamo* ‘to mix something with another thing’, *hu-up* ‘to fasten two things together’

Class 3D Move an object with a resulting change of state

The categorizing semantic components for Class 3D verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Movement of a conveyed object
- Change of state of the object

Examples are: *ha-ang* ‘to cook something’, *hibak* ‘to boil something’

Class 3E Move an object directionally

The categorizing semantic components for Class 3E verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Movement of a conveyed object
- Directional movement is criterial

Examples are: *gege* ‘to rock back and forth’, *wagot* ‘to shake up and down’

Class 3F Move something along with oneself

The categorizing semantic components for Class 3F verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Movement of a conveyed object
- Manner of carrying object is criterial

Examples are: *pah-on* ‘to carry something on shoulder’, *abba* ‘to carry in a shawl’

Class 3G Move body or body parts directionally

The semantic components of Class 3G verbal roots are somewhat different than the other subclasses. The default affix set does not always cross-reference a conveyed object. Since it is body parts that are moved, the affixes may cross-reference the site-object. The site-object in those cases reflects the direction of the movement.

The categorizing semantic components for Class 3G verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Movement of a body part object
- Direction of movement is often related to a site-object
- Some of the members of this class cross-reference a goal-object with the affix set **-on/-in-**. The goal-object cross-referencing reflects the purpose of moving the body part.

Examples are: *wingi* ‘to turn head to side’, *balungango* ‘to raise head’

Class 3H Conversive action process

This action is a bidirectional movement of an object. For example, if an agent-subject is cross-referenced, the affix set **muN-/nuN-** identifies the agent-subject as the seller and the affix set **-um/-imm-** identifies the subject as the agent-buyer. If an object is cross-referenced, the affix set **i-/iN-** identifies what is being sold by the agent-subject and **-on/-in-** (*gatang*, *polak*) or **-an/-in-** **-an** (*hulul*, *balal*) identifies what is being bought by an agent-subject.

The categorizing semantic components for Class 3H verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Movement of an object
- Bi-direction of movement is important – away from agent or toward agent

Examples are: *gatang* ‘to buy or sell’, *hulul* ‘to exchange/barter’

4.1.4 Class 4

There are many actions and activities which involve contact with an object; the degree of pressure on a contact is important in how much of an effect the contact has on an object. The pressure may vary from gentle contact that has little effect on the object to forceful contact that will change the structure of the object. Punctiliar aspect is an inherent component of all members of Class 4. The core semantic roles associated with this class are agent-subject, and patient-object. For some subclasses an peripheral instrument semantic role may be highlighted and encoded as a direct object. The default affix set for this verbal root class is **-on/-in-**. The passive affix set is **ma-/na-**. In a discourse context, when the agent-subject is being reintroduced or contrasted with another, it is preposed before the verb and the inflectional affix set **maN-/naN-** is used to cross-reference it with this verbal root class.

Members of the class may be divided into the following subclasses by distinguishing the semantic components of the actions (these components contrast with the semantic components of Class 3 and Class 5 members):

- changing the structure of an object
- tactile – touching an object

- moving an object toward the agent
- releasing, removing, or detaching an object
- perception and cognition of an object
- adjacency/adjoining – movement toward point of contact with an object

Class 4A Change the structure of object¹⁰

The categorizing semantic components for Class 4A verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Changing the structure of an object

Examples are: *dadag* ‘to destroy something’, *banguy* ‘to bend something’

Class 4B Touch contact

The categorizing semantic components for Class 4B verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Touching an object – degree of pressure; a continuum from light touching to forceful striking is criterial in distinguishing the members of the class.

Examples are: *duntuk* ‘to punch someone’, *hiknul* ‘to nudge with elbow’

Included in this subclass are roots that relate to the concept of abstract touching that includes influencing or affecting someone in some way, e.g. *tugun* ‘to give advice’, *a-aluk* ‘to comfort’.

Class 4C Convey/bring object toward agent

The categorizing semantic components for Class 4C verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Moving an object toward the agent

Examples are: *ala* ‘to get something’, *kanon* ‘to eat something’

Although all the members of Class 4C have these two components, there are members that would appear to differ as far as a volitional agent being responsible for moving an object toward himself. For the example, *hood* ‘to wait’, *dammu* ‘to meet’, and *tawid* ‘to inherit’ all have volitional agents who actively receive something or someone coming toward them; another agent is required in each case. However, the categorizing semantic component for each root is that something or someone encoded in an object grammatical relation is moving toward the obligatory volitional agent.

Class 4D Release, remove, or detach object

The categorizing semantic components for Class 4D verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Releasing, removing, or detaching an object
- Ditransitive – There is a site-object from which the object is being released, removed, or detached.

Examples are: *kaan* ‘to remove something’, *ubad* ‘to untie something’

10 The “changing the structure of an object” is the criterial component of the prototypical verbal roots for Class 4. However, the “change of the object” can relate to the features of an object or the appearance of an object. For example, *bao* ‘to cool hot food’ simply changes a temperature feature, not the structure of the food. Another example is *binat* ‘to stretch something’.

The amount of exertion to remove or detach something distinguishes the words in Class 4D. These verbal roots also have a site semantic role which is encoded in an indirect object grammatical relation. The site-indirect object may be cross-referenced with the affix set **-an/-in- -an**.

Class 4E Perception and cognition

The categorizing semantic components for Class 4E verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Perception and cognition of an object

Examples are: *adal* ‘to learn something’, *tibo* ‘to see something’, *dongol* ‘to hear something’

There appear to be semantic components that categorize perception and cognition verbal roots as forming a subclass of Class 4 “Contact with an object” verbal roots. They can be stated as follows:

- The senses and/or the mind make contact with objects in the referential world.
- The object is abstracted and conveyed/brought to the experiencer-agent’s senses or mind.

Perhaps a more adequate basis for placing members of Class 4E with the other subclasses is the fact that their functional components result in their fitting the morphosyntactic patterns of this class.

Class 4F Adjacency/Adjoining of an object

The categorizing semantic components for Class 4E verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Adjacency/adjoining – movement toward point of contact with an object

Examples are: *unud* ‘to follow’, *pudug* ‘to chase’

Criteria components of each member of this class relate to the purpose of an action and thus distinguish each one from the others.

4.1.5 Class 5

The main semantic component of most of the members of Class 5 verbal roots is a state-change action on a site-type object. That means the site-object stays in place and intact while another object is added (Class 5A) or subtracted from it (Class 5B), changing its state but not its structure. A third subclass (Class 5C) has a different categorizing semantic component, i.e. the site is the goal of the action. The default affix set for all Class 5 verbal roots is **-an/-in- -an**. The passive affix set associated with Class 5 is **ma- -an/na- -an**. In a discourse context, when the agent-subject is being reintroduced or contrasted with another, it is preposed before the verb and the inflectional affix set **maN-/naN-** is used to cross-reference it with this verbal root class.

Class 5A Changing state of site by adding something

The categorizing semantic components for Class 5A verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Changing state of site by adding something

Examples are: *abel* ‘to repair terrace walls by adding mud’, *galubgub* ‘to stoke fire by adding fuel’

Most of the verbal roots of Class 5A are very specific as to the type of site, and the object(s) that may be added to it, though a few like *hani* ‘to protect with cover’ and *umut* ‘to obstruct path’ have a broader range of application.

Class 5B Changing state of site by removal of something

The categorizing semantic components for Class 5B verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Changing state of site by removal of something

Examples are: *gadgad* ‘to scour or scrape something off surface’, *pukpuk* ‘brush something off surface’

Although Class 5B has the default affix set, **-an/-in- -an** that cross-references the site, the class also allows the particular thing being removed to have referential prominence rather than the site. In this situation, the inflectional affix set **-on/-in-** cross-references the noun expressing the thing being removed. See the *pukpuk* entry in the dictionary for sentences illustrating this difference in affix function.

Class 5C Goal-oriented sites

The categorizing semantic components for Class 5C verbal roots are:

- Volitional agent as subject
- Action is directed toward a goal-site

Examples are: *adug* ‘to guard something or someone’, *gamgam* ‘to pursue something’

The objects of Class 5C verbs are less affected, by addition or removal, than the objects of Class 5A and Class 5B verbs.

4.1.6 Class 6

Class 6 verbs are state and state-process intransitive verbs that express non-agentive, descriptive states or processes. These verbs express properties of entities that undergo what is perceived of as non-agentive change. When a human is involved, as in physiological state-processes, the human is perceived of as an experiencer rather than a volitional agent. The default affixes for state and state-process verbs are **ma-** and **na-** for incomplete and complete aspect. To encode process, the default affixes are the infixes **-um-** and **-imm-**. All of these default affixes cross-reference the subject in a sentence.

Class 6A Physiological process – state

The categorizing semantic components for Class 6A verbal roots are:

- No volitional agent
- The core semantic role is experiencer.
- The grammatical subject is the person who experiences the physiological process-state.
- No inherent aspect; aspect is expressed by the affixes, complete, incomplete, and inceptive-ongoing. The incomplete aspect expresses the concept that the person-referent will undergo the experience, and the inceptive-ongoing expresses the process aspect of an experience.

Examples are: *agang* ‘to be hungry’, *uwo* ‘to be thirsty’

As stated above, the default affixes for the state of process-state verbs are *na-* completive aspect and *ma-* incomplete aspect. There is an infix set and one prefix that encode the process concept of these verbs: the *-um-/-imm-* infix set and the prefix *mungka-*.

Class 6B Characteristics of human nature or life situation

The categorizing semantic components for Class 6B verbal roots are:

- No volitional agent
- The core semantic role is statant – the state describes a person.
- The grammatical subject is the person who is described by the stative verb.
- No inherent aspect; aspect is expressed by the affixes that express completive and incomplete.

Examples are: *imut* ‘to be selfish’, *ule* ‘to be gentle/kind’, *higa* ‘to be lazy’

Class 6C Process or state of inanimate objects

The categorizing semantic components for Class 6C verbal roots are:

- No volitional agent
- The core semantic role is statant – the state describes a thing.
- The grammatical subject is the thing that is described by the stative verb.
- No inherent aspect; aspect is expressed by the affixes that express completive and incomplete.

Examples are: *tigub* ‘to be blunt/dull’, *danglol* ‘to be slippery’

Class 6D Descriptives

The categorizing semantic components for Class 6D verbal roots are:

- No volitional agent
- The core semantic role is statant – the state describes a thing or person.
- The grammatical subject is the thing or person that is described by the stative verb.
- No inherent aspect; aspect is expressed by the affixes that express completive and incomplete.

Examples are: *ligat* ‘to be hard or difficult, as in life or work’, *lam-ay* ‘to be an easy life’

4.1.7 Speech verbs

Although the morphosyntax of speech verbal roots differs little from the basic six classes of verbal roots, it is helpful to look at the difference in the purpose of the speech acts. The same criteria used in classifying other verbal roots are used for distinguishing the subclasses of speech verbal roots.

- Semantic role sets: All speech verbal roots have an obligatory volitional agent role. The members of the subclasses vary as to the other core roles that are a part of their set.
- Grammatical relations: The volitional agent is always encoded in the subject; other core roles are encoded in either the object or indirect object grammatical relation.
- Affixation: The agent-subject of the members of the subclasses may be cross-referenced by either the *muN- / nuN-* or the *-um- / -imm-* affix sets depending on whether the durative or punctiliar aspect is being expressed in the verb. Other co-occurring affixes will be noted in the subclass sections.

Speech verbs – general

The members of the general class have a broader range of meaning, and can take a number of different affixes depending on what semantic role is significant in the context.

Examples are: *kali* ‘to speak’, *humang* ‘to answer’

Speech verbs – manner of speaking

There are two types of speech verbal roots related to manner:

- articulation, e.g. *ayyong* ‘to mumble’, *bohawang* ‘to speak audibly’
- the purpose for speaking, e.g. *haut* ‘to deny’, *hadak* ‘to clarify’

Speech verbs – purpose is to evoke a response

The purpose of this class of verbal roots is to evoke a response from the hearer. The response may be either speech or behavior.

Examples are: *awis* ‘to persuade’, *tutut* ‘to argue’

Speech verbs – purpose is to affect recipient

The purpose of this class of speech verbal roots is to have an effect on the recipient. Some of the members of the class are ritual words for cursing someone.

Examples are: *hugut* ‘to tease someone’, *dug-a* ‘to curse someone’

Speech verbs – purpose is to entertain

The purpose of this class of speech verbal roots is to entertain. Through the years, there have been members of the community who were known as effective storytellers, and there were those who were able to tell about a day’s events in song.

Examples are: *a-apo* ‘to sing a story’, *bonwe* ‘to sing as in a dialogue’

4.2 Inflectional affixes

4.2.1 Basic cross-referencing (CR) affixes¹¹

These affixes are called “basic” because their co-occurrence with active verbal roots results in the least complex morphosyntactic constructions. Each member of these sets cross-references either a subject or an object that is either definite or specific and has a higher referential rank in the context than any other co-occurring NP constituent in that clause. The choice of a basic affix is constrained by the meaning components and lexical valence of a root, and discourse identifiability factors. The set is related to the rhetorical Focusing Referential Strategy (see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system).

Each set of basic affixes is the default set for one of the five classes of active verbal roots. The benefactive and instrumental affix sets are exceptions to the default principle; neither of these sets is associated with a particular verbal root class. Instead these two affix sets may co-occur with any verbal root class that allows for their associated peripheral semantic roles. The components of a default set have the following characteristics:

- The affixes match the inherent aspect and spatial components of the root class.
- The affixes cross-reference either the subject or the object in a construction.
- The affixes clarify, along with the root, the semantic role encoded in the cross-referenced grammatical relation.

The basic affixes may function both inflectionally and derivationally. When the affixes occur with any grammatical class other than verbal roots, they function both derivationally,

11 This set of affixes has traditionally been called “focus affixes” in linguistic studies of Philippine languages.

deriving verbs from the roots of the non-verbal class with which they are co-occurring, and inflectionally to realize the functions listed above. When they co-occur with verbal roots, they function only inflectionally.

The inflectional function of the basic affixes is complex in that a given form may function in more than one way, depending on whether or not it can co-occur with verbal roots belonging to a class other than its own. The semantic components and lexical valence of verbal roots are very important factors in the choice of inflectional affixes in Tawali Ifugao language use. For example, when the set *-um-/-imm-* co-occurs with transitive verbal roots, the set cross-references the grammatical object and adds a quantifying concept meaning that the action is performed on only ‘some’ of the noun referent.

Table 4 Basic Cross-Referencing (CR) Affixes

Tense	Subject CR		Object CR				
	Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Benefactive	Instrumental
past	<i>nuN-</i>	<i>-imm-</i>	<i>iN-</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-in- -an</i>	<i>iN- -an</i>	<i>iN-</i>
non-past	<i>muN-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>i- -an</i>	<i>i-</i>

Class 1 default affix set

Wordform: Dakol day nahpung ya **munhagge**.
 LexEntry: dakol da di na- hupung ya muN- hagge
 LexGloss: many 3.PL LK STA sprain LK **NP.S** limp

FT: There are many with sprained (arms and legs) and limping.

Class 2 default affix set

Wordform: **Immali** da Juan ad Kiangan.
 LexEntry: ali **-imm-** da Juan ad Kiangan
 LexGloss: come **P.S** 3.PL.S John DET Kiangan

FT: Juan and his companions came to Kiangan.

Class 3 default affix set

Wordform: **Intaluk** nan papel.
 LexEntry: **iN-** talu ku nan papel
 LexGloss: **P.O** hide s.t. 1.SG.S DET paper

FT: I hid the paper.

Class 4 default affix set

Wordform: **Dingngol** nay kinalik.
 LexEntry: dongol **-in-** na di kali **-in-** ku
 LexGloss: hear **P.O** 3.SG.S DET say something **P.O** 1.SG.S

FT: He heard what I said.

Class 5 default affix set

Wordform: Dan-iyam nan taklem te
 LexEntry: dan-i **-an** mu nan takle mu te
 LexGloss: wipe off **NP.O** 2.SG.S DET arm/hand 2.SG.POSS because

nalugit.
 na- lugit
 STA dirty

FT: Wipe your hand because it is dirty.

The stative-process affixes shown in Table 5 also belong to the class of Basic Cross-Referencing Affixes but they have been placed on a separate chart because the Class 6 verbal roots with which they co-occur are semantically different than Classes 1-5 verbal roots; also the syntactic constructions in which they occur are different. See 4.1.6 for a description of this class of verbal roots. The differences that are characteristic of Class 6 verbal roots are shown in the following ways:

- The verb encodes a state or a process rather than an action or activity.
- The inherent aspect is neither durative nor punctiliar, instead the aspect is either completive or incompletive.
- The subject grammatical relation does not encode a volitional agent semantic role; rather the core semantic roles of the verbal root class and subclasses are Statant or Experiencer.

The stative-process affixes shown in Table 5 co-occur with Class 6 Stative verbal roots; they function inflectionally. The prefixes, *na-* and *ma-* are the default affix set for that class.¹² The components of all the affix sets are the following:

- They express either the completive aspect or the incompletive aspect.
- They cross-reference the subject.

The forms that encode “Intense State” have a segment C1. This symbolizes that the initial consonant of the root is geminated, and the geminate co-occurs with the prefix form. There are subclasses of Class 6 stative verbal roots, and the function of the stative and process affixes may differ depending on the subclass of the co-occurring root.

Table 5 Stative and Process Affixes

Aspect	Stative	Intense State	Process	Durative Process
Completive	<i>na-</i>	<i>nakaC1-</i>	<i>-imm-</i>	<i>nungka-</i>
Incompletive	<i>ma-</i>	<i>makaC1-</i>	<i>-um-</i>	<i>mungka-</i>

Stative

Wordform: Naatuh ina an mumbayu.
 LexEntry: **na-** atu hi ina an muN- bayu
 LexGloss: **STA** tired DET mother LK NP.S pound with pestle

FT: Mother is tired from rice-pounding.

Process

Wordform: Kon tuwali waday kimmadangyan hi
 LexEntry: kon tuwali wada di kadangyan **-imm-** hi
 LexGloss: INTPRO actually EXIS LK become rich **P.PROC.S** DET

¹² The stative prefixes *ma-/na-* have the same form as the passive set for Class 4 verbal roots (see 4.1.4).

tugal?
tugal
gamble

FT: Rightly so, was there ever one who became rich through gambling?

Durative Process

Wordform: Indani ya **mungkapnu** nan lata.
LexEntry: indani ya **mungka-** punu nan lata
LexGloss: later LK **NP.PROC.S** fill DET can

FT: After a while the can was almost full (lit. was filling).

4.2.2 Complex topicalizing affixes

There are four classes of topicalizing affix sets.

- Topicalizing agent-subjects
- Topicalizing times and places with transitive verbal roots
- Topicalizing times and places with intransitive verbal roots
- Topicalizing instruments

The affix sets that are members of these four classes differ from the Basic Cross-Referencing Affixes in that they function rhetorically at a higher level. They cross-reference the NP constituent that has been syntactically moved to the initial position of a clause (i.e. pre-predicate) to encode the introduction of participants, or to contrast or reintroduce participants, props, times, and places. The preposed constituent is linked to the remaining clause constituents by the form *di* or its allomorph *y*. The set is related to the Rhetorical Topicalizing Referential Strategy (see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system). If the grammatical object is topicalized, the Basic Cross-Referencing Affixes are used rather than the Complex Topicalizing Affixes.

The Complex Topicalizing Affixes function in the same way with the verbs of interrogative sentences, i.e. they cross-reference the question words “who”, “what”, “where”, and “when”. See 7.7 Interrogative pronouns for the Tawali Ifugao forms. The Tawali Ifugao question words occur in the same pre-verb position as those NPs that are moved to the pre-verb position in declarative/statement sentences.

The Complex Topicalizing Affixes also co-occur with the verbs of relative clauses. The relativized noun or NP precedes the relative clause and is in the pre-verb position in the relative clause; this is the same position as a topicalized constituent or question word in a main clause.

Table 6 Topicalizing-Question-Relative Clause Affixes

Tense	Fronted Object			Fronted Agent-Subject			Fronted Instrument
	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	
past	<i>iN-</i>	<i>-in-</i>	<i>-in- -an</i>	<i>nangi-</i>	<i>naN-</i>	<i>naN-</i>	<i>impuN-</i>
non-past	<i>i-</i>	<i>-on</i>	<i>-an</i>	<i>mangi-</i>	<i>maN-</i>	<i>maN-</i>	<i>puN-</i>

Class 3 topicalizing affix set

Wordform: Hi Mariay **nangi**ha-ad hi papel nah basket.
 LexEntry: hi maria di **nangi**- ha-ad hi papel nah basket
 LexGloss: DET Maria LK **P.T.S** place DET paper DET basket

FT: Maria was the one who put the paper in the basket.

Class 4 topicalizing affix set

Wordform: Dimmatong dah maal-algo ot
 LexEntry: datong -imm- da hi ma- CV(C)- algo ot
 LexGloss: arrive P.S 3.PL.S DET STA INT noon and then

ipayu dan e **mampap** mu tultulluy dimpap
 i- payu da an e **maN**- dopap mu CV(C)- tulu di dopap -in-
 NP.O go directly 3.PL.S LK go **NP.T.S** seize but INT few LK seize P.O

da
 da
 3.PL.S

FT: They arrived at noon and they went directly to the river to catch crabs, but they only caught a few.

Topicalizing of a time or place in statements, questions, and relative clauses

When a topicalized time or place is a constituent of the clause, and not just a time setting, the phrase will be linked to the clause with the form **di** or its allomorph **y**. There are two sets of affixes that cross-reference the proposed times and places.

- Topicalizing times and places with Classes 1 and 2 intransitive verbal roots
- Topicalizing times and places with Classes 3, 4, and 5 transitive verbal roots

Table 7 Topicalizing Time or Place – Classes 1 & 2

Tense	Class 1	Class 2
past	<i>nuN- -an</i>	<i>-imm- -an</i>
non-past	<i>puN- -an</i>	<i>-um- -an</i>

Class 1 topicalizing time or place affix set

Wordform: Nakaluggit nan eyu **nungkekeyan**.
 LexEntry: nakaC1- lugit nan e yu **nuN- -an** keke
 LexGloss: MOD dirty DET go 2.PL.S **P.T.PL** swim

FT: The place you went swimming is very dirty.

Table 8 Topicalizing Time or Place - Classes 3-5

Tense	Class 3	Class 4 & 5
past	<i>nangi- -an</i>	<i>naN- -an</i>
non-past	<i>pangi- -an</i>	<i>paN- -an</i>

Class 3 topicalizing time or place affix set

Wordform:	Daanay	nangitanoman	da	nadah	bulhe.	
LexEntry:	daan	di nangi- -an	tanom	da	nadah	bulhe
LexGloss:	where	LK P.T.PL	plant	3.PL.S	DET	bean

FT: Where did they plant beans?

4.2.3 Modal affixes

There are three main types of modality in Tuwali Ifugao:

- Agentive – Agentive modality involves the concepts of pretense, abilitative, and expertise.
- Undergoer – Undergoer modality involves the concepts of tendency or facility.
- Predicative – Predicative modality involves intensification.

Agentive modal affixes

The Agentive Modal Affixes do not encode tense or aspect.

Table 9 Agentive Modality

Pretense	Abilitative	Negative Abilitative	Expertise
<i>kahin- -on</i>	<i>ma-/maka-</i>	<i>(adi) paka-</i>	<i>makaC1-</i>

Agentive pretense affix

Wordform:	Kahindongdongollona	hi	kinalik.
LexEntry:	kahin- -on	CV(C)-	dongol na hi kali -in- ku
LexGloss:	MOD	CONT	listen 3.SG.S DET say something P.O 1.SG.S

FT: He pretends to be listening to what I have said.

Agentive abilitative affix

Wordform:	Makataddog	mo	nan	golang.	
LexEntry:	maka-	taddog	mo	nan	golang
LexGloss:	MOD	stand up	now	DET	child

FT: The baby can stand now.

Negative agentive abilitative affix

Wordform:	Athidi	bon	nah	hilog	ta	adi	ka		
LexEntry:	umat	hidi	bo	an	nah	hilog	ta	adi	ka
LexGloss:	like	DEM4	also	LK	DET	night	so that	not	you

pakahuyop.
paka- huyop
MOD sleep

FT: The same is true at night so that you **cannot** sleep (lit. It's also like that at night so that you cannot sleep).

Agentive expertise affix

Wordform: **Makakkeke.**
 LexEntry: **makaC1-** keke
 LexGloss: **MOD** swim

FT: He swims very well.

Undergoer modal affixes

The two Undergoer Modal Affixes function to express the tendency or facility characteristics of an undergoer entity. The tendency affix expresses the propensity of an undergoer entity toward a particular type of thought or action. The facility affix expresses the fact that the features or characteristics of an undergoer entity promotes the ease of an action with regard to it. The affixes do not express tense.

Table 10 Undergoer Modality

Tendency	Facility
<i>kaCV(C)-</i>	<i>ka- -inn-</i>

Undergoer tendency affix

Wordform: **Kapupuhik** nan basu.
 LexEntry: **kaCV(C)-** puhik nan basu
 LexGloss: **tendency** break DET glass/cup

FT: The cup is breakable.

Undergoer facility affix

Wordform: **Kaginnabyon** nan luta.
 LexEntry: **ka- -inn-** gabyon nan luta
 LexGloss: **MOD** hoe DET soil

FT: The soil can be easily spaded.

Predicative modal affixes – intensifiers

Predicative modal affixes function to express the intensity of an action, activity, experience, or state. The objects of transitive verbs are promoted to subject and cross-referenced by the sets of affixes related to the three transitive verbal root classes and the stative verbal root class. The affixes are combined with consonant geminates (C1 or C2).

Table 11 Modality – Intensity of Action, Activity, Experience, or State

	Intensifiers			
	Transitive			Stative
Tense	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6
past	<i>nakaiC2-</i>	<i>impakaC1-</i>	<i>impakaC2- -an</i>	<i>nakaC1-</i>
non-past	<i>makaiC2-</i>	<i>pakaC1- -on</i>	<i>pakaC2- -an</i>	<i>makaC1-</i>

Class 3 intensifier affix set

Wordform: Mahapul an **makaikammo** nan binokbok.
 LexEntry: mahapul an **makai-** kamo nan binokbok
 LexGloss: necessity LK **MOD** mix DET kind.of.leaf

FT: The yeast must be well-mixed with the rice.

Class 4 intensifier affix set

Wordform: Kon tuwali ot adim **pakannomnomon**
 LexEntry: kon tuwali ot adi mu **pakaC1- -on** nomnom
 LexGloss: INTPRO actually would don't 2.SG.S **MOD** mind

on kinalim.
 on kali -in- mu
 DET say something P.O 2.SG.S

FT: That is really the way you are (lit. isn't it true), you don't **think carefully** before you say things.

Class 5 intensifier affix set

Wordform: **Impakahigidan** dah maphod.
 LexEntry: **impakaC2- -an** higid da hi ma- pohod
 LexGloss: **MOD** sweep 3.PL.S DET STA good

FT: They swept it very well.

Class 6 stative intensifier affix set

Wordform: Maphod di **makaddikhal** nan itungu
 LexEntry: ma- pohod di **makaC1-** dikhal nan i- tungu
 LexGloss: STA good LK **MOD** split wood DET NP.O fuel a fire

te gagala ya mahap-ayan.
 te gagala ya ma--an hap-e
 because quickly LK PASS dry

FT: It is good if the firewood is well split because it dries quickly.

Distributive modality

Subject distribution

When the prefix set *mumpuN-/numpuN-* co-occurs with a verbal root, it functions to distribute the activity among plural agent-subjects. Activities are durative in aspect.

Object distribution

When the prefix set *mumpaN-/numpaN-* co-occurs with a verbal root it distributes the action among plural objects. Actions are perceived as punctiliar aspect, i.e. both the beginning and the end of an action are perceived and then encoded as a single point in time.

Table 12 Inclusive and Distributive

	Distributive	
Tense	Distributive S	Distributive O
past	<i>numpuN-</i>	<i>numpaN-</i>
non-past	<i>mumpuN-</i>	<i>mumpaN-</i>

Distributive subject affix set

Wordform: Hanadan mahluy **mumpuntanom.**
 LexEntry: hanada an ma- hulu di **mumpuN-** tanom
 LexGloss: DEM1 LK STA industrious LK **NP.S.DIST** plant

FT: Those industrious ones will be the ones to plant.

Distributive object affix set

Wordform: Adida mun-ap-apu tuh luta ya
 LexEntry: adi da muN- ap-apu tu hi luta ya
 LexGloss: not 3.PL.S NP.S ruling this DET soil and

adida **mumpangapyah** o-ongal an boble.
 adi da **mumpaN-** kapyah hi CV(C)- ongal an boble
 not 3.PL.S **NP.O.DIST** make DET INT big LK village

FT: They will not rule this land, and they will not build big cities/villages.

4.2.4 Time aspect affixes

Table 13 Time Aspect

Inceptive	Iterative	Continuative	Habitual
<i>ka--/ka-i-</i>	<i>-an-</i>	<i>CV(C)-</i>	<i>CV(C)CV-</i>

Time – Inceptive

The prefix form **ka-** phonologically has a glottal stop coda. In Table 13, the first hyphen symbolizes the glottal stop, and the second symbolizes the fact that the form is a prefix.

Wordform:	Ka- iha-ad	da	nan	basket	nah	ubunan.
LexEntry:	ka- i-	ha-ad	da	nan	basket	nah ubun -an
LexGloss:	P.INC	NP.O	place	3.PL.S	DET	basket DET seat DEV-N

FT: They just (a few minutes ago) placed the basket on the seat.

Time – Iterative action

The **-an-** infix co-occurs with infix **-um-** and transitive verb suffixes, **-an** and **-on**; the infix always co-occurs with verbal roots that have an inherent punctiliar aspect. The iterative concept implies that the starting point and finishing point of an action is always in view for each repeated action.

Wordform:	Bumanidbidak			hi	liblu	nah	bakasyon.
LexEntry:	bidbid -um-	-an-	ak	hi	liblu	nah	bakasyon
LexGloss:	read	NP.S	repeatedly	1.SG.S	DET	book	DET vacation

FT: I do nothing but read books (repeatedly) during vacation.

Time – Continuative

The first syllable reduplication CV(C) expresses an aspect of an activity that is of uninterrupted duration. The actual form CV or CVC that the continuative reduplicant takes depends on the morphophonological process of resyllabification. Also, in some cases, the medial consonant of a root will be geminated.

Wordform:	Kabigabigat	on	nangin-innum	da	ya
LexEntry:	ka- CV(C)CV-	big'at	on naN- CV(C)-	inum	da ya
LexGloss:	NOM INT	tomorrow	LK P.T.S	CONT	drink 3.PL.S and

nun	hahamul	da	nah	muyung.
nuN-	CV(C)-	hamul	da	nah muyung
P.DEV.S	CONT	feasting	3.PL.S	DET forest

FT: Every day these men feast (continuously) and drink (continuously) in the forest.

Time – Habitual

This reduplicant form, CV(C).CV, expresses a habitual aspect. The activity or action is not done continuously at a single point in time; instead there is a regularity to the activity or action over a period of time.

Wordform:	An	daana	udot	di	pangal-am	hi	em
LexEntry:	an	daan	na	udot	di	ala mu	hi e mu
LexGloss:	INTPRO	where	3.SG	perplexing	DET	get 2.SG.S	DET go 2.SG.S

itugatugal?

i- CV(C)CV- tugal
 NP.O HAB gamble with

FT: Where do you get the money to be habitually gambling?

4.2.5 Participation and inclusion in actions and activities

The inflectional affixes which are members of this set differentiate between participation in actions, and inclusion in an action. That means that volitionality versus non-volitionality is an important conceptual component. Participant-subjects are generally agents that volitionally participate in actions, while objects are non-volitionally included in the effects of actions.

Reciprocal and reflexive

The reciprocal and reflexive affixes co-occur only with transitive verbal roots. Clauses with reciprocal verbs have subject and object NP arguments combined in a single coordinate phrase occurring in the subject position; the subject argument encodes the volitional participants while the object argument encodes the non-volitional participants affected by the action or activity. In the case of pronominalization, both arguments are encoded in a single plural pronoun in the subject argument position. In clauses with reflexive verbs the subject argument encodes a single participant that is both the volitional agent and the non-volitional undergoer. The single argument constituent is encoded by a proper name NP or a single pronoun.

Reciprocal

The circumfix set *muN- -inn- / nuN- -inn-* encodes the reciprocal concept. In a clause with a reciprocal verb, both participants in NP arguments are volitional agent-subjects as well as undergoer-objects (see 11.6.1.3 Addition of a reciprocal agent).

Reflexive

The prefix set *muN- / nuN-* encodes the reflexive concept. In a clause with a reflexive verb, both the agent-subject and undergoer-object are the grammatical subject. A simple NP or pronoun will occur in the subject position of a clause with a reflexive verb (see 11.6.2.3 Reflexive).

Table 14 Reciprocal and Reflexive

Tense	Reciprocal	Reflexive
past	<i>nuN- -inn-</i>	<i>nuN-</i>
non-past	<i>muN- -inn-</i>	<i>muN-</i>

Reciprocal

Wordform: **Mun-inn**apput da nan hintulang.
 LexEntry: **muN- -inn-** apput da nan hiN- tulang
 LexGloss: **REC** compete 3.PL.S DET UNIFIER sibling

FT: The two brothers are competing with each other.

Reflexive

Wordform: **Mungkaan** hi ngununa.
 LexEntry: **muN-** kaan hi ngunu na
 LexGloss: **REFL** remove DET work 3.SG.POSS

FT: He will remove himself from his job.

Subject-participation and object-inclusion

There are three sets of affixes that cross-reference subjects and objects. Unlike many affixes, these sets do not differentiate between the possible semantic roles encoded in the two grammatical relations. Although the affix combinations look as though they could be segmented and the form *ki-* would then appear to express the participation and inclusion concepts, the combination is instead treated as a single morpheme form. The reason for this is that each of the combinations expresses a unique function that cannot be explained easily by simply describing the meaning and function of the parts (see 11.6.1.2 Addition of a participatory agent).

- Subject Cross-referencing
- Object Cross-referencing 1
- Object Cross-referencing 2

Table 15 Subject-Participation and Object Inclusion

Tense	Subject	Object 1	Object 2
past	<i>naki-</i>	<i>impaki-</i>	<i>naki- -an</i>
non-past	<i>maki-</i>	<i>paki-</i>	<i>paki- -an</i>

Subject

Wordform: **Nakitanom** hi amana ke dakami.
 LexEntry: **naki-** tanom hi ama na ke dakami
 LexGloss: **PART** plant DET father 3.SG.POSS DET 1.PL.EX.O

FT: His father planted with us.

Object 1

Wordform: **Pakiala** day kinadangyan diyen boble.
 LexEntry: **paki-** ala da di kadangyan -in- diyen boble
 LexGloss: **PART** get 3.PL.S LK enrich P.O DEM5 village

FT: They will also get the wealth that enriched that village.

Object 2

Wordform: Dahdiy **nakiayan** Maria?
 LexEntry: dahdi di **naki--an** e maria
 LexGloss: who LK **PART** go Mary

FT: Who did Maria go with?

4.2.6 Causative affixes

The causative inflectional affixes mark the presence of a causative agent NP in the sentence (see 11.6.1.1 Addition of causative agent). The affix forms have a fusion of causative,

the cross-referencing function, and tense and aspect inflection. The different cross-referencing forms differentiate which NP constituent is highlighted among three possibilities:

- Causative agent
- Agent
- Undergoer-object¹³

The undergoer-object cross-referencing forms also indicate which of the three prototypical verbal root classes are involved.

4.2.6.1 Causative-agent cross-referencing

The causative-agent prefix set *numpa-/mumpa-* cross-references the subject grammatical relation, and identifies the “causer” as the most significant role at that point in a discourse.

4.2.6.2 Agent cross-referencing in causative constructions

The prefix set *impun-/puN-* cross-references the agent that is the NP constituent occurring in the object position in the clause. The agent is the one actually doing the activity or action, and indicates that the “agent” role is significant at that point in a discourse.

4.2.6.3 Undergoer cross-referencing in causative constructions

In causative transitive constructions, objects may be cross-referenced. However, there seems to be a preference for having a single agentive constituent when an object is highlighted; usually only the causative agent or the agent is identified. The semantic class of the transitive verbal root constrains which affix set may be used in the cross-referencing task.

- Class 3 verbal roots co-occur with the *impi-/ipi-* prefix set; *pi-* is a shortened form of *ipi-*.
- Class 4 and 5 verbal roots co-occur with the *impa-/ipa-* prefix set; *pa-* is a shortened form of *ipa-*.

Table 16 Causative

Tense	Object CR			
	Caus.Ag.CR	Agent CR	Class 3	Class 4&5
past	<i>numpa-</i>	<i>impun-</i>	<i>impi-</i>	<i>impa-</i>
non-past	<i>mumpa-</i>	<i>pun- -on</i>	<i>ipi-/pi-</i>	<i>ipa-/pa-</i>

Causative agent cross-reference affix set

Wordform:	Hi	amana	di	numpagaud	ke
LexEntry:	hi	ama na	di	numpa- gaud	ke
LexGloss:	DET	father	3.SG.POSS	P.CAUS.S spade ground	DET

hiya.
hiya
3.SG.O

FT: His father was the one who had him spade.

13 Undergoer is a general semantic role used for three specific semantic roles: conveyed, patient, and site. Each of these is encoded as an object grammatical relation.

Agent cross-reference affix set

Wordform: **Impung**gaud na hi Pedro.
 LexEntry: **impuN-** gaud na hi Pedro
 LexGloss: **P.CAUS.O** spade ground 3.SG.S DET Pedro

FT: He had Pedro spade.

Class 3 object cross-reference affix set

Wordform: **Impiha-**ad nan mittulu nan ubunan
 LexEntry: **impi-** ha-ad nan mittulu nan ubun -an
 LexGloss: **P.CAUS.O** place DET teacher DET seat DEV-N

hi papel.
 hi papel
 DET paper

FT: The teacher had paper placed on the seats.

Class 4 object cross-reference affix set

Wordform: **Impadngol** nay kantana.
 LexEntry: **impa-** dongol na di kanta na
 LexGloss: **P.CAUS.O** hear 3.SG.S DET song 3.SG.POSS

FT: He caused his song to be heard.

4.2.6.4 Causative – emotion verbs

With emotion verbs, the subject grammatical relation encodes the causative-agent and the object grammatical relation encodes the experiencer of the emotion. The prefix set *immipa-*/*umipa-* cross-references the subject and the prefix *impa-* and circumfix *pa- -on* set cross-references the experiencer-object.

Table 17 Causative - Emotion Verbs

Tense	Caus.Ag-subject CR	Experiencer-object CR
past	<i>immipa-</i>	<i>impa-</i>
non-past	<i>umipa-</i>	<i>pa- -on</i>

Causative agent subject cross-reference affix set

Wordform: **Umipabungot** nan inat Pedrito.
 LexEntry: **umipa-** bungot nan -in- at Pedrito
 LexGloss: **NP.CAUS.S** angry DET P.O do Pedrito

FT: The thing Pedrito did makes one angry.

Causative experiencer-object cross-reference affix set

Wordform: **Impaamo** da nan unga.
 LexEntry: **impa-** amo da nan unga
 LexGloss: **P.CAUS.O** jealous 3.PL.S DET child

FT: They made the child feel jealous.

4.2.6.5 Causative agent and topicalization

With these sets of affixes, the pragmatic Rhetorical Topicalizing Referential Strategy becomes a component of the function. As with most affixes, these affixes encode tense and cross-reference one constituent of a clause. The affixes on the verbs in these syntactic constructions cross-reference the fronted NP of the clause. They differentiate causative-agent, agent, place, and time.

Table 18 Causative-Topicalizing-Question Affixes

Tense	Caus.Ag.	Agent	Place/Time
past	<i>nangipa-</i>	<i>nangipa- -an</i>	<i>nangipa- -an</i>
non-past	<i>pangipa-</i>	<i>pangipa- -an</i>	<i>pangipa- -an</i>

Causative agent topicalizing affix set

Wordform:	Hi	inanay			nangipaha-ad	hi	makan	
LexEntry:	hi	ina	na	di	nangipa-	ha-ad	hi	makan
LexGloss:	DET	mother	3.SG.POSS	LK	P.T.CAUS.S	place	DET	food

nah basket.
nah basket
DET basket

FT: It was her mother who had food put in the basket.

Agent topicalizing-question affix set

Wordform:	Dahdiy	pangipaalian	da	nadah	liblu?	
LexEntry:	dahdi	di pangipa- -an	ali	da	nadah	liblu
LexGloss:	who	LK NP.T.CAUS.O	bring	3.PL.S	DET	book

FT: Who will they have bring those books here?

Time topicalizing-question affix set

Wordform:	Kakon-anay	pangipagaudana.		
LexEntry:	kakon-ana	di pangipa- -an	gaud	na
LexGloss:	when	LK NP.T.CAUS	spade ground	3.SG.S

FT: When will he have it spaded?

4.2.7 Passive

There are three sets of affixes that encode the passive voice in Tuwali Ifugao (see 11.6.2.2 Passive). The affixes differentiate among the semantic classes of the transitive verbal roots.

- Class 3 – the prefix set **ni-/mi-** cross-references the conveyed-object semantic role when it is promoted to the subject grammatical relation.
- Class 4 – the prefix set, **na-/ma-** cross-references the patient-object semantic role when it is promoted to the subject grammatical relation.
- Class 5 – the circumfix set, **na- -an/ma- -an** cross-references the site-object semantic role when it is promoted to the subject grammatical relation.

Table 19 Passive

Tense	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5
past	<i>ni-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>na- -an</i>
non-past	<i>mi-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ma- -an</i>

Class 3 passive affix set

Wordform: Bokon ha-on nan tagun deke on bumtik
 LexEntry: bokon ha-on nan tagu an deke on butik -um-
 LexGloss: is not 1.SG.O DET person LK if DET run NP.S

ta e mitalu.
 ta e mi- talu
 so that go PASS hide

FT: I am not the kind of person to run away in order to be hidden.

Class 4 passive affix set

Wordform: Mu adi maang-ang di buuk na
 LexEntry: mu adi ma- ang-ang di buuk na
 LexGloss: but not PASS see DET hair 3.SG.POSS

te nunhukyung hi mangitit.
 te nuN- hukyung hi mangitit
 because P.S veil DET black

FT: But her hair could not be seen because she was wearing a black veil over it.

Class 5 passive affix set

Wordform: Mu handi tuwali ugge ni-an nadatngan nan
 LexEntry: mu handi tuwali ugge ni-an na- -an datong nan
 LexGloss: but DEM2 actually NEG before P.PASS arrive DET

nagtud an algo...
 na- gutud an algo
 P.PASS set date LK day

FT: But before that appointed day actually arrived...

4.2.8 Passive-causative

The passive-causative affix sets may co-occur with any of the three classes of transitive verbal roots. The prefix set *nipa-/mipa-* is fairly commonly used and has only one constituent argument, the object that has been promoted to subject. The circumfix set *nipa- -an /mipa- -an* is not commonly used; there are two constituent arguments, the promoted object and the cause or causative agent.

Table 20 Passive-Causative

Tense		
past	<i>nipa-</i>	<i>nipa- -an</i>
non-past	<i>mipa-</i>	<i>mipa- -an</i>

Passive-causative affix set

Wordform:	Mipatibo	an	dakol	di	page	da.
LexEntry:	mipa-	tibo	an	dakol	di	page da
LexGloss:	PASS.CAUS	see	LK	many	LK	rice-grain 3.PL.POSS

Ft: This shows they have rice to spare.

4.3 Derivational affixes

There are two types of nominalization of verbal roots: lexical and clausal. Lexical nominalization results in a derived noun. Clausal nominalization results in a clause with a predicate that has noun-like attributes.

4.3.1 Lexical nominalizing affixes

Lexical nominalization is achieved through derivational affixes. The choice of affix depends on the verbal root class. The resulting nominal expresses a NP constituent.

Table 21 Lexical Nominalizing Affixes

Class 3	Classes 4 & 5	Locations
<i>ki- -an</i>	<i>ka- -an</i>	<i>-an</i>

Class 3 nominalizing affix

Wordform:	Man-uket		munggastu	takuh		pun-iskul
LexEntry:	man-uke	ta	muN- gastu	taku	hidi	pun- iskul
LexGloss:	the reason that	so that	NP.S	expense	1.IN.S	DEM4 NOM school

yu	ya	kiphodan	yuh		udum	hi	algo.
yu	ya	pohod	ki- -an	yu	hi	udum	hi algo
2.PL.POSS	LK	benefit	NOM	2.PL.POSS	DET	other	DET day

FT: The reason we spend money for your studies is it is for your own good/benefit in the future.

Class 4 nominalizing affix

Wordform:	Maid	di	ena	id-um	hi	kanomnoman
LexEntry:	maid	di	e na	i-	udum	hi nomnom ka- -an
LexGloss:	not	LK	go 3.SG.S	NP.O	add to	DET mind/think NOM

ya	mumbalin	tan		kay	hiyyahiyya.		
ya	muN-	balin	ta	an	kay	CV(C)CV-	hiya
and	NP.S	become	1.P.DUAL	LK	like	MOD	boastful

FT: Nothing is added to your wisdom (lit. your thinking) and we may become proud and boastful.

Location/Site nominalizing affix

Wordform:	Adiyu	iwahit	nadan	papel	nah	ubunan.			
LexEntry:	adi yu	i-	wahit	nadan	papel	nah ubun -an			
LexGloss:	not	2.PL.S	NP.O	scatter	DET	paper	DET	seat	DEV-N

FT: Do not scatter the papers on the chair.

4.3.2 Clausal nominalizing affixes

There are two sets of affixes that derive clausal nominalizations. The choice of a clausal nominalizing affix from the two sets below is dependent on the following criteria:

- Verbal root class
- The number of possible lexical valents that are expressed syntactically as arguments in a given nominalized construction
- The argument that has referential prominence at that point in the discourse context

Table 22 Clausal Nominalizing Affixes - Set 1

Tense	Class 3	Class 4 & 5
past	<i>impangi-/impangi- -an</i>	<i>impaN-/impaN- -an</i>
non-past	<i>pangi-/pangi- -an</i>	<i>paN-/paN- -an</i>

The clausal nominalizing affixes encode tense. They also differentiate verbal root classes. The *pangi- -an* and *paN- -an* circumfixes are used more frequently than the simple prefixes *pangi-* and *paN-*. Since the roots these affixes co-occur with are transitive verbs, the likely explanation is that the object is referentially prominent in the context.

Wordform:	Takon	ad	uwani	ya	hay	pangaan	hi	dogoy		
LexEntry:	takon	ad	uwani	ya	hay	paN-	kaan	hi dogo di		
LexGloss:	even	DET	now	LK	DET	NOM	remove	DET	sickness	LK

pangipuunan	di	dakol	an	tataguh	pangulug
pangi- -an	puun	di	dakol	an	CV tagu hi paN- kulug
NOM	base of s.t.	LK	many	LK	PL person DET NOM believe

da.

da

3.PL.POSS

FT: Even now healing (lit. removing of sickness) is the foremost reason (lit. basis for) that many people have faith.

Table 23 Clausal Nominalizing Affixes - Set 2

Tense	Non-topicalizing	Topicalizing
past	—	nuN- -an
non-past	puN-	puN- -an

The non-topicalizing form **puN-** is neutral for tense and the nominalized clause has normal constituent order. The topicalizing forms, **nuN- -an** and **puN- -an** cross-reference a preposed constituent.

Wordform: Ya hay gapunah adina pangitikodan ya
 LexEntry: ya hay gapuna hi adi na pangi--an tikod ya
 LexGloss: and DET reason DET not 3.SG.S NOM stop LK

alanganin di biyag na hi punnomnom na
 alanganin di biyag na hi puN- nomnom na
 uncertain LK life 3.SG.POSS DET NOM think/mind 3.SG.S

FT: And the reason he does not stop is he thinks (lit. his thinking is) his life would be uncertain.

Wordform: Matukatukal ka an e makitugatugal
 LexEntry: ma- CV(C)CV- tukal ka an e maki- CV(C)CV- tugal
 LexGloss: STA HAB awake 2.SG.S LK go PART HAB gamble

te mapat-al ya hilong di puntutugalan yu.
 te ma- pat-al ya hilong di puN- -an tugal yu
 because STA shining and night LK NOM gamble 2.PL.POSS

FT: You do not sleep at night because your gambling goes on night and day.

5.0 Non-verbal Predicates

5.1 Adverbial predicates

Adverbial predicates are differentiated from the lexical category adverbs by the following criteria:

- Adverbial predicates occur in the initial position of a clause, which is the normal position for Tawali Ifugao predicates.
- Some of the adverbial predicate classes allow affixation and the resulting forms are similar to verbal predicates; lexical adverbs do not allow affixation.
- Most of the adverbial predicate classes have embedded clauses in the subject or object NP position.

There are seven classes of adverbial predicates:

- Evaluative
- Time
- Manner
- Modality
- Limiting or minimalizing

- Comparative
- Mathematical

5.1.1 Evaluative adverbial predicates

The forms that are classified as evaluative adverbial predicates are unaffixed.

Table 24 Evaluative Adverbial Predicates

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>kudukdul</i>	better/preferable
<i>gaga-iho</i>	bad/evil
<i>maphod</i>	good
<i>kapyana</i>	customary
<i>man-ut</i>	fortunate
<i>sayang</i>	wasted

Wordform: **Kudukdul** na boy makidkid-um kah
 LexEntry: **kudukdul** na bo di maki- CV(C)- udum ka hi
 LexGloss: **better** 3.SG.S also LK PART HAB add to 2.SG.S DET

church activities.
 church activities
 church activities

FT: **It's better** to join in church activities.

5.1.2 Time adverbial predicates

There are five subclasses of time adverbial predicates, largely differentiated on the basis of affixation.

Class A time adverbial predicates shown in Table 25 are affixed with the *i-/iN-* set.

Table 25 Class A Time Adverbial Predicates

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>tikod</i>	stop
<i>tuluy</i>	continually
<i>lappu</i>	start
<i>dihhan</i>	simultaneous

Wordform: **Ituluy** kun ibaga tun wadah
 LexEntry: **i- tuluy** ku an i- bag'a tu an wada hi
 LexGloss: **NP.O continue** 1.SG.S LK NP.O ask for DET LK there is DET

nomnom ku.
 nomnom ku
 mind 1.SG.POSS

FT: I will continue to ask this that is in my mind.

Class B time adverbial predicates shown in Table 26 are affixed with the *-an/-in- -an* set.

Table 26 Class B Time Adverbial Predicates

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>gagala</i>	do quickly
<i>gaddud</i>	hurry an action
<i>bigla</i>	do suddenly/abruptly

Wordform: **Ginal-anan** tinolgan nadan pumbungbung
 LexEntry: **galgala -in- -an** na an tolgan -in- nadan puN- bungbung
 LexGloss: **quickly P.O** 3.SG.S LK light fire P.O DET NOM explosive

da ot bumtik an e mihani...
 da ot butik -um- an e mi- hani
 3.PL.S and then run NP.S LK go PASS be covered

FT: After quickly lighting the dynamite sticks, he ran for cover...

Class C time adverbial predicates shown in Table 27 are affixed with the *muN-/nuN-* set.

Table 27 Class C Time Adverbial Predicates

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>atigag-a</i>	hurried movement
<i>ul-ule</i>	slowly
<i>*halaman (-um-)</i>	early
<i>nanong</i>	continuing in time

Wordform: Tibom ta **mun-ul-ulen** malutu.
 LexEntry: tibo mu ta **muN- CV(C)** ule an ma- lutu
 LexGloss: see 2.SG.S so that **NP.S CONT** do slowly LK STA cooked

FT: See that it cooks slowly.

Class D time adverbial predicates shown in Table 28 are unaffixed.

Table 28 Class D Time Adverbial Predicates

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>uhup</i>	slowly/long time
<i>oggan</i>	sometimes, occasionally
<i>loktat</i>	by and by/finally
<i>kanayun</i>	always
<i>konan</i>	seldom/rarely
<i>ag-aga</i>	quickly
<i>tagan</i>	constantly/continuously
<i>ehem</i>	long time (to do)
<i>damuna</i>	meanwhile/during
<i>dandani</i>	about to happen
<i>indani/andani</i>	later/after awhile
<i>oggan</i>	sometimes/now and then

Wordform: **Kanayun** kan mundasal an mumpasalamat
 LexEntry: **kanayun** ka an muN- dasal an mumpa- salamat
 LexGloss: **always** 2.SG.S LK NP.S pray LK CAUS.S thank someone

kan hiya.
 ka an hiya
 2.SG.S LK 3.SG.O

FT: Pray always to him, thanking him.

Class E time adverbial predicates shown in Table 29 are affixed with the *ma-/na-* or the *mi-/ni-* set.

Wordform: **Mabayag** ta ahi madatngan di
 LexEntry: **ma- bayag** ta ahi ma- -an datong di
 LexGloss: **STA long time** so that ASP PASS arrive DET

Christmas.
 Christmas
 Christmas

FT: It will be a long time before the arrival of Christmas.

5.1.3 Manner adverbial predicates

Manner adverbial predicates express a way of doing something. Some occur unaffixed and others take an affix that cross-references a clause embedded in an object NP position.

Table 29 Class E Time Adverbial Predicates

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>bayag</i>	long time
<i>haynod</i>	next in sequence
<i>paddi</i>	coincidentally
<i>dandani</i>	inceptive/frequently
<i>done</i>	long time
<i>ladaw</i>	late
<i>tun-ud</i>	sequential, one after another

Table 30 Manner Adverbial Predicates

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>daydayuna</i>	it is fitting/appropriate
<i>hamad</i>	strengthen/stabilize
<i>dogap</i>	impartially
<i>dalunu</i>	secretly
<i>agannat</i>	intentionally
<i>langkuyya</i>	regard lightly

Wordform: ...inilam an bokon **langkuyyay** mun-iskul
 LexEntry: inila mu an bokon **langkuyya** di muN- iskul
 LexGloss: know 2.SG.S LK is not **regard lightly** LK NP.DEV.S school

hi college.
 hi kulihiw
 DET college

FT: ...you know that you are not going to take going to college **lightly**. (meaning you have to study hard)

5.1.4 Modality adverbial predicates

Some modality concepts are expressed in the affixes on verbs in Tuwali Ifugao; the modality adverbial predicates have embedded clauses in the subject NP position. They are linked to the embedded clauses by the linkers *an* or *di*. These adverbial predicates express modalities related to a speaker's attitude toward the information given in the embedded clause.

Table 31 Modality Adverbial Predicates

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>damana</i>	it is possible/can be
<i>ammuna</i>	it is only
<i>mahapul</i>	it is necessary
<i>kah-in</i>	it is necessary
<i>mabalin</i>	it is possible/can be
<i>gulatna</i>	it is reason for
<i>ahi</i>	intentional

Wordform: **Mahapul** an mamitlu kan mun-amo
 LexEntry: **mahapul** an mamitlu ka an muN- amo
 LexGloss: **necessity** LK three times it 2.SG.S LK NP.S bathe someone

ohan algo.
 oha an algo
 one LK day

FT: You have to take a bath three times a day. (lit. It will be necessary to three times your bathing in one day.)

5.1.5 Comparative adverbial predicates

There are adverbial predicates that are comparisons and, therefore, evaluative in nature, for example, *kay*, *paddungna*, *ingngo*, the *at* set – *umat*, *athidi*, *athitu*, *athina*.

Wordform: “**Kay** na ot kanan di Lata. Ina, kon wada
 LexEntry: **kay** na ot kanan di Lata ina kon wada
 LexGloss: **like** 3.SG.S almost say LK Lata mother INTPRO EXIS

damdamay nangang-angam ketuwen bibiyō?” kanak.
 damdama di nang- -an ang-ang mu ketuwe an bibiy’o kanan ku
 also LK P.T.O look 2.SG.S DEM5 LK fairy say I

FT: “**It was like** she said Lata. Mother, have you also seen this fairy?” I asked.

5.1.6 Mathematical adverbial predicates

The mathematical adverbial predicates are derived from the cardinal numbers by affixing with the set *mamiN-/-namiN-*. The resulting adverbial predicate encodes the number of times an action or activity takes place.

Wordform: Mamintulu dan umalih tu.
 LexEntry: mamiN- tulu da an -um- ali hitu
 LexGloss: NP.S three 3.PL.S LK NP.S ali DEM4

FT: They will come here three times (lit. They **will three times** come here).

5.2 Nominal predicates

The nouns that function as nominal predicates are limited to those that can specifically identify a role or feature of the referent encoded in the subject NP constituent of an equational clause. Examples of such nouns are:

- professions, e.g. *abugadu* ‘lawyer’, *mittulu* ‘teacher’
- kinship terms, e.g. *ama* ‘father’, *tulang* ‘sibling’
- feature, e.g. *lalaki* ‘male’, *babai* ‘female’

The nominal predicate is normally in the initial position of an equational clause; however, if the subject noun referent is referentially prominent in the discourse, there is a reversal of the order with the subject occurring in the initial position. This reversal is related to the Topicalizing Referential Strategy. For an explanation of this strategy. See 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system. In the sentence below, the first clause has the normal constituent word order, and the second clause has the reversal of the nominal predicate and the subject NP constituent.

Wordform: Nan lalaki ya hi Luis ya hi Julie nan babai.
 LexEntry: nan lalaki ya hi Luis ya hi Julie nan babai
 LexGloss: DET male LK DET Luis and DET Julie DET female

FT: Luis was the boy and Julie was the girl (lit. The boy was Luis and Julie was the girl).

5.3 Adjectival predicates

Nearly all Tuwali Ifugao adjectives may function as adjectival predicates. The adjectival predicate constructions are simple, consisting of the adjective, the linker *di* and a noun, a pronoun, and occasionally a NP. The adjectival predicate does not usually differ from the adjective in morphological form; however, it does not take verbal inflection so cannot be considered a derived verb. The analysis of the form as a predicate is based on three facts: 1) there is no other predicate in the clause, 2) the adjective is in the initial position of the clause, and 3) the form is linked to a noun or NP with the linker *di* rather than the inter-phrasal linker *an*.

Wordform: Uggek ni-an inilan kumayat handi
 LexEntry: ugge ku ni-an inila an kayat -um- handi
 LexGloss: NEG 1.SG.S before know LK climb NP.S DEM2

te **ittayak.**
 te **ittay** ak
 because **little** 1.SG.S

FT: I didn't know how to climb trees then because I was little.

5.4 Existential predicate

The existential predicate, **wada**, has four functions:

- It predicates the existence of an entity.
- It introduces new information into a discourse.
- It predicates the location of a person or entity.
- It predicates possession of an entity.

In all four functions, there is always a component of existence predicated. When the existential predicate asserts the existence of something or someone, it also has the function of introducing new information into a discourse.

Table 32 Existential Predicate

	Predication	Reference	Spatial
There is	wada	—	—
there is here	wada	h	tu
there is there	wada	h	na
there is there	wada	h	di

Wordform: **Waday** tendaan di bulwati, apatut, makan, kaiw
 LexEntry: **wada** **di** tendaan di bulwati apatut makan kaiw
 LexGloss: **EXIS** LK store LK clothing shoes food tree/wood

ya gumok.
 ya gum'ok
 and metal

FT: There are stores for clothes, shoes, food, lumber, and hardware.

Wordform: Mabalin an **waday** utok na...
 LexEntry: ma- balin an **wada** **di** utok na
 LexGloss: STA can be LK **EXIS** LK brain 3.SG.POSS

FT: He probably has a (good) brain...

5.5 Demonstrative predicates

The four sets of demonstrative predicates contrast with one another in both form and function. The members of each set also contrast with one another in the same two ways. The **y** at the end of each form is the allomorph of the linker **di**. Sometimes a speaker will use the linker rather than its allomorph. Set 1 combines the existential form with demonstrative forms.

Table 33 Demonstrative Predicates

Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4
Wadah tuy	dehtuy	hituwey	ketuwey
Wadah nay	dehnay	hinaey	kenaey
Wadah diy	dehdiy	hidiyey	kediyey

Set 2 demonstrative predicate

Wordform: Ot kananay “Dehtuy golang hitu,
 LexEntry: ot kanan na di dehtu di golang hitu
 LexGloss: and say 3.SG.S LK DEMPRED2 LK child here

wada boy mundogo.”
 wada bo di muN- dogo
 EXIS again LK NP.DEV.S sick

FT: And he commented, “There’s a child sitting here, somebody must be sick again.” (lit. Here is a child here; there is someone sick.)

Set 4 demonstrative predicate

Wordform: Kenae di nangayan da ad da-ul.
 LexEntry: kenaey di naN- -an e da ad da-ul
 LexGloss: DEMPRED4 LK P.T.PL go 3.PL.S DET down

FT: That was when they went down.

6.0 Predicate Negation

There are two types of negation that are encoded in five different forms in Tuwali Ifugao: Negation Predicate and Adverbial Predicate Negation. The five forms of negation are: *maid*, *bokon*, *toan*, *adi*, *ugge*. All forms may be used in isolation in answer to a question.

6.1 Negation predicates

The tense of the negation predicates is understood in context.

6.1.1 Negative of existence

The negation predicate *maid* asserts that something or someone does not exist; it is the negation of the existential predicate *wada* and can be translated in three ways depending on the co-occurring constituents of a clause:

- there is none
- there is nothing
- there is no one

Wordform: Nate moh apu Casilda ya
 LexEntry: na- ate mo hi apu Casilda ya
 LexGloss: STA die now DET grandparent Casilda LK

maid moy oggan mangialih allaman
maid mo di oggan mangi- ali hi allama an
NEG now LK sometimes NP.T.S bring DET crab LK

nibayuh puhu.
 ni- bayu hi puhu
 PASS pound with pestle DET banana blossom

FT: After Grandmother Casilda died, **there was no one** to bring crabs pounded with banana blossoms.

Wordform: **Maid** di himmumang.
 LexEntry: **maid** di humang -imm-
 LexGloss: **NEG** LK answer P.S

FT: **No one** answered.

6.1.2 Negative of identity

The negation predicate **bokon** ‘it is not’ asserts that something that has been stated or assumed is not true. It is the negative form of non-verbal predicates, i.e. nominal, adjectival, and adverbial.

Wordform: Immimih ina ot kananay “Ay,
 LexEntry: -imm- imi hi ina ot kanan na di ay
 LexGloss: P.S smiling DET mother and then say 3.SG.S LK yes

appaw. Man **bokon** bibiyoh diye.”
 appaw man **bokon** bibiy’o hi hidiye
 obvious certainly **NEG** fairy DET DEM3

FT: Mother smiled and said, “Oh I see, that isn’t a fairy.”

6.1.3 Negative of denial

The negation predicate **toan** ‘I don’t know’ is the simple answer to a question stating that the addressed person has no knowledge of whatever is being asked.

Wordform: **Toan** ten makulug, mu deket makulug,
 LexEntry: **toan** ten ma- kulug mu deket ma- kulug
 LexGloss: **NEG** when PASS true but if PASS true

ikabing mu anhan tun tugun ku.
 i- kabing mu anhan tu an tugun ku
 NP.O heed 2.SG.S ADJU this LK advice 1.SG.POSS

FT: Whether or not this is true, I don’t know, but if it is, then, heed my advice.

Wordform: “**Toan.** Uggemi inila te hinnatkon
 LexEntry: **toan** ugge mi inila te hinnatkon
 LexGloss: **NEG** NEG 1.PL.EXC know because different

di kali na.”
 di kali na
 DET language 3.SG.POSS

FT: “We **don’t know** (what she said) because her speech was different.”

6.2 Adverbial predicate negation

The adverbial predicate negation forms are *adi* and *ugge*. The adverbial predicate *adi* ‘not’ is a clausal negative, i.e. it negates the entire proposition encoded in either a declarative or imperative clause. The tense of the verb must be non-past. The predicate can be translated in three ways depending on the co-occurring constituents of the clause:

- will not
- cannot
- do not

Wordform: Athidi bon nah hilong ta **adi** ka
 LexEntry: umat hidi bo an nah hilong ta **adi** ka
 LexGloss: like DEM4 also LK DET night so that **NEG** 2.SG.S

pakahuyop.
 paka- huyop
 MOD sleep

FT: The same is true at night so that you cannot sleep.

Wordform: Mu **adi** maang-ang di buuk na te
 LexEntry: mu **adi** ma- ang-ang di buuk na te
 LexGloss: but **NEG** PASS look DET hair 3.SG.POSS because

nunhukyung hi mangitit.
 nuN- hukyung hi mangitit
 P.S veil DET black

FT: But her hair could **not** be seen because she was wearing a black veil over it.

The adverbial predicate *ugge* is a clausal negative, i.e. it negates the entire proposition encoded in the clause. The tense of the verb must be past tense. The use of a past tense affix usually implies an actualized event that is being described. In this case, whenever the *ugge* negative co-occurs with a past tense verb, the two together signal irrealis modality, i.e. the action, activity, or experience did not happen.

Wordform: “Toan. **Uggemi** inila te hinnatkon di
 LexEntry: toan **ugge** mi inila te hinnatkon di
 LexGloss: don’t know **NEG** 1.PL.EX.S know because different DET

kali na. Kay na pay punggalgal di
 kali na kay na pay puN- galgal di
 language 3.SG.POSS like 3.SG.S definitely NOM chew DET

kalkalyona.”

CV(C)-	kali	-on	na
CONT	say something	NP.O	3.SG.S

FT: “We **don’t** know what she said because her speech was different. It was as though she chewed on the words she was saying.”

Wordform:	“Ugge	na	kinaliy		ngadanan
LexEntry:	ugge	na	-in- kali	di	ngadan na ke
LexGloss:	NEG	3.SG.S	P.O say something	DET	name 3.SG.POSS DET

dakayu?”	hinanhanan	ina.
dakayu	hanhan	-in- -an ina
2.PL.O	question	P.O Mother

FT: “Didn’t she tell you her name?” Mother asked.

7.0 Introduction to Referential Categories

Tuwali Ifugao is a reference-dominated language. This means that although the predicate is the center of a clause, it is the discourse referential system that sets the parameters of choice related to the selection of cross-referencing verbal affixes, personal and demonstrative pronoun sets, and determiners. This section is a description of the referential lexical categories that are encoded in NPs.

There are six referential lexical categories in Tuwali Ifugao:

- common nouns
- proper nouns
- personal pronouns
- demonstrative pronouns
- interrogative pronouns
- determiners

All of these categories function to refer to the people, things, places, and times that are being talked about in any communication. However, each category has a unique referential function to introduce, trace, reintroduce, or contrast the information encoded in the forms.

Four types of referentiality are identified in this grammar in relation to the use of referential categories. For endophoric reference, i.e. textual reference, the terms “definite” and “indefinite” are used in relation to the information encoded in the forms of the lexical categories. For exophoric reference, i.e. extra-textual reference, the terms “specific” and “non-specific” are used in relation to the information encoded in the lexical forms. Only two lexical categories differentiate these four types of referentiality: demonstrative pronouns, and their shortened forms, determiners. See 7.6 Demonstrative pronouns and 7.8 Determiners for tables showing the forms and an explanation of usage.

Textual referentiality. Endophoric referential forms are those that refer to the relationships among referents within the structure of a text, providing cohesion. There are two types of endophoric relations in Tuwali Ifugao: anaphoric, i.e. back reference; and cataphoric, i.e. forward reference. In either case, the referents are definite. The term “indefinite” applies when reference is made to new information in a text.

Extra-textual referentiality. Exophoric referential forms are those that refer to extra-textual referents. The forms encode specific or non-specific reference to entities in the extra-linguistic communication situation.

If a form encodes “specific” reference, there is an identifiable entity in the referential world that is being referred to. It is not only identifiable, but it is a particular entity that a speaker has in mind in the context of the communication situation. A form that encodes non-specific reference identifies general or typical objects. Both types of extra-textual referents, specific and non-specific, after introduction into a text, become textually referential, i.e. definite.

These exophoric referential forms may encode two types of informational reference: shared information or unknown information.

Shared information may be of three types:

- Reference is made to a unique object or group of objects; only one exists or has existed or is identifiable as unique in the context of the communication.
- Reference is made to an institution, practice or tradition shared by the language community.
- Reference is general or typical for a class of objects.

Unknown information. In this case, the speaker is introducing information into the communicational context that is unknown to his hearer(s).

Referential strategies. Personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and determiners are classified partly on the basis of their function within two main rhetorical referential strategies, **Focusing** and **Topicalizing** (see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system: Referencing constraint–rhetorical strategies in discourse).

These discourse-pragmatic strategies are used in the following ways:

- to organize information
- to keep information intelligible
- to rank the significance of any piece of information

The analysis of texts has shown that these discourse-pragmatic strategies motivate the morphosyntax of clauses, and for this reason, this grammar describes Tuwali Ifugao as a reference-dominated language.

The referential lexical categories work in conjunction with verbal affixation through cross-referencing to effectively signal the identity and significance of referents.

7.1 Common Nouns

Common nouns require the co-occurrence of a determiner or a demonstrative pronoun. The determiners and demonstrative pronouns are the forms that indicate the referentiality status of common nouns. Without co-occurring determiners or demonstrative pronouns, nouns would be indeterminate in regard to endophoric and exophoric reference.

Prototypical nouns in Tuwali Ifugao have the following distributional characteristics. They are heads of NPs and have a core grammatical relation with the verb (i.e. subject, direct object, or indirect object) or they may be heads of NPs that are peripheral (i.e. non-core in regard to grammatical relations). The NPs occupy various positions in clauses based on the normal constituent order of sentence types, and their grammatical relations. There are movement rules which change their constituent positions. These rules are motivated by pragmatic factors.

Morphological (structural) characteristics of Tuwali Ifugao prototypical nouns. The most notable structural characteristic of Tuwali Ifugao nouns that differentiates them from verbs is that they can and often do occur unaffixed. Other distinctive characteristics of nouns

are the forms of affixes with which they co-occur and the modification of the meaning which results, and their derivational potential.

7.1.1 Inflectional affixes

Quantification of nouns is a diversified notion morphosyntactically. There are four quantifying notions expressed through the inflectional morphology of Tuwali Ifugao nouns: grouping, distributive, number/plural, and diminutive. Distributive is a notion that relates to number but is expressed through a prefix form. The following table introduces the prefixation used to express quantification (details to follow).

Table 34 Quantification

Unifier/Groupier	Distributive ‘every’ N		Plural	Diminutive
<i>hiN-</i>	<i>kaCV(C)-</i>	<i>kaCV(C).CV-</i>	<i>CV-</i>	<i>CVG-</i>

Grouping and unifying

The prefix *hiN-* encodes the notion of a group or unity in reference to the noun with which it co-occurs.

ama ‘father’ + *hiN-* → *hin-ama* ‘father and children’

Distributive, inclusive quantity

The prefix form *ka-* and the *CV(C)-* or *CV(C)CV-* reduplicants express the distributive, inclusive quantity concept of ‘every’. The *CV(C)-* reduplicant is generally used with place nouns, and the *CV(C)CV-* reduplicant is used for time nouns.

Wordform: Ot umitud-ak dah mumpangie
 LexEntry: ot umi- tud-ak da hi mumpaN- i- e
 LexGloss: and then NP.O send s.o. 3.PL.S DET NP.DIST NP.O take

ke dadiyen tudok hi **kabobboble**.
 ke dadiye an tudok hi **kaCV(C)-** boble
 DET DEM3 LK letter DET **DIST** village

FT: And they sent them to take that letter to every city and village.

Wordform: **Kabulabulan** an umali da.
 LexEntry: **kaCV(C)CV-** bulan an -um- ali da
 LexGloss: **DIST** month LK NP.S come they

FT: **Every** month they come.

Number

Plurality is marked within the morphology of nouns, the reduplicant **CV-**, and by a separate plural lexical item, **da**, that agrees with the reduplicant form.¹⁴

tagu ‘person’ + **CV-** → *tatagu* ‘people’

Wordform:	Immali	am-in	da	tatagu.
LexEntry:	ali	-imm-	am-in	da CV- tagu
LexGloss:	come	P.S	all	3.PL.S PL person

FT: All the people came.

Diminutive

The reduplicant **CVC-** functions to encode a smaller size of a noun referent. In the case of a noun having the syllable pattern, **CV.CV(C)**, the morphological gemination rule applies to the onset **C** of the second syllable to allow for the **CVC-** reduplicant form to apply.

talak ‘vehicle’ → *tallak* → *taltallak* ‘toy vehicle’

7.1.2 Derivation

7.1.2.1 Denominalization

Denominalization refers to the derivational process of changing nouns into verbs. A study of the derivational patterns of denominalization reveals that semantic classes of nouns and the features of their referents are indicative of the types of derivation which may apply. The features of their referents must be compatible with one of the semantic classes or subclasses of verbal roots.

Although the derived verbs appear to share some of the same semantic components as a given class of verbs, there are general differences in the morphology of the two lexical categories. As mentioned earlier in this grammar, only a very small number of verbs may be used without affixation, i.e. verbs typically are bound roots. Nouns are unbound roots and do not require affixation unless modification is needed in a context. Also, derived verbs are more constrained in the types of affixation they will accept.

Class 1 – Volitionality

Volitionality is the criterial semantic component of the referents of the members of Class 1 nouns. There are two subclasses:

- Nouns that refer to biological relations, e.g. *ama* ‘father’, *tulang* ‘sibling’

When denominalized, these nouns become verbs that predicate a relationship in which the agent-subject treats someone as though they have that particular biological relationship.

¹⁴ The plural lexical unit is often used without the reduplicant morphological marking.

Wordform: **Tulangom** nadan imbabalen Juan.
 LexEntry: **tulang -on** mu nadan imbabale an Juan
 LexGloss: **sibling NP.O** 2.SG.S DEM1 child LK Juan

FT: You are related to Juan's children (like siblings).

- Nouns that refer to a particular profession or type of work, e.g. *abugadu* 'lawyer', *mittulu* 'teacher'

When denominalized, these nouns become verbs that predicate a relationship in which the agent-subject practices his profession or does a particular kind of work.

Wordform: **Mun-abugadu** nan imbabalena hin maongal.
 LexEntry: **muN- abugadu** nan imbabale na hin ma- ongal
 LexGloss: **NP.S lawyer** DET child 3.POSS when STA big

FT: His son will practice law when he grows up.

Class 2 - Causality

Causality is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this class, i.e. the referents can cause something to happen. The best examples of this class are those nouns that may be derived to become meteorological verbs, e.g. *algo* 'sun', *dibdib* 'wind', *kidul* 'thunder'.

Wordform: Wadan **umalgo** hi bigat.
 LexEntry: wada an **-um- algo** hi big'at
 LexGloss: EXIS LK **NP.S sun** DET tomorrow

FT: Maybe the **sun will shine** tomorrow.

Class 3 – Functionality

Functionality is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this class, i.e. these things are useful in daily life. There are four subclasses based on the meaning of the derived verb.

- Nouns that refer to items of clothing, e.g. *apatut* 'shoes', *bulwati* 'generic clothing'; the resulting verbs mean to don the item of clothing.

Wordform: An **inapatut** nan apatut ku?
 LexEntry: an **-in- apatut** nan apatut ku
 LexGloss: INTPRO **P.O shoes** DET shoes 1.SG.POSS

FT: Did you **wear** my shoes?

- Nouns that refer to condiments, e.g. *ahin* 'salt', *amput* 'garlic'; the resulting verbs mean to add the condiment to food.

Wordform: **Ahinan** yu nan ihda
 LexEntry: **ahin -an** yu nan ihda
 LexGloss: **salt NP.O** 2.PL.S DET viand

FT: **Put salt** in the viand.

- Nouns that refer to domestic animals, e.g. *ahu* 'dog', *babuy* 'pig'; the resulting verbs mean to raise or care for that animal.

Wordform: **Mun-ahu** taku.
 LexEntry: **muN- ahu** taku
 LexGloss: **NP.S dog** 1.PL.IN.S

FT: Let's raise a dog.

- Nouns that refer to food or other useful items; e.g. *allama* 'crabs', *pul-ut* 'cane-grass'; the resulting verbs mean to collect these items for use.

Wordform: ...ot ipayu dah wangwang an
 LexEntry: ot i- payu da hi wangwang an
 LexGloss: and then NP.O go directly 3.PL.S DET river LK

e **mangallama.**
 e **maN- allama**
 go **NP.T.S crabs**

FT: ...and then, go directly to the river to catch crabs.

Class 4 - Instrumentality

Instrumentality is the criterial semantic component of the referents of the members of this class. The referents of the nouns are those instruments or tools that are used to accomplish tasks, e.g. *duyu* 'plate', *tan-uk* 'dipper'.

Wordform: Nganne **iduyum?**
 LexEntry: nganne **i- duyu** mu
 LexGloss: what **NP.O plate** 2.SG.S

FT: What have you placed on your plate (lit. what have you **plated**)?

Class 5 - Containership

Containership is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this class. Anything that can be filled or hold things within belong to this class, e.g. *akbut* 'backpack', *boten* 'bottle'; the resulting verb means to place items in the container.

Wordform: **In-akbut** na nan bulwatina.
 LexEntry: **iN- akbut** na nan bulwati na
 LexGloss: **P.O backpack** 3.SG.S DET clothing 3.SG.POSS

FT: He **placed** his clothes **in a backpack**.

Class 6 - Relationship

Relationship is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this class. The referent of a noun expresses a relationship with another referent or a close relationship between the noun referent and an event, e.g. *ahuk* 'smoke' and *apuy* 'fire'; *ahawa* 'spouse and marry'.

Wordform: **Mun-ahuk** nan apuy.
 LexEntry: **muN- ahuk** nan apuy
 LexGloss: **NP.S smoke** DET fire

FT: The fire is **smoking**.

Class 7 - Construction

A structure is the criterial component of the referents of the members of this noun class. The members refer to items that are constructed by humans, e.g. *alad* ‘fence’, *abung* ‘hut’; the resulting verb means to construct that item.

Wordform: **Umalad** kah pukungan di gawgawa.
 LexEntry: **-um- alad** ka hi pukung -an di gawgawa
 LexGloss: **NP.S fence** 2.SG.S DET to pen NOM DET duck

FT: **Fence a space** for a duck pen.

Class 8 - Parts of wholes

To be a part of some whole is the criterial component of the members of this class. The referent of a noun expresses a part relationship with the referent of another noun. The denominalization results in a stative verb which is intensified expressing a large number or amount of the part being described, e.g. *dutdut* ‘feathers/fur’, *happang* ‘branch’.

Wordform: **Nakaddutdutan** nan gawgawwa.
 LexEntry: **naka- -an dutdut** nan gawgawa
 LexGloss: **MOD fur, feathers** DET duck

FT: The duck has **thick feathers**.

Class 9 - Spatial concepts

There is a broad range of meaning of derived verbs related to movement or location that can be achieved through the affixation co-occurring with spatial nouns such as *da-ul* ‘below, lower elevation’ and *tap-o* ‘upper place, higher elevation’.

Wordform: **Munda-ul** nadan u-unga.
 LexEntry: **muN- da-ul** nadan CV- unga
 LexGloss: **NP.S lower place** DEM1 PL child

FT: The children are **going down**.

7.1.2.2 Renominalization

There are a number of ways in which affixation changes the semantic class of the noun but not the grammatical class. This doesn’t appear to be a common derivational process; however, it is a patterned word formation process.

Entity to container concept

When the circumfix **puN-** **-an**¹⁵ is attached to words which refer to entities that are conceptually associated with placement in containers the noun is renominalized in order to refer to such a container, e.g. *ahin* ‘salt’ → *pun-ahinan* ‘salt container’.

Entity to time-of concept (season)

The prefix **ahi-** attached to words which refer to entities which are conceptually associated with seasonal times derives a noun which refers to that time, e.g. *ani* ‘harvest’ → *ahiani* ‘harvest season’.

Single entity to group entity

The prefix **hiN-** attached to words which refer to a single person or thing changes it to a unified group entity, *ama* ‘father’ → *hin-ama* ‘father and children’.

7.2 Proper nouns

Both personal names and place names require a determiner. Personal names are marked by the determiner **hi** and proper name places are usually marked by the determiner **ad**.

7.2.1 Personal names

Personal names among the Ifugao are traditional, such as *Bugan* ‘female name’, *Kabbigat* ‘male name’; Spanish *Teresita*, *Conchita*, *Pedro*, *Pablo*; or English *Peter*, *Paul*, *Edna*, *Josephine*. Traditional names often have a meaning. Spanish names were usually given at the baptism of infants. English names have been adopted through contact with Americans or American media.

7.2.2 Place names

The most common proper nouns of places are those classified by the word **boble**. The word may refer to a country, city, or town, i.e. any place where people live, e.g. *Manila*. There are also some proper nouns that name rivers ‘*wangwang*’ and lakes ‘*lobong*’, e.g. *Ibalao wangwang* and *Ambuhayya lobong*.

7.3 Common count nouns

The count noun class is differentiated from the mass noun class by the type of quantifiers that co-occur with the two classes. Quantifiers that are restricted to co-occurrence with count nouns are the following:

- cardinal and ordinal numbers
duway algo ‘two days’
kadwan algo ‘second day’
- affixed and reduplicated cardinal numbers
hindudwan botak ‘two bundles each’
o-ohan botak ‘few bundles’

15 This circumfix **puN-** **-an** usually functions to nominalize a verb.

- the plural form *da*
da tatagu ‘people’

7.4 Common mass nouns

As mentioned above, the mass noun class is differentiated from the count noun class on the basis of the co-occurrence of classes of quantifiers. Quantifiers that are restricted to co-occurrence with mass nouns include the following:

- dimension and size quantifiers
andukkey linubid ‘long rope’
ittay nah pagey ‘a small amount of that rice’

7.5 Personal pronouns

There are four sets of pronouns in Tuwali Ifugao. They all function to substitute for nouns and NPs in communication. Sets 1, 2, and 3 do not co-occur with determiners. A sub-set of Set 4 co-occurs with the determiner *ke* when a member of the set marks a direct or indirect object that is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb, or marks a subject that has been demoted. Plural pronouns may be further specified with quantifiers.

Tuwali Ifugao pronouns, like English pronouns, encode person and number but they do not encode gender. In addition to singular and plural forms, there is a form called dual, i.e. 1st and 2nd, ‘we two’. There is also a difference between 1st, plural, exclusive ‘we, not you’ and 1st, plural, inclusive ‘we all’.

Differences between English and Tuwali personal pronoun sets:

- English differentiates a separate pronoun set to signify possession. Possession is just one function of Set 1 in Tuwali Ifugao.
- Unlike English pronouns, Tuwali Ifugao pronouns are not simply divided into subjective and objective sets. There is more complexity in their referential function related to discourse-pragmatic strategies.
- Tuwali Ifugao does not have equivalent forms for the English reflexive, reciprocal, indefinite, or relative pronoun sets. Morphosyntax signals reflexive and reciprocal actions. See 4.2.5 Participation and inclusion in actions and activities for reflexive and reciprocal affix forms. Instead of relative pronouns, relative clauses are simply marked with the linker *an/n*. See 9.1 Linkers for linker forms and description of their functions.

In Table 35 below, there is a row with the label “Reference”. In each of the columns of that row, the abbreviations Non-CR or CR classify the sets of pronouns as ones that are cross-referenced by the affix on the verb or non-cross-referenced by the affix on the verb. The morphosyntactic cross-referencing strategy encodes preferential treatment of one of the NPs in a clause; this preferential treatment is motivated by either identificational tracking or prominence ranking at that point in a communicational context.

Table 35 Personal Pronouns

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4	
Gram. Rel.	Subj/Poss	Subj	DO	DO/IO	Subj
Reference	Non-CR	CR	CR	Non-CR	CR
1 sg.	<i>ku</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>ke ha-on</i>	<i>ha-oy</i> ¹⁶
2 sg.	<i>mu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>daka</i>	<i>ke he-a</i>	<i>he-a</i>
3 sg.	<i>na</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ke hiya</i>	<i>hiya</i>
1,2 sg. (dual)	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>dita</i>	<i>ke dita</i>	<i>dita</i>
1,2 pl. (excl)	<i>mi</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>dakami</i>	<i>ke dakami</i>	<i>dakami</i>
1,2 pl (incl)	<i>taku</i>	<i>taku</i>	<i>ditaku</i>	<i>ke ditaku</i>	<i>ditaku</i>
2 pl	<i>yu</i>	<i>kayu</i>	<i>dakayu</i>	<i>ke dakayu</i>	<i>dakayu</i>
3 pl	<i>da</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dida</i>	<i>ke dida</i>	<i>dida</i>

7.6 Demonstrative pronouns

The rhetorical function of demonstrative pronouns involves a complex system of reference. The following are the main functional components of demonstrative pronouns that require their study in immediate and more remote contexts of a communication.

- Endophoric – textual reference
- Anaphoric – textual back reference
- Cataphoric – textual forward reference
- Exophoric – extra-textual reference

It is possible to postulate just three sets of demonstratives: the *han* set, the *hi* set, and the *ke* set, but we have instead shown five sets with their formatives combined on the chart below. These are the full forms used in text.

Table 36 Demonstrative Pronouns

Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4	Set 5
<i>hantun</i>	<i>hantuh</i>	<i>hituwe</i>	<i>hitu</i>	<i>ketuwe</i>
<i>hanan</i>	<i>hanah</i>	<i>hinae</i>	<i>hina</i>	<i>kenae</i>
<i>handin</i>	<i>handih</i>	<i>hidiye</i>	<i>hidi</i>	<i>kekiye</i>

Sets 1 and 2 encode exophoric reference, that is, these demonstratives are used to refer to extra-textual entities. Sets 3, 4, and 5 encode endophoric reference, that is, these demonstratives are used in back reference or forward reference to entities within a text.

16 Some speakers prefer the *ha-on* form when the following word begins with an alveolar consonant.

Demonstrative pronouns and grammatical relations. Cross-referencing of subjects and objects in constructions is criterial in determining the choice of a demonstrative pronoun in communication. This cross-referencing may be related to any of the three forms of reference, anaphora, cataphora, or exophora, but in every case of cross-referencing, the referent is either definite (anaphoric or cataphoric) or specific (exophoric).

Demonstrative pronouns and reference. Although the referential functions of Tawali Ifugao demonstrative pronouns are somewhat analogous to the English forms ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘here’, ‘there’, the sets comprise a more complex system of reference as described below.

7.6.1 Set 1

This set functions in the following ways:

- The set encodes exophoric reference. The extra-textual entities may be shared information or introduced into a communication by identifying descriptive phrases or relative clauses.
- The set co-occurs with nouns that have either a subject or object grammatical relation with the verb.
- The set is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb irrespective of whether the noun head is a subject or object.
- The spatial formatives *tu*, *na*, *di* have reference to physical spatial points – close to 1st person, close to 2nd person, or away from both respectively.
- The *n* is a contraction of the linker *an*. This form encodes the linkage to a head noun or a relative clause.
- When plural is marked, the *da* plural marker is inserted between the spatial formative and the linker contraction, e.g. *hanadan*, *hantudan*, or *handidan*.

7.6.2 Set 2

- As with Set 1, this set encodes exophoric reference.
- These three demonstrative forms usually mark a time or a place but may, in some instances refer to nouns that are not a time or a place. In either case, the spatial formative relates to distance in time or place, indicating near or far.
- They may also refer to indirect objects that are not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- The spatial formatives *tu*, *na*, *di* have reference to physical spatial points – close to 1st person, close to 2nd person or away from both respectively.
- The *h* is a contraction of the determiner *hi*.
- As with Set 1, the plural form, *da*, can be inserted between the spatial formative and the contraction of the determiner, e.g. *hantudah*.
- Some speakers delete the reference formative, *han*, and the plural form, *da*, is inserted between the formative *na* and the determiner contraction *hi*. So instead of *hantudah*, these speakers say *tudah*.

7.6.3 Set 3

- Set 3 demonstratives encode endophoric reference. *Hituwe* is cataphoric in function, i.e. it refers to something that immediately follows the form. *Hidiye* is anaphoric in function, i.e. it refers to something introduced previously. *Hinae* is also anaphoric in function, but generally refers to something that has been introduced that is in the immediately preceding context. This demonstrative may also cross-reference a second person possession or second person agent-subject.

- The set may encode either a subject or object grammatical relationship with the verb.
- The spatial formatives **tu**, **na**, **di** have reference to physical spatial points – close to 1st person, close to 2nd person, or away from both respectively.
- The formatives may also be used to indicate the distance away of a previous reference.
- The set also encodes reference to speech based on whose speech is being referred to, e.g. if a 1st person refers to his own speech, he will use the **tu** spatial formative; in reference to the speech of a 2nd person, he will use **na**; and in reference to a third person's speech, he will use **di**.
- The set may occur without a head noun. When the set occurs with a head noun, or relative clause, the linker **an** is contracted and the **n** is attached. If, however, the set occurs preceding an oblique NP or proper name, the determiner **hi** is contracted and the **h** is attached.
- When the plural form **da** co-occurs with this set, it replaces the reference formative **hi**: **datuwe**, **danae**, and **dadiye**.
- When the set co-occurs with the linker **di/y**, the forms predicate, substituting for the existential predicate **wada**. For example, the form **hituwey** predicates with the meaning 'this is'.
- When the **hidiye** is compounded with conjunction **ta** and determiner **nan**, it (along with the other elements of the compound) encodes the logical discourse connector, 'therefore'.

7.6.4 Set 4

- The three members of Set 4 demonstratives refer to times or places.
- The set may occur without a head noun.
- If a head noun does not co-occur, there will be no contraction of a determiner. Depending on the form that co-occurs, there can be three closing consonants: **n**, which is a contraction of linker **an**; **h**, which is a contraction of determiner **hi**; or **y**, which is a contraction of linker **di**.
- When the set co-occurs with the linker **di/y**, the forms predicate, substituting for the existential predicate, **wada**. Unlike Set 3, they can only predicate a place, not a subject or an object.
- The shortened forms **hitu**, **hina**, and **hidi** may also co-occur with the existential predicate. In this case, they are contracted to become the forms, **wadah tu**, **wadah na**, **wadah di**.
- The spatial formatives **tu**, **na**, **di** have reference to physical spatial points – close to 1st person, close to 2nd person or away from both respectively.

7.6.5 Set 5

- Set 5 encodes endophoric reference.
- The set refers to times or places.
- The set refers to objects when the agent-subject has been topicalized by being moved to the pre-verb position.
- The set refers to objects in dependent clause structures.
- The spatial formatives **tu**, **na**, **di** have reference to physical spatial points – close to 1st person, close to 2nd person or away from both respectively.
- The set often functions as a setting, occurring in the pre-verb position in the clause with a co-occurring relative clause linked by **an** that is contracted to **n** and the **n** is attached.
- The plural forms are *ke datuwe*, *ke danae*, *ke dadiye*.

7.7 Interrogative pronouns

There are eight interrogative pronouns in Tuwali Ifugao; they are shown in Table 37 with their closest English equivalents; unlike some of the English interrogative pronouns, none of the Tuwali Ifugao pronouns may be used as relative pronouns marking relative clauses.

Table 37 Interrogative Pronouns

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>dahdi</i>	who
<i>nganne</i>	what, how
<i>kaatna</i>	how many, how much
<i>daana</i>	where
<i>kakon-ana</i>	when
<i>tipe</i>	why
<i>an</i>	content
<i>kon</i>	questioning truth

7.8 Determiners¹⁷

Tuwali Ifugao determiners function referentially to introduce, trace, and contrast the people, things, places, and times being talked about in a communication situation. They occur preceding nouns, i.e. pre-position, but they are not equivalent in function or meaning to English prepositions. With the exception of the determiner form **ad**, the forms appear to be shortened forms of demonstrative pronouns, and they function in similar ways. See 7.6 Demonstrative pronouns for the forms and the explanation of their usage.

Shortened forms of Set 1 and Set 2 demonstratives

Set 1	Set 2
<i>tun</i>	<i>tuh</i>
<i>nan</i>	<i>nah</i>
<i>din</i>	<i>dih</i>

¹⁷ These forms have had a number of different terms applied to them by linguists, e.g. case markers, noun markers, voice markers, etc.

Table 38 Determiners

	Cross-referencing				-----		-----		Fronted NP	
	Subj		DO		IO		Oblique		Top	
	Def	Ind	Def	Ind	Def	Ind	Ti	Pl	Def	Ind
Person	<i>hi</i>		hi		ke				hi	
Common	Set 1	<i>di</i>	Set 1	<i>di</i>	Set 2	<i>hi</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>ad</i>	<i>hanan</i>	<i>hay</i>

The function of the *on* determiner has been described below; it does not fit the categories on the table.

Abbreviations shown on Table 38 Determiners

Su	Subject
DO	Direct Object
IO	Indirect Object
Top	Fronted NP
Def	Definite
Ind	Indefinite
Ti	Time
Pl	Place

7.8.1 Definite or specific reference determiner – *nan*

Nan is the shortened form of the demonstrative pronoun, *hanan*. The plural form of *nan* is *nadan*, the shortened form of the plural demonstrative pronoun, *hanadan*.

Features of the noun or NP marked with the *nan* determiner are the following:

- The determiner with its co-occurring noun head is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- The noun may have either a subject or object grammatical relation with the verb.
- The grammatical relation is specified by the affix on the verb. The determiner itself does not have a case relation component.
- The determiner encodes either definite or specific referentiality of its noun head. That means the referent of the noun head either has been referred to previously in the text or it has a specific extra-textual reference.

7.8.2 Definite and specific reference determiner - *nah*

Nah is the shortened form of the demonstrative pronoun, *hanah*. The plural form of *nah* is *nadah*, the shortened form of the plural demonstrative pronoun, *hanadah*.

Features of the noun or NP marked by the *nah* determiner are the following:

- The noun is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.

- The noun has definite or specific referentiality, i.e. the referent of the noun either has been referred to previously in the text or it has a specific extra-textual referent.
- The noun may have either a direct object or indirect object grammatical relation with the verb. Because it is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb it has no overt verbal indication of the grammatical relationship. Only the valence of the verbal root and the position of the marked NP signal whether it is a direct or indirect object.
- The referent of the noun is a site-object.

7.8.3 *Definite and specific reference determiner – tun*

Functional features of the noun or NP marked by the **tun** determiner are as follows:

- Marks a noun or NP that has definite or specific reference.
- Marks a noun or NP that has a subject or direct object grammatical relation to the verb.
- Marks a noun or NP that is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- Marks a noun or NP that is spatially near the speaker.
- Used only in syntactic constructions that express a speech event.

7.8.4 *Definite and specific reference determiner - tuh*

Functional features of the noun or NP marked by the **tuh** determiner are as follows:

- Marks a noun or NP that has definite or specific reference.
- Marks a noun or NP that has a direct or indirect object grammatical relation to the verb.
- Marks a noun or NP that is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- Marks a noun or NP that is spatially near the speaker.
- Used only in syntactic constructions that express a speech event.

7.8.5 *Definite and specific reference determiner – din*

Functional features of the noun or NP marked by the **din** determiner are as follows:

- Marks a noun or NP that has definite or specific reference.
- Marks a noun or NP that has a subject or direct object grammatical relation to the verb.
- Marks a noun or NP that is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- Marks a noun or NP that is spatially distant from the speaker.
- Used only in syntactic constructions that express a speech event.

7.8.6 *Definite and specific reference determiner – dih*

Functional features of the noun or NP marked by the **dih** determiner:

- Marks a noun or NP that has definite or specific reference.
- Marks a noun or NP that has a direct or indirect object grammatical relation to the verb.
- Marks a noun or NP that is not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- Marks a noun or NP that is spatially distant from the speaker.
- Used only in syntactic constructions that express a speech event.

7.8.7 *Multiple-functioning hi determiner*

The determiner **hi** has multiple functions. One grammatical function of **hi** is to mark a proper personal name. When **hi** marks a common noun, it generally functions as an indefinite

determiner. However, when it marks a noun that is inalienably possessed, it clearly marks that noun as definite. When *hi* marks one-of-a-kind nouns, it also clearly marks that noun as definite.

Features of the proper noun marked by the *hi* determiner are the following:

- The proper noun may or may not be cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- The proper noun may have a subject or object grammatical relation with the verb.

Features of the *hi* determiner when co-occurring with common noun heads or embedded relative clauses are the following:

- The determiner and its co-occurring noun head are not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- The determiner marks the referent of the noun as indefinite and non-specific i.e. the referent of the noun has not been referred to previously in the text and does not have a specific extra-textual referent, with the exception of a referent that is one-of-a-kind.
- The determiner and noun may have an indirect object relation to the verb, but the verb must be a ditransitive verb, i.e. within the lexical valence of the verbal root, there are two possible undergoers of the action, e.g. conveyed object and site, or patient and site.
- The noun or NP may also have a non-core relationship, either a semantic time or place, to the action or activity expressed by the verb.
- The noun, NP, or embedded clause may express a modality concept.
- A clause embedded in a NP expresses a logical or modificational relation to the main clause.

7.8.8 Indefinite determiner – *di*

The grammatical function of *di* is to mark a noun or NP that is cross-referenced by the affix on the verb; this noun or NP has the semantic role-valence relation which has preferential ranking because of the significance of the information in the situational context.

Features of the noun marked by the *di* determiner are the following:

- The determiner and its co-occurring noun head are usually cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- It marks the noun as indefinite, i.e. the referent of the noun has not been referred to previously in a text.
- The noun, however, may refer to one of a kind, and then has a specific extra-textual referent because it is usually a shared referent.
- The noun also may have specific extra-textual reference from the speaker's point of view, but is not a shared referent with the hearer as described in the previous statement. In this case, it is an introductory reference.
- The NP co-occurring with an existential or demonstrative predicate is commonly marked with this determiner.
- The noun, NP, or embedded clause marked by the determiner may have either a subject or object grammatical relation with the verb; the affix on the verb specifies the grammatical relation.

7.8.9 Topicalizing indefinite, non-specific determiner – *hay*

The grammatical function of *hay* is to mark the topicalized constituent of an equational clause and less frequently the topicalized constituent of a stative or active clause. An equational clause has a predicational and a referential constituent. Referentially the topicalized constituent is indefinite and non-specific and may be a noun, a NP, or a clause. The usual linker between the constituent and the remainder of the clause is *ya*.

Features of the noun, NP, or clause marked by the *hay* determiner are the following:

- The noun or NP is indefinite and non-specific.
- The noun or NP may be either the predicational or referential constituent.
- If the noun or NP is the referential constituent it will have the subject grammatical relation.
- If the noun or NP is the topicalized constituent of a stative or active clause it may have either the subject or object grammatical relation with the verb.
- Generally the marked constituent is being introduced into the discourse.

7.8.10 Time and place determiner – *ad*

The grammatical function of the *ad* determiner is to mark proper nouns naming places and common nouns that refer to spatial places. The determiner also marks a limited number of time nouns.

Features of nouns marked by the *ad* determiner are as follows:

- The proper nouns refer to places.
- Some common nouns refer to spatial places, e.g. *ad tap-o* ‘upper place’, *ad da-ul* ‘lower place’, *ad lagud* ‘the east place’, *ad kabunyan* ‘the sky place’, *ad dalom* ‘the under place below earth’s surface’, *ad daya* ‘the west place’.
- Some common nouns refer to time periods, e.g. *ad uwani* ‘today’, *ad nakugab* ‘yesterday’.

7.8.11 Determiner – *ke*

Features of nouns marked by the *ke* determiner are as follows:

- The grammatical function of the *ke* determiner is to mark Set 4 pronouns, proper names, or kin terms that are not cross-referenced by the affix on the verb, but have object or indirect object relations to the verb.
- When an agent-subject constituent is topicalized in a transitive clause, *ke* marks the person-object.
- The determiner also marks the second personal name in a coordinate personal NP.
- In a causative structure, i.e. with a causative agent, the agent (person doing the action) is marked as a direct object or an indirect object.

7.8.12 Determiner – *on*

Features of nouns marked by the *on* determiner are as follows:

- The nouns are cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.
- The nouns are indefinite in that they are being introduced.
- The identity of the nouns, though indefinite, is contingent on someone or something that has been previously referred to in the communication situation.

8.0 Introduction to Modificational Categories

Although there are some distinctive inflectional and distributional properties of the lexical categories classified as modificational, it is their semantic and functional properties that differentiate them from the lexical categories that are classified as predicational, referential, and relational.

There are three main modificational categories in Tawali Ifugao: Adjectives, Adverbs, and Adjuncts. Adjectives modify nouns, adverbs modify verbs, and adjuncts modify clauses by encoding a speaker’s perspective of the information contained in a clause.

Adjectives have two subcategories: Qualifying and Quantifying. Adjuncts have three subcategories: Interjection, Attitudinal Modality, and Interpersonal Modality.

8.1 Adjectives

All Tuwali Ifugao adjectives are evaluative in nature. However, there are subclasses that are determined on the basis of syntactic, inflectional, and derivational criteria. Syntactically, adjectives function as modifiers in NPs. Most of them can also predicate and, in fact, statistically they are used to predicate more frequently than they are used to modify nouns in NPs.

When adjectives occur within NPs, they usually occur before the noun head and are generally linked to the noun by the form *an*. This is the same linker that connects relative clauses to their head nouns and complements to the verbs they modify. When noun heads are definite or specific, determiners mark them and in these instances, the determiners also serve to link the adjective to the noun and the *an* linker is not required.

Qualifying adjectives describe the characteristics or properties of referents; they are few in number and usually encode a value judgment of people, things, or places. Quantifying adjectives encode dimensions, size, measure, and number.

Table 39 Criterial Components of Adjective Classes

Qualifiers	Quantifiers		
	Dimension	Size	Number
<i>maphod</i> ‘good’	<i>dukke</i> ‘long’	<i>ongal</i> ‘big’	<i>duwa</i> ‘two’ ¹⁸
<i>gaga-iho</i> ‘bad’	<i>tikke</i> ‘short’	<i>itay</i> ‘small’	<i>am-in</i> ‘all’
<i>himpappange</i> ‘terrible’	<i>bilog</i> ‘wide’	—	<i>o-oha</i> ‘few’ ¹⁹
<i>dati</i> ‘old, former’	<i>tag-e</i> ‘high’	—	<i>dakol</i> ‘many’
<i>ustu</i> ‘adequate’	—	—	—
<i>hilbi</i> ‘valuable’	—	—	—

8.1.1 Measure quantifiers

Measure quantifier constructions are formed with nouns that may serve as measures and co-occur with quantifiers. When the prefix *hiN-* co-occurs it encodes one measure but cardinal numbers may also serve as quantifiers of measure nouns.

18 All cardinal numbers function as quantifiers; ‘two’ is included here only as an example.

19 The adjectival root is the cardinal number *oha* ‘one’.

Table 40 Measure Quantifiers

Tuwali Ifugao	English	Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>basu</i>	cup	<i>himbasu</i>	one cupful
<i>iduh</i>	spoon	<i>hin-iduh</i>	one spoonful
<i>malukung</i>	bowl	<i>himmelukung</i>	one bowl full
<i>banga</i>	pot	<i>himbanga</i>	one pot full
<i>akup</i>	both hands cupped	<i>hin-akup</i>	one double handful
<i>gamal</i>	one hand cupped	<i>hinggamal</i>	one handful
<i>botok</i>	bundle	<i>himbotok</i>	one bundle
<i>uyun</i>	bundle	<i>hin-uyun</i>	one bundle
<i>pu-ul</i>	pile	<i>himpu-ul</i>	one pile
<i>takdog</i>	to stand ²⁰	<i>hintakdog</i>	one person height

8.1.2 Number quantifiers

There are two main categories of number quantifiers: indefinite and definite. The definite number category is particularly productive morphologically, inflectionally, and derivationally, and is mathematically important conceptually.

Table 41 Indefinite Number Quantifiers

<i>dakol</i>	many
<i>udum</i>	some
<i>kumpulmi</i>	any
<i>am-in</i>	all

Wordform: Immali **am-in** da tatagu.
 LexEntry: ali -imm- **am-in** da CV- tagu
 LexGloss: come P.S **all** 3.PL.S **PL** person

FT: All the people came.

20 This measure quantifier is based on the height of a person who is standing. The quantifier is commonly used for measuring quarried rocks used for building retaining walls.

Cardinal numbers

Table 42 Cardinal Numbers

Tuwali Ifugao	English	Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>oha</i>	one	<i>pitu</i>	seven
<i>duwa</i>	two	<i>walu</i>	eight
<i>tulu</i>	three	<i>hiyam</i>	nine
<i>opat</i>	four	<i>himpulu</i>	ten
<i>lima</i>	five	<i>gatut</i>	hundred
<i>onom</i>	six	<i>libu</i>	thousand

Cardinal number inflection and derivation

Table 43 shows the various inflectional and derivational word formation processes available to express mathematical concepts using cardinal numbers. Here *duwa* 'two' is used to exemplify the patterns, but such forms occur with all cardinal numbers.

Table 43 Cardinal Number Inflection and Derivation

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>duwa</i>	two
<i>hindudwa</i>	two each
<i>maduwwadduwwa</i>	two per group
<i>duwwaduwwaon</i>	divide into groups of two
<i>duwwaduwwa</i>	pair, by twos
<i>kadwa</i>	second
<i>mikadwa</i>	will be second
<i>pidwana</i>	second time
<i>mumpidwa</i>	will do twice
<i>pumpidwaon</i>	do it twice (imperative)

Number distributive inflection

The prefix *hiN-* and the *CV-* reduplicant added to cardinal numbers modify head nouns by encoding a distributive concept. The resulting NPs co-occur only with Class 3A lexical roots that have a criterial semantic component 'to move and position an object at site' and Class 3B lexical roots that have a criterial semantic component 'to move and release an object'.

Table 44 Quantification - Division and Distribution

Tuwali Ifugao	English	Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>hin-oh-a</i>	one each	<i>hin-on-om</i>	six each
<i>hindudwa</i>	two each	<i>himpipitu</i>	seven each
<i>hintutlu</i>	three each	<i>hinwawalu</i>	eight each
<i>hin-op-at</i>	four each	<i>hinhihiyam</i>	nine each
<i>hinlilma</i>	five each	<i>himpupulu</i>	ten each

8.1.3 Inflectional affixes

Comparative inflection may co-occur with both dimension and size quantifier adjectives.

Table 45 Comparative Inflection

Intensifier	Comparative	Superlative
CV(C)CV-	CV(C)-	ka- -an + CV(C)-

Table 46 Comparative and Superlative Inflected Examples

Root	English	Prefix + CV(C)	English	Circumfix ka- -an + CV(C)	English
<i>akhop</i>	low	<i>na-ak-akhop</i>	lower than	<i>ka-ak-akhopan</i>	lowest
<i>tag-e</i>	high	<i>natagtag-e</i>	higher than	<i>katagtag-ayan</i>	highest
<i>dukke</i>	long	<i>andukdukke</i>	longer than	<i>kadukdukkayan</i>	longest
<i>tikke</i>	short	<i>antiktikke</i>	shorter than	<i>katiktikkayan</i>	shortest
<i>ongal</i>	big	<i>ong-ongal</i>	bigger than	<i>ka-ong-ongalan</i>	biggest
<i>ittay</i>	small	<i>it-ittay</i>	smaller than	<i>ka-iittayan</i>	smallest

8.1.4 Derivational morphology

In general, qualifying adjectives may function as adjectival predicates without any change in form. As shown in Table 43, cardinal numbers have the most productive and broadest variety of derivations. Other quantifying adjectives have two common derivations: Adjective → Noun and Adjective → Active Verb.

Derived noun

The prefix *ka-* derives a noun from the dimension quantifier class of adjectives.

Table 47 Derived Nouns

Tuwali Ifugao	English	Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>bilog</i>	wide	<i>kabilog</i>	width
<i>dukke</i>	long	<i>kadukke</i>	length
<i>dallom</i>	deep	<i>kadallom</i>	depth
<i>tag-e</i>	high	<i>katag-e</i>	height
<i>akhop</i>	low	<i>kaakhop</i>	low
<i>dakol</i>	many	<i>kadakol</i>	amount/number

Derived active verb

When an active verb is derived from an adjective, the derived verb fits into a verb class, and may then take the usual inflectional affixes associated with that class.

dukke ‘long’ + *-um-* → *dumukke* ‘to become long’
dukke ‘long’ + *-on* → *dukkeyon* ‘to lengthen’

8.2 Adverbs

Adverbial modification is encoded grammatically in one of two ways in discourse: as predicates or as adverbs that modify verbal predicates. The choice of function depends on the prominence that a speaker wants to give to the information, and the scope of the modification. See 5.1 Adverbial predicates for a description of adverbial predicates.

There are three classes of adverbs: time adverbs, additive adverbs, and limiting adverbs. The classification is based largely on the modifying function. Some similar functions are expressed by adverbial predicates.

8.2.1 Time adverbs

Time adverbs modify a main verb by specifying a time element related to the verb. The usual position of a time adverb is immediately following the agent-subject of the clause. However, there are certain function words such as the negatives that occur in a pre-verbal position; they tend to attract the time adverbs to a pre-verbal position. One adverb, *ahi*, always occurs in the pre-verbal position, and also attracts the agent-subject to the pre-verbal position.

Table 48 Time Adverbs

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>mo</i>	now/already
<i>ahi</i>	future intention
<i>ni-an</i>	before/not yet

Wordform: Adim **mo** painnay-ayyam te
 LexEntry: adi mu **mo** pa- inn- CV(C) ayyam te
 LexGloss: NEG 2.SG.S **now** CAUS MOD CONT play because

mahapul an mun-istudy kah ustu.
 mahapul an muN- istudy ka hi ustu
 necessity LK NP.S study 2.SG.S DET adequate

FT: You must not now waste your time playing because it's necessary for you to study adequately.

Wordform: Adina anhan dongolon di kalin
 LexEntry: adi na anhan dongol -on di kali an
 LexGloss: not 3.SG.S ADJU listen NP.O DET language LK

nan inayana an kananay **ahida** mahmok
 nan inayan na an kanan na di **ahi** da ma- homok
 DET spouse 3.SG.POSS LK say 3.SG.S LK **ASP** 3.PL.S PASS pity

di imbabale da.
 di imbabale da
 DET child 3.POSS

FT: He did not heed the protests of his wife who said that their children would certainly be pitiful.

8.2.2 Additive adverbs

This class of adverbs modifies a predicate by encoding the concept of a similar or added predicational concept to one that has been mentioned previously.

Table 49 Additive Adverbial Modifiers

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>bo</i>	also
<i>damdama</i>	also, anyway
<i>pay</i> *	also

*Pay is borrowed from Ilocano.

Wordform: Uggek **bo** udot inila nan
 LexEntry: ugge ku **bo** udot inila nan
 LexGloss: NEG 1.SG.S **also** expressing perplexity know DET

kali da.
 kali da
 language 3.PL.POSS

FT: Also, I didn't even know their language.

8.2.3 Limiting and maximizing adverbs

Limiting adverbs are those that limit, minimalize, or maximize events, processes, or persons.

Table 50 Limiting and Maximizing Adverbs

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>abu</i>	only
<i>innang</i>	nearly/almost
<i>ot ya abu</i>	totally/absolutely/entirely
<i>takon</i>	including
<i>ustu</i>	adequate/sufficient

abu ‘only’

Wordform: Opat ya **abuy** natdaan ke dadiyen Ippangyol.
 LexEntry: opat ya **abu** di na- -an toda ke dadiye an ippangyol
 LexGloss: four LK **only** LK PASS survive DET DEM3 LK Spanish

FT: Only four of the Spaniards survived.

ot ya abu ‘totally’

Wordform: Mu dakdakol di kaapputan ta
 LexEntry: mu CV(C)C2 dakol di ka- -an apput ta
 LexGloss: but COMP many LK NOM defeat so that

maahinut **otyaabun** am-in.
 ma- ahinut **ot ya abu** an am-in
 PASS little by little **totally** LK all

FT: But one loses more times than he wins such that eventually, everything will be totally lost.

8.3 Adjuncts

All adjuncts are those that express speaker involvement in the evaluation of the information given in any sentence, as well as its linguistic and extra-linguistic context.

There are three subclasses of adjuncts:

- interjectional modifiers - express emotion
- attitudinal modifiers
 - are related to information, perceived reality, and belief
 - are related to mood, emotion
- interpersonal modifiers – are related to personal relationships and communication

8.3.1 Interjection adjuncts

These adjuncts occur in the first position of clause word order.

Table 51 Interjection Adjuncts

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>iday</i>	surprised dismay, oh dear
<i>ay</i>	exclamation of insight
<i>appa</i>	expression of concern or pity
<i>anakkayang</i>	surprise
<i>akaw</i>	emphatic declaration
<i>inay-aw</i>	dismay
<i>inang</i>	concern, 'oh my'
<i>anay/aday</i>	'ouch, ow'
<i>o</i>	hesitant pause
<i>hoy</i>	call for attention, 'hey'

Wordform: Kanan da kanuy “**Iday,** dahdiy
 LexEntry: kanan da kanu di **iday** dahdi di
 LexGloss: say 3.PL.S reportedly LK **oh dear** who LK

nangat hitun hiya, etaku ot te
 naN- at hitu an hiya e taku ot te
 P.T.S do DEM4 LK 3.SG.O go 1.PL.IN.S ADJU because

ipanuyu da man ke ditaku.”
 i- panuyu da man ke ditaku
 NP.O blame 3.PL.S certainly DET 1.PL.IN.IO

FT: According to him, they said, “Oh dear, who did this to him? Let’s go because they might blame it on us.”

Wordform: Mibakilang kanuh Abe nah alak ot
 LexEntry: mi- bakilang kanu hi Abe nah alak ot
 LexGloss: PASS lie down reportedly DET Abe DET canal and then

kanana kanuy “**Aday, aday, aday, aday.**”
 kanan na kanu di **aday** **aday** **aday** **aday**
 say 3.SG.S reportedly LK **ouch** **ouch** **ouch** **ouch**

FT: According to Abe, he lay down in the ditch and he said, “Ow, ow, ow, ow.”

8.3.2 Attitudinal adjuncts

8.3.2.1 Related to information, reality, belief

Speakers choose these adjuncts when they wish to express a judgment about the factual status of the information they are giving.

Table 52 Epistemic Modality Adjuncts

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>tut-uwa</i>	truly
<i>peman</i>	interactive, truly, really ²¹
<i>tuwali</i>	in fact, in reality
<i>met</i>	certainly
<i>kaya</i>	contrastive, certainly ²²
<i>pay</i>	definitely, emphatic certainty
<i>kanu</i>	reportedly
<i>kal-ina</i>	probably
<i>nin</i>	maybe, possibly
<i>maid maptok</i>	it is uncertain ²³
<i>ot</i>	tentative/almost/maybe
<i>kaspangarigan</i>	for example
<i>man</i>	certainly
<i>nimpe</i>	contingent certainty, speaker involved
<i>nuppe</i>	contingent certainty, speaker not involved
<i>udot</i>	uncertain perplexity

Wordform: Kon **tuwali** waday kimmadangyan hi tugal?
 LexEntry: kon **tuwali** wada di kadangyan -imm- hi tugal
 LexGloss: INTPRO **actually** EXIS LK rich P.S DET gamble

FT: Rightly so (actually), was there ever one who became a rich man through gambling?

21 This adjunct is used when a speaker is commenting on something that has been said previously.

22 This adjunct is used when a speaker is contrasting the information contained in his statement with something that has been said previously.

23 This adjunct functions as a predicate.

Wordform: Kananay “**Man** bokon mu hi Lammooy **man**
 LexEntry: kanan na di **man** bokon mu hi Lammooy **man**
 LexGloss: say 3.SG.S LK **certainly** NEG but DET Lammooy **certainly**

impangang-ang ku.”
 impaN- ang-ang ku
 CAUS look 1.SG.S

FT: He said, “It certainly could not be, but I certainly saw him as Lammooy.”

8.3.2.2 Obligatory modality

The obligatory modality adjuncts express a sense of duty or what is considered to be appropriate behavior in the current circumstance.

Table 53 Obligatory Adjuncts

Tuwali Ifugao	English
<i>ni-mo</i>	minimally necessary – at least
<i>gulat na ta</i>	unmet obligation
<i>nuppe</i>	necessity/certainly

Wordform: Hay oha bo ya adi nadaman ena itikod
 LexEntry: hay oha bo ya adi nadaman e na i- tikod
 LexGloss: DET one also LK not can go 3.SG.S NP.O stop

an mummogmog hi manuk **ni-mo.**
 an muN- mogmog hi manuk **ni-mo**
 LK NP.S raise poultry DET chicken **at least**

FT: Another reason is that he cannot stop raising chickens (lit. he must raise chickens at least).

There are two meaning components to the adjunct *nuppe*: one component implies the necessity of an action and the other component adds a certainty concept; together the components express obligatory certainty. In context, one or the other component may be prominent.

Wordform: Opwatom **nuppe** nan hinamal,
 LexEntry: opwat -on mu **nuppe** nan hinamal
 LexGloss: remove from fire NP.O 2.SG.S **certainly** DET cooked rice

akudom hi ligau ta madibdiban ta
 ak’ud -on mu hi ligau ta ma--an dibdib ta
 dish up NP.O 2.SG.S DET basket so that STA wind so that

mababao.
 ma- CV- bao
 STA continuative cool

FT: You must remove the pot from the fire, ladle out the rice into a winnow so the air will help to cool it.

9.0 Introduction to Relational Categories

Tuwali Ifugao has two main relational categories: linkers and conjunctions. Linkers have two main functions, relating constituents of phrases and relating constituents of clauses. Conjunctions relate clauses and have two main functions, either subordinating or coordinating.

9.1 Linkers

There are three main linker forms, *ya*, *di*, and *an*. Each has more than one linking function.

- The *ya* form links a fronted NP constituent to the remaining constituents of a clause. The form also connects coordinate clauses functioning as the conjunction that can be glossed as ‘and’.

Wordform: Nan amunin **ya** mihdih muyung.
 LexEntry: nan amunin **ya** mi- hidi hi muyung
 LexGloss: DET wildcat **LK** PASS DEM4 DET forest

FT: As for the wildcat, it lives there in the forest.

The *di* form has an allomorph *y* that links non-verbal predicates (i.e. existential, demonstrative, adjectival, and adverbial) to the other constituents of a clause. It links interrogative pronouns to the other constituents of the clauses and also links a preposed clausal constituent to the predicate and remaining constituents of the clauses. The form also functions as an indefinite determiner when it marks a NP.

Wordform: Dakol day naminhod an mangihdah amunin.
 LexEntry: dakol da **di** naN- pinhod an maN- ihda hi amunin
 LexGloss: many 3.PL.S **LK** P.T.S like **LK** NP.T.S viand DET squirrel

FT: Many like to eat wildcat meat.

The *an* form links the constituents of a NP or the constituents of complex sentences. In a NP, the form links an adjective to the head noun. In a complex sentence, the form links a relative clause to the head noun occurring in the main clause; it also links a complement clause to the predicate.

Wordform: Handih nadilagan nan danum ya
 LexEntry: handi hi na- -an dilag nan danum ya
 LexGloss: DEM2 DET PASS use light DET water **LK**

tinibon Malyay dakol **an** allaman mahmahhuyop
 tibo -in- an Malya dakol **an** allama **an** CV(C)C- ma- huyop
 see P.O **LK** Malya many **LK** crab **LK** CONT STA sleep

nah babatu.
 nah CV- bat'u
 DET PL rock

FT: When the torches lit the water, Malya saw many crabs (that were) sleeping on the stones.

9.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions are of two types: coordinating and subordinating. In Tawali Ifugao, coordinating conjunctions function to relate clauses that encode information that is equally prominent in the context; neither clause modifies the other. Subordinating conjunctions mark adverbial clauses that modify main clauses by indicating the semantic relationship that the subordinate information has to that in the main clause. Both types of conjunctions are cohesive elements in discourse.

Some Tawali Ifugao conjunctions have more than one meaning, and context is required to interpret the meaning. Predicates and information conveyed by the NP constituents are needed to determine the meaning and function of those conjunctions that have multiple meaning and function.

Conjunctions may be compounded with the combined elements being two or more conjunctions or a combination of conjunctions and adjuncts.

9.2.1 Coordinating conjunctions

As mentioned above, coordinating conjunctions indicate that the information in the coordinated clauses is of equal significance in the context of use. Neither clause in a coordinate relationship is subordinate to the other.

Table 54 Coordinating Conjunctions

Relation	Tawali Form	English Equivalent
Addition	<i>ya</i>	and
Sequence - time	<i>ot</i>	and then
Sequence – reason-result	<i>ot</i>	and so
Contrast	<i>mu</i>	but
Alternative	<i>weno</i> and <i>o</i>	or

Wordform: “Mun-ay-ayam kamih did dola **ya**
 LexEntry: muN- CV(C)- ayam kami hi hidi di dola **ya**
 LexGloss: NP.S CONT play 1.PL.EX.S DET DEM4 DET yard **and**

tim Maddog on bibiyō nah hinangngab mi,”
 taddog -imm- on bibiy’ō nah hinangngab mi
 stand up P.S LK fairy DET front 1.PL.EX.POSS

inhumang ku.
 -in- humang ku
 P.O answer 1.SG.S

FT: “We were playing in the yard **and** a fairy stood in front of us,” I answered.

9.2.2 Subordinating conjunctions

The naming of relations and English equivalents cannot be considered prescriptive. Most of them have multiple meaning. Usually, context disambiguates the relations between the clauses and the meaning encoded in the form.

Table 55 Subordinating Conjunctions

Relation	Tuwali Ifugao	English
Conditional/Time	<i>deket</i>	if/when
Conditional/Time	<i>hin</i>	if/when
Time	<i>ten</i>	when/if
Time	<i>inggana</i>	until
Time	<i>ni-an</i>	not yet/before
Reason	<i>te</i>	because
Result	<i>kinali</i>	that's why
Purpose	<i>ta</i>	so that
Concession	<i>takon</i>	even/even though

Wordform: **Deket** hanadan lalakiy kumayat on kay
 LexEntry: **deket** hanada an lalaki di kayat -um- on kay
 LexGloss: **when** DEM1 LK male LK climb NP.S LK like

nakalakka.
 nakaC2- lak'a
 MOD easy

FT: When the older boys were the ones who climbed, it seemed so easy.

Wordform: Kananay “Adi, umeyak hi bale
 LexEntry: kanan na di adi -um- e ak hi bale
 LexGloss: say 3.SG.S LK NEG NP.S go 1.SG.S DET house

ad Nabagtu **te** ianamut ku tun dotag.”
 ad Nabagtu **te** i- anamut ku tu an dotag
 DET Nabagtu **because** NP.O return home 1.SG.S DEM1 LK meat

FT: He declined, saying “No, I will go home to Nabagtu because I will take this meat home.”

9.2.3 Compounding conjunctions

Conjunctions are one of the few lexical categories that may compound. When conjunctions are compounded, speakers of the language generally combine the two as a single word; however, *gapu te* and *ya ta*, as seen in the table below, are written separately. Whether written as one or two words, the combinations tend to take on a meaning that is not fully explained by the meaning of the parts, and that is the reason for calling them compounds. The glosses do not totally reflect those meanings; context is critical for a complete understanding of their meaning.

Table 56 Compounding Conjunctions

Relation	Tuwali Ifugao	English
Contrastive and Time	<i>muden</i>	but then
Reason and Cause	<i>gapu te</i>	reason why, because
Coordinate and Purpose	<i>ya ta</i>	and, so that
Reason and Time	<i>teden*</i>	because then
Reason and Condition	<i>tehin</i>	because if
Coordinate and Time	<i>yaden</i>	and yet/instead/while

* The information in the clause following the subordinate conjunction *teden* states a fact that is the grounds argument for the request or conclusion information expressed in the preceding clause.

Wordform: Indatan dah Pangkah ittay hi dotag ot
 LexEntry: idat in- -an da hi Pangkah ittay hi dotag ot
 LexGloss: give P.IO they DET Pangkah little DET meat and then

kanana di mun-iyang ad Mamangan **muden**
 kanan na di muN- iyang ad Mamangan **muden**
 say 3.SG.S LK NP.S stay overnight DET Mamangan **but then**

FT: They gave Pangka some small meat and told him to spend the night at Mamangan **but then**...

Wordform: kananay “Adi, umeyak hi bale ad
 LexEntry: kanan na di adi -um- e ak hi bale ad
 LexGloss: say 3.SG.S LK NEG NP.S go 1.SG.S DET house DET

Nabagtu te ianamut ku tun dotag.
 Nabagtu te i- anamut ku tu an dotag
 Nabagtu because NP.O return home 1.SG.S this LK meat

FT: he declined, saying “I will take this meat home.” (lit. he said, “No, I will go to my house in Nabagtu because I will take this meat home.”)

10.0 Introduction to Noun Phrases

Tuwali Ifugao has only one type of phrase: Noun phrases.

Noun phrases are of three types: simple, expanded, and complex.

The lexical categories that are constituents of noun phrases are the following:

- nouns, personal and demonstrative pronouns, and determiners
- adjectives - quantifying and qualifying modifiers
- embedded relative and complement clauses

6Han1.1.4

Wordform: **nuwang** **ya** **babuy.**
 LexEntry: **nuwang** **ya** **babuy**
 LexGloss: **water buffalo** **and** **pig**

FT: ...because its very performance shows that he is very rich indeed since he can afford to butcher many **carabao and pigs**.

10.2 NPs with embedded relative clauses

Relative clauses embedded in NPs are marked and linked to the head noun(s) by **an**. The content of the relative clause may be identificational or descriptive. If it is identificational, it is required for interpreting the referent of the head noun. If it is descriptive, the head noun itself identifies the referent, and the relative clause simply adds information.

Wordform: Wada da Apu Paredes ya Datumanung nah stage ya
 LexEntry: wada da apu Paredes ya Datumanung nah stage ya
 LexGloss: EXIS 3.PL.S sir Paredes and Datumanung DET stage LK

FT: Sir Paredes and Sir Datumanung were on the stage together

Wordform: ...nada bon dakol an ibbada **an**
 LexEntry: nada bo an dakol an ibba da **an**
 LexGloss: DET also LK many LK companion 3.POSS LK

nalpu da kanuh Malacanang.
 na- lapu da kanu hi Malacanang
 PASS came from they reportedly DET presidential palace name

FT: ...with their many companions, **whom it is said came from Malacanang**.

10.3 Categorization of NPs

Because Tuwali Ifugao is a reference-dominated language, the discourse system of reference controls the internal morphosyntactic structure of clauses and sentences. NPs have been categorized as being of five types:

- subject NP
- direct object NP
- indirect object NP
- time NP
- place NP

The criteria used for identifying the NP types are:

- Sentence type and NP constituency
- Constituent order
- Predicate class and grammatical relations
- Type of head in the NP – common noun, proper noun, personal pronoun, or demonstrative pronoun
- Type of co-occurring determiner or demonstrative with common and proper nouns

10.3.1 NPs and types of heads

Common and proper noun heads

The determiner *hi* is multifunctional; it can be used to mark proper names or common nouns. However, proper names can only be marked with *hi*, whereas common nouns can be marked by various determiners depending on their referentiality in context.

Wordform: ...te hidiye nan madle an **hi** **Renatay**
 LexEntry: te hidiye nan madle an **hi** **Renata** di
 LexGloss: because DEM3 DET nun LK **DET** **Renata** LK

ngadana.
 ngadan na
 name 3.SG.POSS

FT: ...because she is a nun named **Renata**.

Personal pronoun heads

Subject and direct object NPs with personal pronoun heads do not have co-occurring determiners. However, indirect object pronoun heads of NPs are always marked by the determiner *ke* even when a direct object is understood, but not overtly expressed in the clause.

Object pronoun

Wordform: “Indattan **dakamih** kendi.”
 LexEntry: iN- -an idat **dakami** hi kendi
 LexGloss: NP.IO give **1.PL.EX.O** DET candy

FT: “She gave **us** candy.”

Subject pronoun

Wordform: “Nganne tut-uway inang-ang **mu**?”
 LexEntry: nganne tut-uwa di -in- ang-ang **mu**
 LexGloss: what truly LK P.O look **2.SG.S**

FT: “Now, what did **you** really see?”

Indirect object pronoun

Wordform: Kanan da kanuy “Iday, dahdiy nangat
 LexEntry: kanan da kanu di iday dahdi di naN- at
 LexGloss: say 3.PL.S reportedly LK oh dear who LK P.T.S do

hitun hiya, etaku ot te ipanuyu da
 hitu an hiya e taku ot te i- panuyu da
 DEM4 LK 3.SG.O go 1.PL.IN.S ADJU because NP.O blame 3.PL.S

man **ke** **ditaku.**”
 man **ke** **ditaku**
 certainly **DET** **1.PL.IN.O**

FT: According to him, they said “My, who did this to him? Let’s go because they might blame it on us.”

Demonstrative pronoun heads

A demonstrative pronoun can function as a head when a noun is omitted because the noun referent is understood in context. The demonstrative functions anaphorically, i.e. it refers back to a noun referent that has been introduced previously.

Wordform:	Ot	nagibbu	moh	diye.
LexEntry:	ot	na-	gibbu	mo hi diye
LexGloss:	and then	STA	finished	now DET DEM3

FT: And then, that is already finished.

Time word heads

Many time phrases consist of two constituents 1) a determiner or a demonstrative, and 2) a time word head. When the time phrase is simply denoting the time of an event, it will occur in the final position of a clause unless there is also a place phrase. In that case, it will precede the place phrase. They may occur preceding a main verb when they are encoding a setting for an episode in a discourse or for emphasis. Some time forms that occur initially in a clause do not require a determiner.

Wordform:	Imme	dah	hilong	ot	muntalu
LexEntry:	-imm-	e da	hi	hilong	ot muN- talu
LexGloss:	P.S	go	3.PL.S	DET	night and then REFL

da	nah	e-ele.
da	nah	e-ele na
3.PL.S	DET	outside 3.SG.POSS

FT: They went while it was dark/night and hid outside of the camp.

Wordform:	Handih	pinghanan	umeyak	hidi	ya
LexEntry:	handi	hi	pinghana	an -um-	e ak hidi ya
LexGloss:	DEM2	DET	first time	LK	NP.S go 1.SG.S DEM4 LK

kalyok	on	matalakak.
kali	-on	ku on ma- talak ak
say something	NP.O	1.SG.S LK PASS lose 1.SG

FT: When I went there for the first time, I thought I would get lost.

10.3.2 Other constituents of NPs

Quantifiers

A NP usually has only one quantifier and it precedes the head noun in the phrase. However, a quantifier may be moved out of the NP and in some cases, occur as the first constituent of a clause.

Qualifiers

A NP does not usually have more than one qualifier. Two lexical classes may qualify a noun: adjectives and stative verbs.

Referential determiners and demonstratives, and linkers

All NPs with nouns as their heads require a co-occurring determiner or demonstrative pronoun. Determiners and demonstratives contain features that differentiate head nouns as subjects or objects, and as having definite or indefinite reference or specific or non-specific reference.

11.0 Introduction to Simple Sentences

Simple sentence structure in Tawali Ifugao may be equated with the simple sentence in traditional grammar. A simple sentence has one independent clause that consists of a predicate constituent and at least one NP argument constituent.²⁴ The number of NP argument constituents depends on the lexical category that expresses the predicate, and in the case of verbal predicates, the number depends on the lexical valence²⁵ of the verb.

11.1 Constituent order

An understanding of Tawali Ifugao communicational principles and rhetorical strategies is necessary for explaining the canonical word order of constituents and the various types of constituent movement. See 13.0 for a description of rhetorical function and strategies.

11.1.1 Canonical word order

In the unmarked word order of constituents in Tawali Ifugao, the predicate is in the initial position of a sentence. In the case of non-verbal predicates, the predicate will be followed by a NP-subject argument. In the case of verbal predicates, the verb will be followed by a minimum of one NP-subject argument and a maximum of three NP arguments, VSO(IO), as in the case of ditransitive verbs. Time and place NPs follow core arguments in basic sentence structure.

	V	S	DO		IO		
Wordform:	Inha-ad	da	nan	basket	hi	kuwartuk.	
LexEntry:	iN- ha-ad	da	nan	basket	hi	kuwartu	ku
LexGloss:	P.O place	3.PLS	DET	basket	DET	room	1.SG.POSS

FT: They placed the basket in my room.

The above sentence has the basic word order for a sentence with a ditransitive verb: V-S-DO-IO. The prefix *iN-* cross-references the definite NP *nan basket* ‘the basket’ which is the conveyed- direct object. The NP *hi kuwartuk* ‘my room’ is an indirect object expressing the site.

²⁴ The exception to this rule is meteorological verbal predicates. Such verbs as raining, thundering, etc. do not require a NP argument.

²⁵ Verbal roots are partially classified on the basis of the number of valents owned by the root. The semantic roles expressed in syntactic arguments are selected from the lexical valents available. The number of NP constituents in a clause with a verbal predicate head is not necessarily isomorphic with lexical valence. For a discussion of semantic roles, syntactic arguments, and lexical valence, see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system.

11.1.2 Change of word order

Moving NPs to pre-predicate position – Topicalizing Referential Strategy

Any NP constituent may be moved pre-predicate, given the pragmatic constraint that the referent of the NP is being introduced, reintroduced, or contrastively identified in the discourse communicative situation.

Preposing agent-subjects

Type 1.²⁶ In the sentence structures shown below, the agent-subject has been preposed, leaving behind a co-referential pronoun following the verb. The preposed NP is linked to the clause by the *ya* linker. In this type of construction, the affixes on the verb will be members of the basic cross-referencing affix class (see 4.2.1).

Wordform:	Ditaku	ken	Ipugaw	ya	kulugon		takun	
LexEntry:	ditaku	ken	Ipugaw	ya	kulug	-on	taku	an
LexGloss:	1.PL.IN.T	DET	Ifugao	LK	believe	NP.O	1.PL.IN.S	LK

wadaday			bibiyo	weno	pinading.
wada	da	di	bibiy'o	weno	pinading
EXIS	3.PL.S	LK	fairy	or	spirit

FT: We Ifugaos, we believe that there are bibiyo spirits or pinading spirits.

Wordform:	Hanadan		bibiyo	ya	miha-ad		da	kanuh		
LexEntry:	hanada	an	bibiy'o	ya	mi-	ha-ad	da	kanu	hi	
LexGloss:	DEM1		LK	fairy	LK	PASS	place	3.PL.S	reportedly	DET

liyang,	nah	buddalan		di	ob-ob.
liyang	nah	bud'al	-an	di	ob-ob
cave	DET	exit	DEV-N	DET	spring

FT: As for these bibiyo, they stay or live in caves, near the exit of springs.

Type 2. In the sentence structures shown below, the agent-subject has been preposed, but there is no co-referential pronoun following the verb. The preposed NP is linked to the clause by the linker *di* or its allomorph *y*. In this type of construction, the affixes on the verb are members of the complex topicalizing affix class (see 4.2.2)

Wordform:	Dakol	day		naminhod		an	mangihdah		
LexEntry:	dakol	da	di	naN-	pinhod	an	maN-	ihda	hi
LexGloss:	many	3.PL.S	LK	P.T.S	like	LK	NP.T.S	viand	DET

amunin.
amunin
wildcat

FT: **Many** like to eat wildcat meat.

26 This construction is similar to what has been called left-dislocation in English and some other languages.

Preposing objects

In the sentence below, the instrument-object *kawayan* is preposed, and linked by *di* to its clause.

Wordform:	Kawayan	di	nanilag	dan	immeh				
LexEntry:	kawayan	di	naN-	dilag	da	an	-imm-	e	hi
LexGloss:	bamboo variety	LK	P.T.S	light	3.PL.S	LK	P.S	go	DET

wangwang.
 wangwang
 river

FT: **Bamboo (torches)** are what they used for light when they went to the river.

Preposing times

There are two different constructions for preposing a time NP constituent. One construction type is linked by *di* indicating that the scope of the time referent is the clause to which it is linked. The other construction is linked by *ya* indicating that the scope of the time referent includes more than the clause to which it is linked.

In the sentence below, the preposed time NP is linked to its clause by *di*. The time referent reintroduces a time previously introduced, though its scope is only the clause to which it is linked.

Wordform:	Hituwen	algo	di	kanan	dah	ang-ang.
LexEntry:	hituwe	an algo	di	kanan	da	hi ang-ang
LexGloss:	DEM3	LK day	LK	say	they	DET look

FT: **This day** is called Ang-ang, which means 'see'.

In the two sentences below, the preposed time NPs are linked to their clauses by the linker *ya*. In both sentences, a new time is being introduced into the text, and is a setting for a new set of events. In the third sentence example below, the time referent covers previous statements made regarding the heat in Manila, and the need for taking baths. In each example the scope of the time referent includes more clauses and sentences than the clause to which it is linked.

Wordform:	Indani	ya	nadatngan	hidiyen	nagtud
LexEntry:	indani	ya	na- -an	datong	hidiye an na- gutud
LexGloss:	later	LK	P.PASS	arrived at	DEM3 LK P.PASS date set

an algo.
 an algo
 LK day

FT: Then, the appointed day came.

Wordform:	Handih	mungkabigat	ya	imme	da
LexEntry:	handi hi	mungka-	big'at	ya	-imm- e da
LexGloss:	DEM2	DET	NP.PROC.S	dawning	LK P.S go 3.PL.S

nadah kipustuwan.
 nadah ki- -an pustu
 DET DEV-N post

FT: When dawn came, they took their posts in strategic places.

Wordform: **Umboy** **biggatna** ya munlilingot ka.
 LexEntry: **umbo** **di** **biggatna** ya muN- CV(C)- lingot ka
 LexGloss: **even** **LK** **morning** LK NP.S ASP perspire you

FT: **Even in the morning**, you perspire.

Preposing places

In the sentence below, the place demonstrative pronoun *hidi* has been moved to the pre-verb position and there is contrast with other places referred to previously. The fronted place is a constituent of the clause and is cross-referenced by the verb.

Wordform: Piliyom nan pinhod mun e
 LexEntry: pili -on mu nan pohod -in- mu an e
 LexGloss: choose NP.O 2.SG.S DET want P.O 2.SG.S LK go

ang-angon ya **hidiy** pangayam.
 ang-ang -on ya **hidi** di e naN- -an mu
 look NP.O LK **DEM4** LK go P.T 2.SG.S

FT: You select the one you like to see and there is where you go.

In the sentence below, the fronted place *Ad Cubao* is a setting for a group of statements about what can be found at that place. The setting has a wider scope than a place that simply expresses the location of the information in the clause to which it is linked by the form *ya*.

Wordform: **Ad** **Cubao** ke ya dakkodakkol di tendaan.
 LexEntry: **ad** **Cubao** ke ya CV(C)CV- dakol di tendaan
 LexGloss: **DET** **name of city** DET LK MOD many LK store

FT: In Cubao, there are many stores.

11.2 Classification of simple sentence types

Following a brief summary introduction, each simple sentence type will be illustrated in detail.

Verbal and non-verbal sentences. The first classification of simple sentence types is based on the lexical category of the predicate. A verbal sentence type has a verbal predicate. A non-verbal sentence type has an adjectival, adverbial, nominal, existential, or demonstrative predicate.

Active and stative sentences. Verbal sentences are subclassified as active or stative on the basis of the verb class encoding the predicate, the morphology of verbs, and the constituent structure of the sentences.

Intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive sentences. Active sentences are subclassified on the basis of the lexical valence of verbs and the constituent structure of the sentences. An intransitive sentence has one core argument. A transitive sentence has two core arguments, and a ditransitive sentence has three core arguments. Core arguments are those that have a grammatical relationship with the verb.

Existential and equational sentences. Non-verbal sentences are subclassified on the basis of the lexical category expressing the predicate. There are two types of non-verbal sentences: existential and equational. The existential word *wada*, or one of a set of demonstratives, expresses the predicate in an existential sentence. Equational sentences may also have nominal, adjectival, or adverbial predicates.

Passive. Passive sentences are not considered to be a basic sentence type; they are morphosyntactically derived. The passivization process is considered to be a syntactic valence reduction strategy.

11.3 Verbal sentence types

The classification of verbal sentence types is based on 1) verbal root semantics (see 4.1 Verbal root classification) 2) semantic roles encoded in NP grammatical relations (see Table 3 Semantic Roles and Grammatical Relations, and 3) inflectional affixes (see 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system and 4.2 Inflectional affixes).

11.3.1 Intransitive sentences

Active, intransitive sentences. Many traditional ideas about grammar are ill-suited to the Tuwali Ifugao language. Although this type of verbal sentence is considered to be active and intransitive, the structure and usage cannot be understood without considering the lexical semantics of the verbs that express the predicates. The description of this sentence type here is integrated with brief statements concerning the important components of the verbal root classes involved, and the semantic roles of subject NPs.

An active, intransitive sentence consists of a predicate and one core argument that is the grammatical subject. The verbs that express the predicate, in particular their inflectional and derivational potential, are the criteria used for subclassifying this sentence type. The semantic role of the subject may be an agent of an action or an activity, or an experiencer of an emotion, or a physiological function or a process. Also, there is one subclass of this sentence type that is expressed by a predicate only: the ambient verb expresses meteorological concepts such as raining, thundering, etc.

Two other constituent NPs that may co-occur with this type of predication are time and place. Given the fact that events necessarily take place in a temporal and spatial context, spatial and temporal information is always implied, but explicitly stated infrequently. However, with certain classes of intransitive verbs, a spatial concept may be encoded in an object NP and be cross-referenced by an affix on the verb. In such cases, these constructions are considered to be syntactically derived transitive sentences.

Intransitive sub-type 1 (See 4.1.1 Class 1)

Wordform:	Munhaghaggeyak				te		nikudliyak.
LexEntry:	muN-	CV(C)-	hagge	ak	te	ni-	kudli ak
LexGloss:	NP.S	CONT	limp	1.SG.S	because	PASS	slip 1.SG.S

FT: I am limping because I slipped.

Intransitive sub-type 2 (See 4.1.2 Class 2)

Wordform:	Dimmatong	idad		Lagawe	ad	nakugab.
LexEntry:	datong	-imm-	ida	ad	Lagawe	ad nakugab
LexGloss:	arrive	P.S	3.PL.S	DET	Lagawe	DET yesterday

FT: They arrived at Lagawe yesterday.

11.3.2 Transitive sentences

Active transitive sentences. An active, transitive sentence consists of a predicate expressed by a verb, an argument that is a grammatical subject and one or more arguments that are grammatical objects. Two other constituent NPs that may co-occur with this type of predication are time and place.

Transitive sentences may be subclassified into three types based on the semantic classification of the action-process expressed by the verb, the number of objects and the type of semantic roles that the objects express. The inflectional and derivational potential of the verb is also a criterial factor in the subclassification. No clear understanding of Tuwali Ifugao verbal sentences can be achieved without an understanding of the lexical semantics of the verbs.

Transitive sub-type 1

There are eight semantic subclasses of verbs that are expressed by the predicates of this sentence type; all have a criterial core component relating to the movement of an object. This implies that there will be a grammatical object that will formally instantiate an entity that is conveyed or moved; an understanding of the core component of movement of an object also often implies a grammatical indirect object that will formally instantiate a site although the site may not be expressed explicitly in the syntax (see 4.1.3 Class 3).

Verb	Subject - agent	Direct Object - conveyed	Indirect Object - site
<i>Inkamo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nan ahin</i>	<i>hi asukal</i>
mixed	he	the salt	the sugar

FT: He mixed the salt with the sugar.

Verb	Subject - agent	Direct Object - conveyed	Indirect Object - site
<i>Indat</i>	<i>nay</i>	<i>dakol an pihu</i>	<i>ke hiya</i>
gave	he	much money	to him

FT: He gave much money to him.

Transitive sub-type 2

There are six semantic subclasses of verbs that are expressed by the predicates of this sentence type; all have a criterial core component 'contact with an object'. This implies that there will be a grammatical object that will formally instantiate an entity undergoing one of these contact actions (see 4.1.4 Class 4).

Verb	Subject - agent	Direct Object - patient
<i>Dinuntuk</i>	<i>nay</i>	<i>uluk</i>
hit	he	my head

FT: He hit my head.

Verb	Subject - agent	Direct Object - patient
<i>Dinikhal</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>nan ongal an kaiw</i>
split	he	the big log

FT: He split the big log.

Transitive sub-type 3

There are three semantic subclasses of verbs with the core semantic component of affecting a site-object by changing its state. This implies that a grammatical object will formally instantiate a site-entity that undergoes this type of action (see 4.1.5 Class 5).

Verb	Subject - agent	Direct Object - site
<i>Hinaniyan</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>nan dalnon di danum</i>
blocked	they	the passageway of the water

FT: They obstructed/blocked the passageway of water.

11.3.3 Stative-Process sentences

There are four semantic subclasses of verbs that express non-agentive, descriptive states or processes. There is just one core argument in this basic sentence type that is grammatically a subject and semantically an experiencer or patient (see 4.1.6 Class 6).

Stative Verb	Subject
<i>naaliwot</i>	<i>hi Maria</i>
was dizzy	Maria

FT: Maria was dizzy. (state)

Process Verb	Subject
<i>umaliwot</i>	<i>hi Maria</i>
will become dizzy	Maria

FT: Maria will become dizzy. (process)

11.4 Non-verbal sentence types

There are two types of non-verbal sentences: existential and equational. They are classified on the basis of types of predicates (see 5.0 Non-verbal Predicates), one core argument that is grammatically the subject and the forms that link the predicate to the subject constituent.²⁷

²⁷ Although we have classified adverbial predicates as non-verbal, the syntax of sentences with adverbial predicates differs from the existential and equational sentence types. A better analysis might be to reclassify some of the adverbial predicates as a separate class of verbal predicates, and then the others might fit well with the equational sentence type.

11.4.1 Existential

A Tawali Ifugao existential sentence may express three types of assertions:

- simple existence
- locational existence
- possession

Functionally, in discourse, the existential sentence may also be used to introduce and identify participants or props. A demonstrative may be substituted for the existential word that then functionally expresses identification.

Wordform:	Waday	tendaan	di	bulwati,	apatut,	makan,	kaiw	ya	
LexEntry:	wada	di	tendaan	di	bulwati	apatut	makan	kaiw	ya
LexGloss:	EXIS	LK	store	LK	clothing	shoes	food	tree/wood	and

gumok.
gum'ok
metal

FT: There are stores for clothes, shoes, food, lumber, and hardware.

Wordform:	Hidiyey	nanomnomon	Malya	an	hidiye	ke	ot			
LexEntry:	hidiye	di	na-	-on	nomnom	Malya	an	hidiye	ke	ot
LexGloss:	DEM3	LK	P.O	think	Malya	LK	that one	DET	would	

di ihdana ya hiya.
di ihda na ya hiya
LK viand 3.SG.POSS LK yes, that's it

FT: Malya kept thinking how much she missed having crabs for viand. (lit. That is what Malya kept thinking about...)

11.4.2 Equational

The reason for classifying these sentences as equational is that the order of predicates and subject NPs can be reversed. Normal word order is predicate-subject. This reversal is a rhetorical strategy with the same discourse function as the rhetorical Topicalizing Referential Strategy for verbal sentence types. The discourse function is for the purpose of introducing participants and props, for the reintroduction of them or for emphatic contrast.

Whether the predicates are nominal, adjectival, or adverbial, in general they express descriptive information. For that reason, they occur with a statistically higher level of frequency in expository discourse, and tend to be the theme-line.

A simple equational sentence has two main constituents: a predicate and a subject NP.

A nominal predicate functions to state something about the head noun referent occurring as the subject NP. For example, it may identify the role, function, feature, or classification of the head noun. An adjectival predicate qualifies or quantifies the subject NP that is grammatically related to it. Adverbial predicates tend to be evaluative of whatever situation or behavior is expressed in the subject NP.

The non-predicate constituent may be a demonstrative pronoun, a common noun phrase, or a proper name.

With nominal predicates, the NP subjects are linked to the predicate by *ya*.

Wordform: **Hi Luisa** ya inan di duwan
 LexEntry: **hi Luisa** ya ina an di duwa an
 LexGloss: **DET Luisa** LK mother LK DET two LK

hintulang.
 hiN- tulang
 UNIFIER sibling

FT: Luisa was the mother of two children (lit. siblings).

With adjectival predicates, the subject NPs are linked to the predicate by *di*.

Wordform: **Mabayak** di bolat na.
 LexEntry: mabayak di bol'at na
 LexGloss: white LK skin 3.SG.POSS

FT: Her skin was white.

Generally, the evaluative class of adverbial predicates are linked to the subject NP with *di*; however, in the example below, the *hi* determiner formative of the demonstrative serves as the link.

Wordform: **Kapyanah** tuwe.
 LexEntry: **kapyana** hi hituwe
 LexGloss: **customary** DET DEM3

FT: This is customary.

11.5 Sentence types based on rhetorical function

There are three types of sentences in Tuwali Ifugao related to rhetorical function: declarative, imperative, and interrogative. A fourth type might be postulated: expressive. Structurally, expressive sentences are the same as non-imperative types except for the addition of an adjunct that can turn a declarative sentence into an exclamatory or ironic statement or an insult; an interrogative sentence may be turned into a rhetorical question. Often only context disambiguates the rhetorical function of sentences.

11.5.1 Declarative

Tuwali Ifugao declarative sentences are those that rhetorically make statements. There are many examples in the sections preceding this one.

Wordform: E inalan Gaby nan lata mu dakol moy
 LexEntry: e -in- ala an Gaby nan lata mu dakol mo di
 LexGloss: go P.O get LK Gaby DET can but many now LK

imme nadah allama.
 -imm- e nada hi allama
 P.S go DET.PL DET crab

FT: Gaby got the can but many of the crabs got away.

11.5.2 Imperative

Tuwali Ifugao sentences that function as imperatives are morphosyntactically similar to the declarative. Unlike English imperative structure, reference to the person being addressed appears in the subject position. This use of the second person pronoun in the address is one of the criteria for identifying imperative sentences. The verbs are in non-past tense. It has been noted that Tuwali Ifugao imperative sentences have a higher statistical frequency in hortatory/advice and procedural discourses than in any other types.

Wordform	Itikod	mun		muntugal	an	ap-apuk.		
LexEntry:	i-	tikod	mu	an	muN-	tugal	an	inap-apu ku
LexGloss:	NP.O	stop	2.SG.S	LK	NP.S	gamble	LK	grandchild 1.SG.POSS

FT: Stop gambling, Grandson.

11.5.3 Interrogative

The syntactic process for deriving the interrogative sentence structure from the declarative is done by adding an interrogative word when a yes or no answer is requested. In other types of questions an interrogative pronoun replaces the constituent reference that is being questioned, *who, what, where, when, how, why* (see 7.7 Interrogative pronouns). All interrogative words occur pre-predicate. Depending on what is being questioned, there are associated changes in the morphology of the verb, pronoun forms, and determiners. These changes are the same as for those in the Topicalizing Referential Strategy described in section 2.3.1.2 Affix selection and the cross-referencing system (see 2.3.1.2 Referential constraint – rhetorical strategies in discourse). In the second sentence below, the morphology of the verb is the same as that used in topicalizing a place in a declarative sentence.

Wordform	Kanan	Juliey	“Nganat	edakami		hinalaman	
LexEntry:	kanan	Julie	di nganat	e dakami		halaman	-in-
LexGloss:	say	Julie	LK why	go	2.PL.EX.O	do something early	P.O

an binangun?”
 an bangun -in-
 LK awaken someone P.O

FT: Julie asked, “Why did you wake us up so early?”

Wordform:	“Nganne	tut-uway		inang-ang	mu?”
LexEntry:	nganne	tut-uwa	di -in-	ang-ang	mu
LexGloss:	what	truly	LK	P.O look	2.SG.S

FT: “Now, what did you really see?”

Wordform:	“Daanay	nangayaayam?”		kanan	ina.
LexEntry:	daan	di naN-	-an CV(C)	e mu	kanan ina
LexGloss:	where	LK	P.T	CONT go	2.SG.S say Mother

FT: “Where have you been playing?” Mother asked.

The two interrogative forms, *kon* and *an*, for yes-no questions may optionally be deleted; in that case, intonation alone disambiguates by indicating that a question is being asked.

Wordform: **An** adika maagangan?
 LexEntry: **an** adi ka agang ma- -an
 LexGloss: **INTPRO** not 2.SG.S hungry STA

FT: Don't you ever feel hungry?

11.5.4 Quotations

There are six types of Tuwali Ifugao quotations:

- Direct quotations
- Indirect quotations
- Quotations within quotations
- Quotations related to calling and naming
- Quotations marked as being reported, i.e. reportedly

Direct quotation

Wordform: “Maki-eyak nah payon apu,” **kanan** Butale.
 LexEntry: maki- e ak nah payo an apu **kanan** Butale
 LexGloss: PART go 1.SG.S DET ricefield LK grandfather **say** Butale

FT: “I will go with you to grandfather's ricefield,” said Butale.

Indirect quotation

Wordform: Namam-a te **kanan** hanadan iibanay
 LexEntry: na- mam-a te **kanan** hanada an iiba na di
 LexGloss: STA worse because **say** DEM1 LK relative 3.SG.POSS LK

adida mo paki-ayon hi pidwana.
 adi da mo paki- -on e hi pidwana
 not 3.PLS now PART go DET next time

FT: What was even worse was her brothers told her that she could not come with them again.

11.6 Morphosyntactic derivation

There are two patterns of derivation in Tuwali Ifugao: lexical derivation and morphosyntactic derivation. Morphosyntactic derivation differs from lexical derivation in that lexical categories do not change with morphosyntactic derivation, e.g. verbs are still verbs, nouns are still nouns. See 2.3.2 Derivation for a discussion of lexical derivation.

Morphosyntactic derivation instead changes the argument structure of basic sentences. There are two general changes: 1) augmentation, i.e. adding to the number of arguments and, 2) reduction of the number of arguments. The associated structural changes involve verbal affixation, NP ordering, and marking of NPs. The motivation for these changes is based on Tuwali Ifugao intelligibility and prominence rhetorical strategies. Specifically, these strategies are used to give greater or less prominence to semantic roles encoded in subject or object grammatical relations.

11.6.1 Augmentation of syntactic arguments

In the case of the augmentation process, an argument is added to the core argument constituents of the sentence. The added NP encodes non-core or what we have called peripheral semantic roles. There are three types of agentive role arguments that may be added to a

verbal predication: causative agent, a participatory agent, or a reciprocal agent. There are two types of semantic roles that may be added as object arguments to a verbal predication: an instrument semantic role or a beneficiary semantic role.

With causative, participatory, and reciprocal agentive roles there are two agents involved in an action conceptually. Syntactically there will be two NPs or two pronouns involved in a sentence with causative and participatory agentive roles; with the reciprocal agentive role, there will also be two NPs, but if there is pronominalization, only one plural pronoun will be encoded in the subject argument to refer to both agents.

11.6.1.1 Addition of a causative agent

A causative agent role may be added, encoded in the subject NP, resulting in a derived causative construction. The causative agent role may be added to either a transitive or intransitive construction. With verbs of emotion, cognition, or physiology, a causative agent causes an emotional, cognitive, or physiological response in an experiencer. To evoke these responses may be intentional or unintentional on the part of a sentient causative agent; only the context disambiguates intentionality. With a non-sentient agent, the evoking of a response is neither volitional nor intentional.

Intransitive example. The verbal root *e* ‘to go’ is inherently intransitive with a single subject argument, but when a causative subject agent is added as a sentence constituent, the affixed root form becomes a derived transitive verb. The agent of the verb ‘to go’ becomes the acted-upon direct object and results in a two-argument construction.

Wordform **Impaen** Maria hi Juan hi market.
 LexEntry: **impa-** e an Maria hi Juan hi market
 LexGloss: **P.CAUS.O** go LK Maria DET Juan DET market

FT: Maria sent Juan to market.

Transitive example. The verbal root *dikhal* ‘split wood’ is inherently transitive with two grammatical relations arguments, subject and direct object. When a causative agent is added as the subject constituent, the agent performing the action is encoded as an indirect object constituent resulting in a three-argument construction.

Wordform: **Impadikhal** Maria nan ongal an kaiw **ke Pedro.**
 LexEntry: **impa-** dikhal Maria nan ongal an kaiw **ke Pedro**
 LexGloss: **P.CAUS.O** split wood Maria DET big LK tree **DET Pedro**

FT: Maria had Pedro split the big chunk of wood.

Emotion verb example. The verbal root *takut* ‘to be afraid’ is inherently intransitive with a single grammatical relation argument. The subject argument encodes an experiencer semantic role. When a causative agent is added as the subject constituent, the experiencer is encoded as a direct object resulting in a two-argument construction.

Wordform: **Impatakut** Anah **Maria.**
 LexEntry: **impa-** takut Ana **hi Maria**
 LexGloss: **P.CAUS.O** afraid Anna **DET Maria**

FT: Ana caused Maria to be afraid.

11.6.1.2 Addition of participatory agent

Participatory agent example. The verb *e* ‘to go’ is a one-argument verb. When a participatory agent is encoded as the subject argument, a two-argument participatory construction results. The affix set *maki-/naki-* signals that a participatory agent is an added constituent. The participatory agent may be added to either an intransitive (the first example sentence below) or transitive (the second example sentence below) construction.

Wordform: **Maki-**eyak **ke** **Maria** ad Kiangan.
 LexEntry: **maki-** e ak **ke** **Maria** ad Kiangan
 LexGloss: **PART** go 1.SG.S **DET** **Maria** DET Kiangan

FT: I’m going with Maria to Kiangan.

Wordform: **Makidikhal** hi Jose **itungu** **da**.
 LexEntry: **maki-** dikhal hi Jose **i-** **tungu** **da**
 LexGloss: **PART** split wood DET Jose **NP.O** **fuel a fire** **3.PL.S**

FT: Jose is joining others who are splitting firewood.

11.6.1.3 Addition of a reciprocal agent

Adding a reciprocal agent may only be done with transitive verbal roots. Sentences with reciprocal verbs have subject and object NP arguments combined in a single phrase encoded as the subject constituent. In the sentence example below, the NP *da nan hintulang* encodes both the subject and object grammatical relations.

Wordform: Mun-innapput **da nan hintulang**,
 LexEntry: muN- -inn- apput **da nan hin-** **tulang**
 LexGloss: **REC** compete **PL** **DET** **NP.O** **sibling**

FT: The siblings competed with each other.

11.6.1.4 Addition of an object argument

An object NP constituent can be added to a basic intransitive clause. This object NP may encode one of the three peripheral semantic roles, source, goal, or path, resulting in a derived transitive construction. Some intransitive verbal roots also allow semantic roles that are core roles associated with transitive verbal roots. The first sentence example below illustrates a typical intransitive construction, and the second illustrates an added object argument resulting in a derived transitive construction.

Wordform: Ume kamid Kiangan.
 LexEntry: -um- e kami ad Kiangan
 LexGloss: **NP.S** go 1.PL.EX.S DET Kiangan

FT: We are going to Kiangan.

Wordform: I-e kami **nan tudok** ad Kiangan
 LexEntry: i- e kami **nan tudok** ad Kiangan
 LexGloss: **NP.O** go 1.PL.EX.S **DET** **letter** DET Kiangan

FT: We will take-along the letter to Kiangan (lit. go with).

11.6.1.5 Addition of an instrument-object argument

An instrument-object argument may be added to a sentence if the verbal root class allows for an instrument semantic role. However, an instrument-object argument is not commonly added to a construction because most verbal roots have a specific instrument that is used in the action inherently associated with them. For this reason, an instrument is only significant if it varies from the “norm” in some way and, in that case, it is encoded in the direct object argument and cross-referenced.

Wordform: Indikhal na **nan** **matadom** **an** **wahe**.
 LexEntry: iN- dikhal na **nan** **ma-** **tadom** **an** **wahe**
 LexGloss: P.IO split 3.SG.S **DET** **STA** **sharp** **LK** **ax**

FT: He split (wood) with the sharp ax.

11.6.1.6 Addition of a beneficiary-object argument

Since the beneficiary semantic role is considered a peripheral semantic role, one would expect that it would be encoded in the indirect object position in a clause since the direct object generally encodes a core semantic role. However, when a beneficiary-object argument is added to a clause, it is promoted to the direct object position and cross-referenced by the affix on the verb.

Wordform: Indattan **dah** **Pangka** hi ittay hi dotag
 LexEntry: idat in--an da **hi** **Pangka** hi ittay hi dotag
 LexGloss: give P.IO they **DET** **Pangka** DET little DET meat

ot kanana mun-iyán ad Mamangan.
 ot kanan na muN- iyan ad Mamangan
 and then say 3.SG.S NP.S stay overnight DET Mamangan

FT: They gave **Pangka** a small (piece of) meat and told him to spend the night at Mamangan.

Wordform: Igaudam **hi** **inam** te
 LexEntry: i- -an gaud mu **hi** **ina** **mu** te
 LexGloss: NP.IO spade ground 2.SG.S **DET** **mother** **2.SG.POSS** because

nain-ina mo.
 nain-ina mo
 old woman already

FT: Spade for your mother because she is old already.

11.6.2 Reduction of syntactic arguments

In the case of the morphosyntactic reduction process, a syntactic argument is reduced, or in some cases retained, but given less prominence in the syntax.

11.6.2.1 Derived intransitive

An object constituent in a transitive clause can be deleted or the prominence can be reduced.²⁸ In this case, the aspect of the verbal root is also affected, changed from punctiliar to durative. The verb *dikhal* ‘to split wood’ is a two-argument verb but an object constituent can be deleted resulting in a derived intransitive construction. The first sentence below illustrates a typical transitive construction, and the second illustrates a derived intransitive construction.

Transitive clause with object

Wordform: Dinikhal na **nan ongal an** kaiw.
 LexEntry: dikhal -in- na **nan ongal an** kaiw
 LexGloss: split wood P.O 3.SG.S **DET big** **LK** tree

FT: He split the big log.

Derived intransitive clause

Wordform: Mundikhal hi Juan hi bigat.
 LexEntry: muN- dikhal hi Juan hi big’at
 LexGloss: NP.S split wood DET John DET tomorrow

FT: Juan **will split** (wood) tomorrow.

11.6.2.2 Passive

An agent-subject argument in a transitive clause can be deleted or the prominence can be reduced, resulting in a passive construction. Compare the following passive sentence with the transitive sentence above.

Wordform: **Nadikhal** ke nan kaiw ya mahapul an
 LexEntry: **na- dikhal** ke nan kaiw ya mahapul an
 LexGloss: **PASS split wood** when/if DET tree LK necessity LK

ihap-e.

i- hap-e
 NP.O dry

FT: When the wood **is split**, we will have to dry it.

11.6.2.3 Reflexive

Although a reflexive construction is conceptually transitive, i.e. having both subject and object arguments, there is usually a reduction of one NP argument since with most verbs both semantic roles can be encoded in the subject argument.

Wordform: Imme dah hilong ot muntalu
 LexEntry: -imm- e da hi hilong ot muN- talu
 LexGloss: P.S go 3.PL.S DET night and then REFL hide

28 Some linguistic theories treat the resulting construction as an antipassive.

da nah e-elena.
da nah e-ele na
3.PL.S DET outside 3.SG.POSS

FT: They went while it was dark and they hid (themselves) outside of the camp.

11.6.2.4 Agent-subject argument deletion in a subordinate clause

An agent-subject argument is reduced in a complement clause. There is no subject pronoun following the verb *mundongdongngol* 'listening' in the complement clause.

Wordform: Nuntadtaddog kamin mundongdongngol hi
 LexEntry: nuN- CV(C) taddog kami an muN- CV(C)- donggol hi
 LexGloss: P.S CONT stand up 1.PL.EX.S LK NP.S CONT listen DET

kalkalyon nan mittulu.
 CV(C)- kali -on nan mittulu
 CONT say NP.O DET teacher

FT: We were standing as (we) were listening to the speech of the teacher.

12.0 Introduction to Complex Sentences

Complex sentences in Tuwali Ifugao result from two different sentence structuring strategies: clause embedding and clause combining. With the clause embedding strategy, the sentence structure that results has a clause occurring within a NP position. The embedded clause constituent has the same type of grammatical relationship with the predicate that a noun or NP would have in that position and these relationships are marked in the same way as simple NPs, i.e. by being cross-referenced by an affix on the verb and by the same set of determiners used in a NP. With the clause combining strategy, the clauses are connected by conjunctions.

12.1 Clause embedding

Both relative and complement clauses in Tuwali Ifugao are considered to be embedded in positions commonly filled by NPs. They are marked by the linker form *an*, with the exception of the speech verb complement clause marked with the linker *di* or its allomorph *y*. The relative and complement clauses are disambiguated on the basis of their modificational functions. The relative clause modifies a nominal argument, and the complement clause adds information that completes the meaning of the predicate.

Another construction that is embedded in the position of an NP is the nominalized clause. This nominalized clause differs from relative and complement clauses in two ways: 1) they are derived clauses, and 2) their rhetorical function is referential, like nouns or NPs, rather than modificational.

12.1.1 Relative clauses

A relative clause in Tuwali Ifugao modifies by referring to an expressed or implied antecedent noun. The relative clause expresses identificational or descriptive information. Its rhetorical function may be correlated with the modificational function of adjectives.

Relative clause with a head noun

The modified noun is the head noun in this type of relative clause. The head noun is in the main clause; its co-referent in the relative clause is omitted. The head noun is linked to the relative clause by the linker, *an*. The subject, direct object, and indirect object may all be relativized. When the head noun ends in a vowel, the ‘a’ vowel in the linker is deleted and the ‘n’ is attached to the noun.

In the sentence below, the infix *-in-* on the verbal root *tibo* cross-references the object NP, *dakol an allama*. The head of the relative clause that follows is *allama* ‘crab’.

Wordform:	Handih	nadilagan	nan	danum	ya	tinibon
LexEntry:	handi	hi na- -an	dilag	nan	danum	ya tibo an -in-
LexGloss:	DEM2	DET	PASS	use light	DET	water LK see LK P.O

Malyay	dakol	an	allaman	mahmahhuyop	nah
Malya	di	dakol	an allama	an CV(C)C- ma- huyop	nah
Malya	LK	many	LK crab	LK CONT STA	sleep DET

babatu.

CV- bat’u

PL rock

FT: When the torches lit the water, Malya saw many crabs that are sleeping on the rocks.

Relative clause without a head noun

Another type of relative clause is headless, embedded as an NP constituent of the main clause and marked with the linker *an*. However, another possible interpretation of the data could be that the head noun is the zero morpheme encoding the 3rd person singular pronoun, ‘he’, ‘she’, ‘it’. With this interpretation the free translation of the example given below would read ‘I heard (it) that you are a habitual gambler.’

Wordform:	Dingngol	ku	an	makattugal	ka.
LexEntry:	dongol	-in-	ku	an makaC1-	tugal ka
LexGloss:	listen	P.O	1.SG.S	LK MOD	gamble 2.SG.S

FT: I heard that you are a habitual gambler.

12.1.2 Complement clauses

A complement clause in this grammar is defined as one that functions to modify a predicate in the main clause by adding to the meaning. This complex construction, i.e. a main clause and complement, may be in subordination to another main clause.

However, to classify complements strictly based on form does not adequately describe their function in discourse. Most complements marked with *an* have the rhetorical function of adverbial modification of the main clause predicate.

It is also necessary to study the meaning of complement clauses since the linker *an* also marks relative clauses. One has to look beyond form and structure to determine whether the clause marked with *an* modifies a noun as an identifying or descriptive relative clause, or whether it modifies a verb by adding adverbial-type meaning such as manner, purpose, reason, etc.

Complement clauses have been classified into eight types. This classification is based on three criteria: 1) the type of main clause predicate, 2) how the meaning encoded in the complement clause modifies the predicate, and as noted above, 3) the form of the linker connecting the complement clause to the main clause predication. Classification of complements based on these criteria is as follows:

- Active verbal predicate complements
- Passive predicate complements
- Adverbial predicate complements
- Stative verb complements
- Speech verb complements
- Attitude and emotion verb complements
- Time complement

Active verbal complements

Frequently the complements of active verbs indicate the purpose or reason for the action or activity.

Transitive verb complement

Wordform: **Tinuttuduwak** an kumali kali da.
 LexEntry: **CV(C) tudu** ak -in- an kali -um- kali da
 LexGloss: **CONT teach** 1.SG.O P.O LK speak NP.S language 3.PL.POSS

FT: (They) taught me how to speak their language.

Intransitive verb complement

Wordform: ...ya wada day **immen** e nunsiiim hin
 LexEntry: ya wada da di **-imm- e** an e nuN- siim hin
 LexGloss: and EXIS 3.PL.S LK **P.S go** LK go P.S spy on if

nganney ine-en nadan Ippangyol ya nan kuwantel
 nganne di ine-en an nadan ippangyol ya nan kuwantel
 what LK way LK DET.PL Spanish and DET living quarters

da.
 da
 3.PL.POSS

FT: ...and there were those who went to spy on the Spanish and their quarters.

Passive verbal complements

The complements of passive verbs tend to give the reason for a result in context or state a condition.

Wordform: **Mipatibo** an dakol di page da.
 LexEntry: **mi- pa- tibo** an dakol di page da
 LexGloss: **PASS CAUS see** LK many LK rice-grain 3.PL.POSS

FT: It is shown that they have much rice.

Type 1 complement

Wordform: Ot **kananay** “Dehtuy golang hitu,
 LexEntry: ot **kanan** na **di** dehtu di golang hitu
 LexGloss: and then **say** 3.SG.S **LK** DEMPRED2 LK child DEM4

wada boy mundogo.”
 wada bo di muN- dogo
 there is again LK NP.DEV.S sick

FT: And he commented “There’s a child sitting here, somebody must be sick again.”

Type 2 complement

Indani ya waday **kimmalin kananay** “Itkuk mu!”
 Later, someone **spoke**, he **said** “Shout!”

Attitude and emotion verbal complements

The complements of attitude and emotion verbs express the information that evokes the attitude or emotion encoded in the main clause verbs.

Wordform: Maid, **tumakut** kamin e mangala mu
 LexEntry: maid **takut** **-um-** kami **an** e maN- ala mu
 LexGloss: nothing **afraid** **NP.S** 1.PL.EX.S **LK** go NP.T.S get but

maka-i-imin nangidat ot alan mi mo.
 maka- CV(C)- imi an maN- idat ot ala an mi mo
 INT CONT smiling LK P.T.S give and then get LK 1.PL.EX.S now

FT: “Nothing. We were afraid to take the candy but she was smiling as she gave it so we took it.”

Time complements

Time complements encode actions or activities that are coincidental with whatever action or activity that is being encoded in the main clause.

Wordform: **Mun-iyay-iyag** dan mangmangnge an
 LexEntry: **muN-** **CV(C)CV-** **iyag** da **an** CV(C)- maN- e an
 LexGloss: **NP.S** **ASP** **cheer** 3.PL **LK** CONT NP.T.S go LK

ito-ol day “He, he, he.”
 i- to-ol da di he he he
 NP.O incessantly 3.PL.S DET he he he

FT: As they go along, the men keep **cheering lustily**, “He, he, he.” (lit. They keep cheering, as they go along.)

12.2 Nominalized clauses

Nominalized clauses are identified through the special morphology of the verbs. Two sets of affixes nominalize the verbs in these clauses. See 4.3.2 Clausal nominalizing affixes. The

rheterical function of these clauses is referential. The constituency of these clauses may be structured in three ways: 1) one constituent - the nominalized verb, 2) two constituents - the nominalized verb and a subject or possessive, 3) three constituents – the nominalized verb, a subject and an object.

Wordform: Ya hay gapunah adina pangitikodan ya
 LexEntry: ya hay gapuna hi adi na pangi- -an tikod ya
 LexGloss: and DET reason DET not 3.SG.S NOM stop LK

alanganin di biyag na hi punnomnom na.
 alanganin di biyag na hi puN- nomnom na
 uncertain LK life 3.SG.POSS DET NOM think/mind 3.SG.S

FT: And the reason he does not stop is he thinks (lit. his thinking is) his life would be uncertain.

12.3 Clause combining

Clauses that are connected by conjunctions are also considered to be complex sentences. See 9.2 Conjunctions for the conjunction forms. Tuwali Ifugao may combine two or more clauses; the usual number of combined clauses observed in natural written text is two or three. More may be found combined in transcribed oral text.

There are three ways of combining clauses in Tuwali Ifugao:

- Clauses can be combined by relating them with coordinating conjunctions. Clauses that are combined by coordinating conjunctions encode information that is equally prominent in context. Each clause is a complete sentence and can occur alone or as the main clause of a sentence with a subordinate clause.

Wordform: Nuntotobbalan dah diyen aton da
 LexEntry: nuN- -an CV(C)C- tobal da hi hidiye an at -on da
 LexGloss: P.DIST.S CONT approve 3.PL.S DET DEM3 LK do NP.O 3.PL.S

ot gutudon day algo.
 ot gutud -on da di algo
 CONJ set time NP.O 3.PL.S DET day

FT: They agreed to do that **and then** they set a date.

- Clauses can be combined with subordinating conjunctions. Clauses that are marked with subordinating conjunctions are related to at least one main clause. The conjunction that marks the subordinate clause signals how the information in the clause is semantically related to the main clause.

Wordform: Naapput da te makadinnol da
 LexEntry: na- apput da te makaC2- dinol da
 LexGloss: STA defeat 3.PL.S **because** MOD confident 3.PL.S

te hay inila da ya makattakut di Ipugao.
 te hay inila da ya makaC1- takut di Ipugao
because DET know 3.PL.S CONJ MOD afraid DET Ifugao

FT: They were defeated **because** they were unsuspecting **because** they thought the Ifugao were cowards.

- Clauses can be combined with both coordinating and subordinating conjunctions to form complex sentences, i.e., some of the clauses that are combined may themselves contain subordinate clauses, so that the result is a complex sentence.

Wordform: Maphod **te** immaliy dakol hi lugan
 LexEntry: ma- pohod **te** -imm- ali di dakol hi lugan
 LexGloss: STA good **because** P.S come LK many DET vehicle

ot ume kami.
ot -um- e kami
and so NP.S go 1.PL.EX.S

FT: Luckily there were many rides so that we could go. (lit. It was good because many vehicles came and so we went.)

Wordform: Dimmatong dah maal-algo ot
 LexEntry: datong -imm- da hi ma- CV(C)- algo **ot**
 LexGloss: arrive P.S 3.PL.S DET STA INT noon **and then**

ipayu dan e mampap **mu** tultulluy
 i- payu da an e maN- dopap **mu** CV(C)- tulu di
 NP.O go directly 3.PL.S LK go NP.T.S seize **but** INT few LK

dimpap da.
 dopap -in- da
 seize P.O 3.PL.S

FT: They arrived at noon and then went directly to (the river). (lit. to catch/seize crabs), but they only caught a few.

13.0 Tuwali Ifugao Communication

Tuwali Ifugao speakers use their language very effectively in communication. This Dictionary and Grammar Sketch present an analysis of the usage of the language based on defining a distinction between rhetorical functions and rhetorical strategies. Rhetorical functions are related to lexical categories and syntactic structures whereas rhetorical strategies are related to and encompass the organization of a text and the choices of lexical forms and constructions to express kinds of information in a text. However, both rhetorical functions and rhetorical strategies relate to the four communicational principles listed below.²⁹

- **Quantity.** A speaker/writer will give the amount of information needed for the interpretation of meaning³⁰ by the hearer/reader.
- **Quality.** The information given will be of high quality, i.e. believed to be true by the speaker/writer.
- **Relevance.** The information will be significant, i.e. usually considered to be relevant to the hearer/reader but in some cases, particularly relevant to the speaker/writer.
- **Appropriate.** The information and style of communication will be appropriate for the communicational situation.

²⁹ These principles match the conversational maxims defined by Grice (1975).

³⁰ Semantic and pragmatic meaning is differentiated in this grammar. Semantic meaning is restricted to the semantic components of lexical forms. Pragmatic meaning involves the textual context of constructions, as well as the extralinguistic context of the communication act, and the kinds of information expressed by constructions in a text of a particular discourse genre.

Speakers of Tawali Ifugao can and do violate these principles, either intentionally or inadvertently. However, the analysis of natural and translated texts reveals evidence for rhetorical functions and strategies based on these principles.

13.1 Rhetorical function

Every Tawali Ifugao sentence has words with predicational, referential, modificational, or relational rhetorical functions; basic rhetorical functions match the grammatical categories described and illustrated in earlier sections of this Grammar Sketch.³¹ Each semantic class of Tawali Ifugao words can be classified and assigned a lexical category on the basis of form and meaning and may also be assigned a rhetorical function on the basis of their constituency, and so function at a higher level in a construction. In some cases, a word may have a secondary rhetorical function, but retain significant semantic components that are related to its basic rhetorical function.

For example, an adjectival predicate has a predicational rhetorical function in a clause, but it retains semantic components that reflect the features of the referent of a noun and, therefore, continues to have a modificational function. We have, however, in this Grammar chosen to assign only one rhetorical function at any particular level of a construction. Therefore, an adjective would be assigned a modificational function at the phrase level, but would be assigned a predicational function at the clause or sentence level of a construction. Table 58 shows the basic rhetorical function of lexical categories.

Table 58 Basic Rhetorical Functions of Lexical Categories

Lexical categories	Rhetorical functions
Verbs	Predicational
Nouns, Pronouns, Demonstratives, Determiners	Referential
Adjectives, Adverbs, Adjuncts	Modificational
Conjunctions, Linkers	Relational

In Table 59 we show the general semantic classes that are expressed in lexical categories, and the basic and secondary rhetorical functions of the lexical categories. Table 59 also shows the rhetorical functions of relative and complement embedded clauses, and subordinate clauses. These types of syntactic structures have the same rhetorical functions as their corresponding lexical categories.

31 Some of the ideas for the development of lexical categories and rhetorical function have been adapted from Croft (1991).

Table 59 Semantic Classes, Lexical Categories, Syntactic Structures

Semantic Class	Referential	Predicational	Modificational	Relational
Things	Nouns, Pronouns, Demonstratives, Determiners	Nominal predications, Existential predications		
Events ³²	Nominalized clauses Complement clauses	Verbs	Complement clauses	
Attributes		Adjectival predications	Adjectives, Adverbs, Adjuncts, Stative verbs	
			Relative clauses	
Relationals			Subordinate clauses	Conjunctions, Linkers
				Subordinate clauses

13.2 Rhetorical strategies

Rhetorical strategies are those needed to create a well-organized, coherent, and relevant text.³³ These strategies are related to discourse genre and the appropriate presentation of information. Rhetorical strategies incorporate the following tenets:

Certain types of information are associated with particular discourse genre.

Prominence ranking of information promotes an understanding of the relevance of a text.

Organization and cohesion of information at all levels of discourse, phrase, clause, sentence, and paragraph is needed to create coherence and intelligibility of a text.

³² States and processes are included in the semantic classification of events though they are significantly different in verb forms and functions. They are predicational in both structure and rhetorical function, though they semantically function to describe the referents of the nouns in the NP constituent.

³³ This is not to claim that Tuwali Ifugao speakers are necessarily familiar with the stated tenets of rhetorical strategies. It is, however, a claim that effective Tuwali Ifugao speakers intuitively use rhetorical strategies to create excellent texts. Evidence for this claim is given through the illustrative sentences excerpted from their natural texts.