

STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES & CULTURES

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Appendix C A Tentative grammatical survey of Central Cagayan Agta 107–126



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Appendix C: A Tentative Grammatical Survey of Central Cagayan Agta

(The material in this survey builds on Healey's 1960 work and expands the verb morphology, sentence structure, and the role of semantics in determining focus. However, it is a different approach in many respects.)

- 0. Morphophonemic rules
 - 1. Word types
 - 1.1 Contentive stem analysis
 - 1.2 Contentive types
 - 1.3 Functors
 - 2. Sentence structure
 - 2.1 Syntactic characteristics
 - 2.2 Pragmatic relationships and basic sentence types
 - 3. Topicalization and semantic roles
 - 3.1 Participant value
 - 3.2 Hierarchy of semantic roles
 - 3.3 Dynamics of topicalization
 - 3.4 Syntactic encoding of participants

0. MORPHOPHONEMIC RULES

Morphophonemic changes occur in three types of contexts: between contiguous vowels, between vowel and consonant, and between connecting consonants.

0.1 Between contiguous vowels

0.1.1 ___ V + -an (OF) > ___ V/ǎ=n

ita 'see' + -an > itǎn
pili 'choose' + -an > pilin

0.1.2 ___ V + -ǎn (LF) > ___ V=n/___ V=yǎn

bali 'house' + pag-___ -ǎn > pagbalin
e 'go' + -ǎn > eyǎn

0.1.3 ___ V + ǎk (LSN) > ___ V yǎk

magbali 'housebuild' + ǎk > magbali yǎk

0.1.4 a- (PAS) e-
 pa- (CAS) + i- (ACF) > pe-
 ka- (AB) ke-

m- + a- + i- + atad 'give' > meatad
 pa- + i- + datang 'arrive' > pedatang
 ka- + i- + lǎku 'sell' > kelǎku

0.1.5 pa- (CAS) + i/u > pe-/po-

i- + pa- + ita 'see' > ipeta
 ma- + pa- + uyung 'craziness' > mapoyung

0.1.6 ma- (STAT)/ ka- (AB) + a _____ > mā _____ /kā _____

ma- + allak 'pity' > māllak
 ka- + appya 'good' > kāppya 'virtue'

0.1.7 ku/mu (1/2SG) + ID¹⁻⁴ > k/m=ID¹⁻⁴

bali 'house' + ku + in (ID¹) > bali kin 'my house'
palataw 'bolo' + mu + en (ID⁴) > palataw men 'your bolo'

0.2 Between vowel and consonant

0.2.1 _____ V + ku/mu > _____ V=k/m

bari 'body' + ku > barik 'my body'
daga 'blood' + mu > dagām 'your blood'

(Note: if the final vowel is a it becomes ā.)

0.2.2 _____ V + na (CM) > _____ V=n

ittā (EXT) + na 'now' > ittān 'there is now'
nakali 'dug' + na 'now' > nakalīn 'already dug'

0.3 Between connecting consonants

0.3.1 _____ n + mu > _____ m

ngagān 'name' + mu > ngagām 'your name'
alap 'get' + -an/-ān + mu > alapam 'you get'

0.3.2 _____ ng + b/m/p > _____ m

mang- + balat 'revenge' > mamalat 'get revenge'

0.3.3 _____ ng + d/n/t > _____ n

mang- + tādag 'wait for game' > manādag

0.3.4 _____ ng + g/k/ng > _____ ng

pang- + galgal 'cut' > pangalgal

1. WORD TYPES

Words are composed of one or more morphemes and occur as grammatical constituents on the phrase, clause, and sentence level. Morphemes are either bound (i.e., affixes, clitics, or inflected stems) or free (potentially independent of any derivation or inflection). Words are described as contentives or functors.

1.1. Contentive stem analysis

Content words constitute the major semantic classes, determined from a common stock of stems in the language and occurring with or without inflection. Stems are either simple or derived.

1.1.1 Simple

A simple stem is a single morpheme, either bound--indicated by parentheses--or free, e.g., batu 'rock', pāke 'very', (tugut) 'walk'.

1.1.2 Derived

Compound derived: Numerals may be compounded with other numerals, weights, measures, time, and arbitrary portions.

tallu=fulu (three=ten) 'thirty'
lima=hulān (five=moon) 'five months'

Compounded with a kinship term minā indicates deceased relative:
minā=wagi (POT=younger.sibling) 'deceased younger sibling'

Affix derived: Derivational affixes may be considered in three groups: nominalizers, descriptivizers, and locativizer. (Some derived stems may occur with inflectional affixes; however, these have not yet been determined.)

I. Nominalizers

ka-	passive abstract (AB)	P-(aG)	active abstract (AB)
ka-	associate (ASS)	sakā-	associate (ASS)
-in-	result (RS)	aG-	instrument (INS)

ka=gitta (AB=same) 'facsimile/duplicate'
pang=ābāk (AB=defeat) 'triumph/victory'
ka=hulun (ASS=accompany) 'companion'
sakā=tolay (ASS=person) 'fellow man'
in=afuy (RS=cook rice) 'cooked rice'
ag=surāt (INS=write) 'pencil/penmanship'

II. Descriptivizers

ma-	stative (ST)	si-	stative (ST)
tag-	measurement (MS)	tã-	single (SIN)
CV(r)-	augmentative (AU)	Ca(r)-	distributive (DIST)
Cala(r)-	diminutive (DIM)	-VllC(r)-	diminutive* (DIM)
sinãng-	resemblance (RSM)	kã-	possessor (PO)
-an	origin (OR)		

*This is a very unusual type of reduplication of the first vowel in the stem (i or u) lowered (to e or o) and the consonant immediately following this vowel.

<u>ma=sikan</u>	(ST=strength)	'strong'
<u>si=liwãt</u>	(ST=fault)	'at fault'
<u>tag=tãkday</u>	(MS=one)	'one each'
<u>tã=hukal</u>	(SIN=seed)	'one piece'
<u>du=duwa</u>	(AU=two)	'only two'
<u>bala=batu</u>	(DIM=rock)	'pebble'
<u>hut=ot=ug</u>	(bow=DIM=bow)	'small bow'
<u>sinãng=tolay</u>	(RSM=person)	'statue/idol'
<u>ma=kã=manuk</u>	(ma=PO=chicken)	'owner of chicken'
<u>lod=an</u>	(downstream=OR)	'downstream people'

III. Locativizer

-ãn location (LO) (occurs only in combination with other derivational affixes).

<u>tã=liggu=ãn</u>	(SIN=Sunday=LO)	'one week'
<u>ka=sikan=ãn</u>	(AB=strength=LO)	'strongest'
<u>ag=afuy=ãn</u>	(INS=cook=LO)	'stove'
<u>gã=gon=ãn</u>	(DIST=ascend=LO)	'uphill slope'

Compound affix derived

<u>tag=dwa=gappak</u>	(MS=two=chop)	'two chopped pieces'
<u>tallu=hiklam=ãn</u>	(three=night=LO)	'three nights'

1.2 Contentive types

Three general types are recognized: adjuncts, verbs, and descriptives.

1.2.1 Adjuncts

Adjuncts are uninflected modifiers or exclamations. Modifiers occur in predication centers and may be premodifiers or postmodifiers.

Premodifiers modify or expand the idea in the predication centers in terms of time, aspect, mode, or quantity.

Time premodifiers are: bāgu 'newly', dāna 'first', pā 'briefly'; e.g.,
Bāgu dumatang. (newly arrive) 'He just arrived.'

Aspect premodifiers are: māgge 'almost', medyo 'more or less', sang 'slightly', pāke 'very', kuga 'persistent'; e.g.,
Māgge nasi. (almost died) 'He almost died.'

Modal premodifiers are: ampade (optative), ape (pretense), anu (question), e.g.,
Ape masidug. (pretend sleep) 'He's pretending to sleep.'

Quantity premodifiers are: sā 'all', azo 'both', e.g.,
Sā kanam. (all eat.you) 'Eat all of it.'

Postmodifiers expand the idea in the predication center in terms of aspect and mode and may occur in combinations of two or three.

Aspect postmodifiers are:

<u>na/-n</u> 'completive'	<u>bit</u> 'limitative'
<u>para</u> 'continuative'	<u>sangaw</u> 'futurative'
<u>hā</u> 'repetitive'	<u>namān</u> 'resultive'

Modal postmodifiers are:

<u>garay</u> 'displeasure'	<u>panaw</u> 'assumption'
<u>kād</u> 'authentic'	<u>halā</u> 'fortuitous'
<u>malat</u> 'definite'	<u>hamān</u> 'surprise'
<u>hud</u> 'doubt'	<u>hapa</u> 'inclusive'
<u>kāmpo</u> 'frivolity'	<u>haen</u> 'request'
<u>minā</u> 'irrealis'	<u>de</u> 'probability'
<u>kān</u> 'hearsay'	<u>paen</u> 'priority'
<u>lā</u> 'limitation'	<u>mantu</u> 'confirmatory'

Examples:

Uminum āk haen. (drink I request) 'May I have a drink.'
Ittā hud danum. (exist doubt water) 'There's no water.'
E yāk na mantu. (go I completive confirmatory) 'Then I'll be going.'

Exclamations may be stimulative or responsive. The stimulative exclamations are commands or salutations; e.g., ara 'go ahead', yāh 'be quiet' and o 'hello'. The responsive exclamations are acknowledgement, admiration, affirmation, affliction, apprehension, astonishment, dissension, and ignorance; e.g., hā 'what?', anay 'wonderful', umpa 'right on', agi 'ouch'.

1.2.2 Verbs

Verbs may be inflected for tense, focus, voice, mode, and aspect, or they may be uninflected. The following chart displays each inflectional category and the forms which manifest them.

112 Central Cagayan Agta Texts

Tense:	Incomplete m-/#	Complete n-/-in-	Neutral -um-/p-/#					
Focus:	Actor #	Object -an/#	Location -ǎn	Accessory i-				
Voice:	ACT #	PAS a-	CAS pa-	Modal-CAS p-	REC kǎ-			
Mode:*	General ag-	SP ang-	APT aka-	ASS aki-				
Aspect:	PUNC #	FORT a-	PL Ca(r)	PS ing-	RP saga-	CN CVC	AG CV	SIM gi-/gisǎ-

NOTE: # indicates unmarked. Object focus is unmarked in passive and causative voice. Confusion is avoided by cooccurrence restrictions with other categories and case marking of the actor/agent.

*Another possible analysis of mode category affixes is to regard the initial vowel a as the actor focus marker, in which case actor focus would be unmarked or a-. It appears best to consider actor focus as the the default focus not requiring overt marking in order to avoid complicated descriptions in occurrences with other inflectional categories.

Cooccurrence restrictions of inflectional affixes may be charted:

	ACTOR FOCUS #	OBJ FOCUS #/-an	LOC FOCUS -ǎn	ACCESSORY FOCUS i-
TENSE:	INC m- (+Mode)	# (-PAS) m-(+PAS)	# (-PAS) m-(+PAS)	# (-PAS) m-(+PAS)
CM	n- "	-in-(-PAS) n-(+PAS)	-in-(-PAS) n-(+PAS)	n-(+PAS)
NU	# (+SIM A) (-Mode)		p-(+Mode)	
	-um- (-Mode)			
VOICE:	(-PAS)	(-REC)	(-REC)	(-REC)
MODE:	all	all + p-*	all + p-*	all + p-**
ASPECT:	(-gi-)	PUNC/PL/ CN/AG	PUNC/PL/PS/ RP/(gi-)/ CN/AG	PUNC/PL/ CN/AG

*This -p signifies 'voice' and is distinct from the tense morpheme -p.

**This -p signifies 'abstract,' distinct from the tense -p and the voice -p.

Verb stem classes

It has already been demonstrated that Philippine languages exhibit a distinction between verb stems (see Miller 1964, Ward and Forster 1967, and Maryott 1977) and require classification of stems on the basis of the correlation between the focus inflection in the verb and the semantic role of the focused participant in the clause. Verb stem classification has not yet been completed for Central Cagayan Agta; however, some discussion is included relative to such correlation in section 2 on sentence structure. The importance of recognizing the difference between syntactic relation (as indicated by focus inflection) and semantic role of the focused participant is mentioned here to alert the reader to the fact that the grammatical relation of a participant may not necessarily correspond to its semantic role.

Uninflected verbs

Uninflected verbs are a very small class of simple stems which occur in predication centers either alone or together with inflected verbs. Since subclasses must also be recognized, the first division is determined by the case-relation of the accompanying agent. Verbs that occur with nominative case agents are: e 'go', indag 'wait', alāp 'get', and immāng 'stop'.

Examples:

E yāk na. (go 1SN now) 'I'm going now.'
Indag ka. (wait 2SN) 'Wait!'

Verbs that occur with genitive case agents are: awe NEG, āmu 'know', alag 'hurry', kun 'say/said', and kapye 'follow by'. Examples:

Awe=na. (NEG 3SG) 'He/she won't/doesn't.'
Āmu da. (know 3PLG) 'They know it.'
Alag mu. (hurry 2SG) 'Hurry up.'

Whereas the above examples illustrate verbs functioning on the clause level, the verbs kun and kapye function on the sentence level. kun is the quotation formula verb, and kapye actually functions in a dual role, as a sentence link for a dependent clause as well as an auxiliary verb in the dependent clause. Examples:

"Mangān ka," kun=da. "You eat," they said.'
 eat 2SN say=3PLG

E ka magbaggaw kapye=m mangān. 'You go wash and then eat.'
 go 2SN wash follow.by=2SG eat

1.2.3 Descriptives

Morphologically, descriptives are either simple or derived stems. There appear to be no structural criteria for distinguishing types of simple descriptives; however, semantically it is obvious that this class consists of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs.

<u>Noun</u>	<u>Adjective</u>	<u>Adverb</u>
<u>kayu</u> 'tree'	<u>dakal</u> 'large'	<u>addun</u> 'under'
<u>nonot</u> 'mind'	<u>lima</u> 'five'	<u>addet</u> 'until'
<u>takit</u> 'pain'	<u>dulay</u> 'bad'	<u>lakwat</u> 'tomorrow'
<u>uhohug</u> 'word'	<u>bozi</u> 'stubborn'	<u>kuman</u> 'like'

In some cases, the same form may be either of two separate semantic ideas. Examples:

abbing 'child' (noun), 'young' (adj)
araw 'day' (noun), 'daylight' (adj)
dakal 'parent' (noun), large (adj)
lima 'hand' (noun), 'five' (adj)
bagu 'newly' (adv), 'new' (adj)

Derived descriptives are more easily distinguished on the basis of the particular derivation (see sec. 1.1.2). Most descriptives may also function as verbs by means of inflection as described in section 1.2.2.

Three types of qualifiers (modifiers) occur with descriptives, particularly nouns, that coordinate in relation to order. These are: substitute possessors (i.e., genitive pronouns), pluralizer, and identifiers. (In occurrences of two or more this order prevails.)

Possessors: bali=k (house=1SG) 'my house'
 anak da (child 3PLG) 'their child'

Pluralizer: bali kid (house PL) 'houses'

Possessors + Pluralizer: bali na kid (house 3SG PL) 'their houses'

Identifiers (locational clitics corresponding to the four location categories in demonstrative substitutes, namely in 'speaker location', ina 'hearer location', ewan 'semiremote', en 'remote'):

bali in (house ID1) 'the house here'
 kayu ina (tree ID2) 'the tree there'
 wer=ewan (creek=ID3) 'the creek over there'
 ulag=en (snake=ID4) 'the snake' (previously referred to)

Identificational clitics are not to be confused with demonstratives, because demonstrativeness is an additional qualification to the above mentioned three categories but which we sense functions on the phrase level rather than the word level, e.g.:

bali in yan (house ID1 D1) 'this here house'
 kayu in yana (tree ID1 D2) 'that there tree'
 wer=in yewan (creek=ID1 D3) 'that creek over there'
 ulag=in yen (snake=ID1 D4) 'that snake (previously referred to)'

Note also from these examples that the identifying clitic is always in. Another semantic category involved in the occurrence of two of the identificational clitics is time. in refers to prospective time, and en refers to retrospective time, e.g.:

arāw=in (day=ID1) 'today' (in prospect)
arāw=en (day=ID4) 'today' (in retrospect)
ayan=in (now=ID1) 'in a very little while'
ayan=en (now=ID4) 'just a little while ago'

Possessor + Identifier:

bali k=in (house 1SG=ID1) 'my house here'

Pluralizer + Identifier:

bali kid=ewan (house PL=ID3) 'houses over there'

Possessor + Pluralizer + Identifier:

bali tām kid=en (house 1PLIN,G PL=ID4) 'our houses' (remote)

The various emic combinations at a glance are illustrated below:

	<u>1 Order</u>	<u>2 Orders</u>	<u>3 Orders</u>
<u>Possessor</u>	bali na	bali na kid (rare)	bali na kid=en
<u>Pluralizer</u>	bali kid (rare)	bali kid=en	bali na kid=en
<u>Identifier</u>	bali en	bali na en	bali na kid=en

1.3 Functors

Functors indicate structural relationships between phrase, clause, or sentence constituents. The two kinds are marking particles and substitutes.

1.3.1 Marking particles

Marking particles are uninflected functors marking cohesion, subordination, and case relation.

Cohesion between independent clauses or sentences is overtly marked by the following functors:

<u>a</u> 'and' (coordination)	<u>ammi</u> 'but' (antithesis)
<u>te</u> 'rather' (inversion)	<u>yāga</u> (concomitance)
<u>kapye</u> (sequence)	<u>o/ono</u> 'or' (alternation)
<u>awā te</u> (development)	<u>awā/bakawa</u> (doubt)
<u>baka</u> (inferential)	<u>otturu</u> (coordination)
<u>am</u> (indirect question)	

Examples:

Naburungān āk na a nahukāl āk na.
 worried I now and awoke I now
 'I became worried now, and suddenly I woke up.'

Agu ta ginafut nāk na sibrung, ammi awān.
 seemed O caught he.me now kidnapper but NEG
 'I thought a kidnapper caught me, but no.'

Anum inarutang, baka dalag hud?
 why.you palm.arrowed since fish doubt
 'Why did you shoot (the deer) with a palm arrow? Was it a mudfish?'

Subordination markers function on the sentence level indicating various types of subordinate relationships between independent and dependent clauses. The markers and relationships are as follows:

gafu ta (circumstantial)
sangaw ta (temporal)
māski am (concession)
talo am (anticipation)
petta (purpose)
te (reason)
am awā (contrary to fact)
am (conditional)

Examples:

Gafu ta madamdā āk teg Aleng, e yāk ta bali.
 since O,NP lonely I O son go I O house
 'Since I was lonely for my son, I went home.'

Magsibāl āk am ittā.
 stop.by I if there.is
 'I'll stop by if there is some.'

Manganup kitām Ama, petta ittā ilāku tām.
 hunt we Father so.that there.is sell we
 'Let's go hunting, Father, so we'll have something to sell.'

Case relations are marked by particles functioning on the phrase level as introducers of substantival phrases, indicating caselike relations of phrases to predication centers of clauses (see sec. 2). A series of three case-marking particles appear in the following chart which indicate three types of relationships. They are inflected for nonpersonal, personal, and associate-personal.

	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
Nonpersonal Inflection	ya	na	ta
Personal Inflection	i	ni	te
ASS-Personal Inflection	ig	nig	teg

The nominative case markers indicate a subject (or topic) relationship of its phrase head to the predication center. The genitive case marker indicates possession, attribution, or nontopic agent relationship. The oblique case marker indicates a nontopic, nonattributive relationship of clause level objects, indirect objects, locations, time, and manner. Whereas the personal inflection in case markers occurs only with names and certain kinship terminology, the nonpersonal forms occur with all other types of phrase heads. The associate-personal forms occur with personal names and kinship terms which include an associate. This might also be regarded as a kind of plural.

1.3.2 Substitutes

Substitutes are both inflected and uninflected functors. Inflected substitutes are either personal or demonstrative and may replace substantive phrases introduced by case-marking particles.

Personal substitutes are otherwise pronouns composed of four sets, three of which are inflected for the case relations mentioned above, and one as a replacement for content words in the predication centers of clauses. All four sets are also inflected for person and number:

PERS	NUM	EMPHATIC	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
1	S	iyāk	āk/yāk	ku/-k	teyāk
1	Dual	ikita	kita	ta	tekita
2	S	iko	ka	mu/-m	teko
3	S	intu	#	na	tentu
1	PLEX	ikami	kami	mi	tekami
1	PLIN	ikitām	kitām	tām	tekitām
2	PL	ikamuy	kām	muy	tekamuy
3	PL	ikid	kid	da	tekid

Demonstrative substitutes are composed of three sets which are inflected for the three case relations mentioned above as well as for location:

LOCATION	NOMINATIVE	GENITIVE	OBLIQUE
Speaker	yan	inin	isin/sin
Hearer	yana	inina	isina/sina
Semiremote	yewan	inewan	itewan/tewan
Remote	yen	inen	iten/ten

The nominative set of demonstratives may also occur as predication centers, and also with the reduplication Ce or Ce- (i.e., yeyan or ye-yan, etc.). The genitive set does not substitute for the whole phrase, but only for the head word thus requiring the nonpersonal genitive case marker as an introducer, e.g.: Anu ya kwān na inin? (what N do G G,D) 'What is this one doing?'

The oblique set has two alternate forms that may occur. It is not yet clear what functional or meaning difference this might imply but it is tentatively suspected that the longer form is for greater explicitness. The longer forms occur obligatorily with the oblique case marker ta.

All demonstrative substitutes are singular in number and may be pluralized in the same way as content words with the form kid, which is suspected to be the third person plural nominative personal pronoun, functioning as a pluralizer, e.g.: Anu yan kid (what N,DI PL) 'What are these?'

Interrogative substitutes are the following uninflected forms which may replace content words or other functors as predication centers:

<u>anu</u> 'what/why'	<u>piga</u> 'how much/many'
<u>kānu</u> 'when'	<u>hād sin</u> 'which'
<u>hād</u> 'where'	<u>hād kunna</u> 'how' (manner)
<u>inya</u> 'who'	<u>umanu</u> 'how' (condition)

Example:

Anu ya nebar na? (what N said he/she) 'What did he say?'

2. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

Sentence types for Central Cagayan Agta have already been described by Mayfield (1972). The purpose of this section is not to repeat that study, but rather to focus on the structure of basic propositional information in Agta and its variations. By propositional is meant the saying of something (orally or in writing) about another thing. This immediately suggests the most general structure of propositional information, namely, a subject or topic plus a predication or comment. Without entering into the argument of whether Agta is a subject-predicate language, or topic-comment, or both, or neither, the terms are used here in a very general sense. We arbitrarily designate the basic elements of a proposition in Agta to be topic and predicate because of the usefulness of these terms in describing Agta sentence structure.

2.1 Syntactic characteristics

The predicate is marked syntactically as the initial obligatory term in a sentence. The topic is always marked by the preceding nominative particle ya (see "case relations" in sec. 1.3.1). Thus, the general structure of Agta sentences involves the following terms and arrangement:

Predicate ya Topic

2.1.1 Information units

Predicate and topic terms are manifested by information units, usually words, but sometimes phrases. Since words are the most basic units, these are the types described here.

Both the predicate and topic may be manifested by either a contentive or functor word type (see sec. 1). However, only certain contentives and functors may occur, so elaboration is necessary. In terms of traditional names of word classes, the predicate as well as the topic may be manifested by a

noun, pronoun, demonstrative, adjective, or verb. Interrogatives occur in the predicate position. In the case of pronoun and demonstrative topics, the topic marker (ya) is incorporated in the morphological form of these terms (see sec. 1.3.2). The possible combinations in Agta sentences are as follows:

noun ya noun	adjective ya noun
" ya pronoun	" ya adjective
" ya demonstrative	" ya verb
" ya adjective	" ya pronoun
" ya verb	" ya demonstrative
pronoun ya noun	verb ya noun
" ya adjective	" ya adjective
" ya verb	" ya verb
" ya demonstrative	" ya pronoun
	" ya demonstrative
demonstrative ya noun	interrogative ya noun
" ya adjective	" ya adjective
" ya verb	" ya verb
	" ya pronoun
	" ya demonstrative

2.1.2 Peripheral information

In section 2.1.1 is a description of the basic obligatory elements in an Agta sentence. We have based the structure of sentences thus far on the nature of minimal propositional information, namely, something that is said about something else, from which we derived the elements of predicate and topic. Propositions, however, are not always as simple as saying something like "the child ate." Whatever is said often includes supplementary information, e.g., "the child ate breakfast," "the car broke down on the highway." In Agta all such information is peripheral and is marked by the particle ta (see "case relations" in 1.3.1).

As described by Healey (1960:41), "The sentence-forming construction with ya, the equation, is essentially binary in character, that is, attention is being drawn to the relationship between two terminals.... Everything else in the clause or sentence therefore has to be out of focus." Healey (1960) used the term oblique, as introduced by Bloomfield, and notes further, "Very roughly its English equivalents are object, indirect object, prepositional phrase, time phrase, or adverb of time, a dverb of place, and occasionally adverb of manner." In terms of word classes, the head word of the oblique information may be noun, adjective, verb, pronoun, or demonstrative.

The elements of the simple sentence in Agta must therefore be revised as follows (parentheses indicating peripheral information):

Sentence = Predicate ya Topic (ta Referent)

2.2 Pragmatic relationships and basic sentence types

In a stream of discourse the pragmatic relationship between the predicate and the topic is that the topic is definite and usually old information about which something is said in the predicate. This is discussed further in the section on topicalization. For the present discussion the point is that the particular class of terms that occur in the predicate position determines what particular kind of relationship is involved. Thus two very broad types of simple sentences are noted: equational and event-action.

2.2.1 Equational

In equational sentences, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives in the predicate position serve to equate the topic with the predicate in terms of identification or description. Adjectives (which may be simple or derived) describe; pronouns, demonstratives, and interrogatives identify; nouns may do either. Examples:

Descr	Talun ya lugar mi. forest N place our	'Our place is forested.'
Iden	Talun ya agyan na. forest N place it	'Its place is the forest.'
Descr	Kapitan i Amboy. captain N Amboy	'Amboy is a captain.'
Iden	Amboy ya Kapitan. Amboy N captain	'The captain is Amboy.'

The only criterion discernible at present for distinguishing between an identificational and descriptive relationship would be discourse context. For instance, only the context indicates whether the following sentence is identificational or descriptive:

Kayu ya bali na. 'Its house is a tree' or 'His house is made of wood.'
tree N house 3S

Examples of an identificational equation:

Iyāk ya nangalāp ta baggāt. 1SE N get O rice	'The one who got the rice was me.'
Yen ya uhohug na ugsin=en. D4,E N word G lowlander=ID4	'That's what the lowlander said.'
Kānu sangaw ya ange=m ta ili? when later N go=2SG O town	'When will you go to town?'

Examples of a descriptive equation:

Dulay ya bida na la-lããy=en. 'The old man's story was bad.'
bad N story G old.man=ID4

Madamdã ya abbing=en ta hina na en. 'The child is sad for its
sad N child=ID4 O mother 3SG ID4 mother.'

Nahunnak ya asitay=en ta afuy. 'The baby fell in the fire.'
fell N baby=ID4 O fire

Ittã ya magayãg teko. 'There is someone calling you.'
exist N call 2SO

2.2.2 Event-Action

Terms which indicate an event, process, or action may occur in the predicate position and thus implicate the topic in some semantic as well as case role relative to the event or action. Terms which occur in the predicate position in these sentences are verbs. The particular semantic class of the occurring verb signals the particular function of the various participants in the sentence, i.e., agent, patient, dative, locative, etc.

Two subtypes of event-action sentences are recognized on the basis of predicate types. Predicates are either (1) actor focus, or (2) non-actor focus. Non-actor-focus predicates are characterized by a nonfocused agent which stands in an attributive relationship to the predicate verb and is marked by the particle na. Non-actor-focus predicates are further subdivided on the basis of grammatical verb types into object focus, location focus, and accessory focus.

2.2.2.1 Actor-focus sentences

Four types of actor-focus sentences are described on the basis of agent or object inclusion:

Agentless: Although no overt agent topic occurs in this sentence type, it can be demonstrated that a "dummy" agent does occur by comparing a completed conditional transform of the original event.

(a) Mag=udãn. 'It is raining.'
rain

(b) Tentu nag=udãn ... 'When it rained ...'
3SO rain

According to the above analysis the dummy agent in (a) is the third person singular nominative pronoun, which is unmarked. The evidence for this is in (b) above (tentu). Other examples of so-called agentless sentences are:

Object-accompanied verbs with actor focus are considered to be the kernel form from which other case role foci may be derived. Expressed in another way, Givon speaks of "the topic accession hierarchy" (1984:139), in which he ranks the agent as primary in the "hierarchy of access to subject/topic" (see, however, sec. 3.1). In Agta the grammatical or syntactic role of the topic is signaled in the verb by means of its inflection (see sec. 1.2.2).

2.2.2.2 Non-actor-focus predicates

Besides actor focus, three other syntactic case roles may be focused and thus expressed as the topic in Agta sentences. These are object (OF), location (LF), and accessory (ACF). Due to semantic class differences between verb stems, the semantic role of a topic does not necessarily correspond to its syntactic role. Examples of actor-focus predicates are included below with the non-actor-focus predicates in order to demonstrate more clearly the derivations that may occur. Parentheses indicate optional participants.

AF Mag=galgal ya lalaki ta kayu (ta ragādi).
 saw N man O tree O two.man.saw
 'The man is sawing a tree with a two-man saw.'

OF Galgal=an na lalaki ya kayu (ta ragādi).
 saw=OF G man N tree O two.man.saw
 'A man is sawing the tree with a two-man saw.'

ACF I=galgal na lalaki ya ragādi (ta kayu).
 ACF=saw G man N two.man.saw O tree
 'A man is sawing a tree with the two-man saw.'

AF Mang=atad ya lalaki ta pirāk (ta anāk kid=en).
 give N man O money O child PL=ID4
 'The man is giving money to the children.'

LF Atad=ān na lalaki ya anāk kid=en (ta pirāk).
 give=LF G man N child PL=ID4 O money
 'A man is giving the children some money.'

ACF I=atad na lalaki ya pirāk (ta anāk kid=en).
 ACF=give G man N money O child PL=ID4
 'A man is giving the money to some children.'

3. TOPICALIZATION AND SEMANTIC ROLES

Topicalization in Agta is the marking of a particular participant in each sentence throughout a discourse as that which is the beginning and/or continuing theme. The same idea is defined by Givon (1984:139) as "subjectization" and stated thus: "Subjectization is the assignment, by whatever coding means available in the language, of the pragmatic case-role of subject (or 'primary clausal topic') to one of the arguments ('semantic case-roles') in the clause."

This assignment of subjectness or topicality, according to Givon, is by reference to a hierarchy which prevails in the major semantic roles, meaning to say that semantic roles are ranked "according to the likelihood of of their becoming the more continuous topic in discourse; more specifically, however, according to the likelihood of their occupying the pragmatic case-roles of subject or direct object in clauses" (ibid.). The hierarchy that appears to be typologically universal, according to Givon, is as follows:

AGT > DAT/BEN > PAT > LO > INS/ASS > MAN

- Thus, "a. If the simple clause has an agent argument, it will be the subject.
 b. If the simple clause has no agent but has a dative/benefactive argument, it will be the subject.
 c. If the simple clause has neither agent nor dative/benefactive, but has a patient, it will be the subject.
 d. etc." (ibid., p. 140).

A tentative analysis of topicalization in Agta based on a limited study of texts shows several conflicts with Givon's foregoing suggestion, thus leading to my conclusion that either the hierarchy was not valid for Agta or that other factors bear consideration. The hypothesis proposed here is that topicalization in Agta is not entirely a semantic hierarchy decision, but also includes pragmatic factors, the most apparent at present being participant value, by which is meant definite versus indefinite.

3.1.1 Participant value

Participants that are indefinite may be new information, or they may be general and representative in nature. They are unmarked by any of the devices in the language for marking definiteness, although it is recognized that some terms in the language may be inherently definite in that they are names of specific or unique entities.

Definiteness may be marked in three possible ways, one of which is topicalization. Stated differently, only a definite participant will be topicalized. Other participants in a sentence may also be definite and identified as such by means of emphasis, for example, predicate position (see examples of an identificational equation in sec. 2.2.1) or locational clitics (see sec. 1.2.3).

3.2 Hierarchy of semantic roles

The interplay of participants (semantic roles) in a sentence as well as discourse very likely involves more than one that is definite. This interplay also results in first one being topicalized and then another as the the discourse unfolds. Our interest is to know what determines the Agta

speaker's choice for topicalization. Topicalization always indicates definiteness; and where more than one participant is definite, the hierarchy of semantic roles that may be topicalized according to present tentative analysis is as follows:

PAT > RECIP > INS > BEN > AGT/EXPER

Thus, a patient is topicalized if present and definite:

Alap=an na ya wagi na. 'He will get his younger sibling.'
get=OF 3SG N,NP sibling 3SG

A recipient will be topicalized only if a patient is absent or indefinite:

In=atad=ān nāk ta palatāw. 'He gave me a bolo.'
CM=give=LF 3SG:1SN O,NP bolo

In the preceding example the patient 'bolo' is indefinite and the recipient definite; therefore the recipient is topicalized. Contrast the following:

N=e=atad na ya palatāw=en teyāk. 'He gave the bolo to me.'
CM=PAS:ACF=give 3SG N,NP bolo=ID4 1SO

An instrument will be topicalized only if a patient and/or recipient is absent or indefinite:

N=e=gātāng na ya tandān na ta kānan.
CM=PAS:ACF=buy 3SG N,NP wage 3SG O,NP food
'He used his wages to buy food.'

A beneficiary will be topicalized only if a patient/recipient/instrument is absent or indefinite:

P=ang=alāp māk haen ta palatāw.
NU=SP=get 2SG:1SN RQ O,NP bolo
'Please get me a bolo.'

P=aki=māllak da ya abbing=en ta datay.
NU=AST=ST:mercy 3PLG N,NP child=ID4 O,NP ghost
'They are praying for the child to the ancestor-ghosts.'

An agent or experiencer will be topicalized only if all other participants are absent or indefinite:

M=ag=taga kami ta kayu ta ugsin.
INC=GN=square 1PLEX,N O,NP tree O,NP lowlander
'We are squaring a tree for a lowlander.'

N=ag=takit ya anāk k=en ta sifun.
CM=GN=pain N,NP child 1SG=ID4 O,NP mucus
'My child is sick with a cold.'

3.3 Dynamics of topicalization

The following is a summary of the dynamics of topicalization in Agta:

1. Participant valuation (definite vs. indefinite).
2. Topic assignment based on hierarchy.
3. Verb selection.
4. Focus inflection of verb based on semantic role of topic and verb class.
5. Participant marking (topic, nontopic agent, and periphery).

3.4 Syntactic encoding of participants

The syntactic encoding of participants in the various roles of the topic may be visualized in the following chart:

Role of Topic	Focus Inflection	Marking of Participants					
		AGT	EXPER	PAT	RECIP/LOC	INS	BEN
AGT	#	ya	--	ta	ta	ta	ta
EXPER	#	--	ya	ta	ta	ta	ta
PAT	-an/-ǎn/i-	na	--	ya	ta	ta	ta
RECIP/ LOC	-an/ -ǎn	na	--	ta	ya	ta	ta
INS	i-/pag-	na	--	ta	ta	ya	ta
BEN	i- <u> </u> -ǎn pag-	na	--	ta	ta	ta	ya

The above chart is deficient in two respects. Although the encoding devices are correct for each particular topic type, it is not to be assumed that all the participants will occur. If they occur, they are marked as indicated. In addition, participants do not necessarily follow the order given in the chart. In cases of a nonpronominal topic other than agent or dative, a periphery may precede the topic, as follows:

N=e=atad na teyǎk ya palatǎw=en.
 CM=PAS:ACF=give 3SG 1SO N,NP bolo=ID4
 'He gave the bolo to me.'