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KANKANA'EY ADJUNCTS

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0. INTRODUCTION

Kankana'ey, spoken by some 100,000 Filipinos in the beautiful mountains of Benguet, can boast of nearly fifty adjuncts, or non-affixable semantic particles. Conversational Kankana'ey is liberally spiced with these adjuncts, many of which carry subtle nuances peculiar to the context.

Twenty-one of these adjuncts have cognate forms in Ilocano¹, but their meanings are not necessarily identical to their Ilocano counterparts.

1. THE ADJUNCTS IN GRAMMATICAL CONTEXT

1.1 Clause Position

Normally, the adjuncts occur in post-predicate position.²

Emey ka baw.
 go you surpr.

Oh, so you're going.

Inbaga da kasin ya.
 said they repet. explan.

So they said it again, you see.

Ngaldòd occurs clause-initially in certain contexts.

Ànggoy, kambàw, and kasin may optionally occur in pre-predicate position. Thus, Kasin dan inbaga ya.
 repet. they said explain.

So they said it again, you see.

When occurring in pre-predicate position, kasin attracts pronouns and some adjuncts from their post-predicate slots into a pre-predicate position immediately following the adjunct. Kambàw, the pre-predicate counterpart of baw, does not attract pronouns but does attract some adjuncts.

Other elements that attract adjuncts to a pre-predicate position are negatives and certain adverb-like words. The following chart summarizes the movement of adjuncts to a pre-predicate position, given the presence of an attracting element. Attracted adjuncts follow any attracted pronoun.

Always move		Sometimes move	Move except after kambaw		Do not move
tomet	koma	anggoy	abe	kitdi	a
damdama	adi	dedan	et	manen	ay
gamin	aya	kadi	ngin	et abe	en
iman	baw	pay	gayam	pa abe	etet
kayman	kod		kano	laeng	ket
loman	met		kasin	etay	mon
ngalod	pay				ya
ngata	od				yan
od baw	man				
samet	ngay				

The following sentences illustrate the pre-predicate movements of the adjuncts. When more than three adjuncts co-occur, they may not all be drawn to the pre-predicate position.

Kasin da gayam kayman ibaga pay ket.
 repet. they explan. conces. say specif. cert.

That's right, because I tell you they will still say it again.

Kambaw kayman inmey abe.
 surpr. conces. went repet.

Say, you're right, he did go too.

Adiak pay kano aben manlaba.
 neg.-I specif. uncert. repet. launder

They say I won't launder any more either.

1.2 Co-occurrence With Other Adjuncts

Sentences are by no means limited to one adjunct apiece. An adjunct often occurs in conjunction with another adjunct. While it is impossible to chart the complexities of adjunct co-occurrence exhaustively, the following generalizations can be made.

Precede other Adjuncts		Follow other Adjuncts	
Always	Generally	Generally	Always
et to kay en manen	gayam man met et abe od samet	ket iman kayman kitdi aya laeng	a ay etay mon yan ya etet
Follow some adjuncts, precede others		Optional, may either precede or follow another adjunct	
pa abe damdama gamin tomet	ngata ngay dedan ngin kadi kod laeng	loman kano anggoy	adi baw pay

The following sentences illustrate the co-occurrence of the adjuncts.

Kasin da et abe kanon ibaga etet.
repet. they obj. uncert. say surpr.

Why, supposedly they just up and said it again!

Aw et adi pay dedan sa.
Yes emph. emph. specif. emph. that

Well yes, of course, certainly!

(upon hearing that the child went to help process sugar cane:)

"Ammom di tolong aya kayman?" "Pigpiga met kayman"
you-know help surpr. conces. few obj. conces.

di tomolong ay mansimot iman adi."
ones-who-help dip-fingers conces. cert.

"Yes, and you know, don't you, how she helps?"

"Well, yes, but there are really so few to help eat it up, poor things!"
(said in sarcasm)

2. THE ADJUNCTS IN SEMANTIC CONTEXT

For purposes of discussion, the adjuncts have been classified under ten headings--repetition, surprise, emphasis, certainty, uncertainty, specification, objection, concession, explanation, and request. There is, however, considerable overlap, as in the case of ket, which indicates emphasis and certainty as well as objection.

2.1 Repetition

Four adjuncts indicate repetition. Lomān and manēn simply mean "again", while kasīn and abē cover a wider range than any one English equivalent.

Lomān "again", indicates a repetition of something previous.

Adi ka loman emey, a.
neg. you repet. go emph.

Now don't you go again.

Dew-en ta koma loman.
divide we-two specif. repet.

We should divide it up again.

Manēn is synonymous with loman.

Ala! Emey ka manen!
exclam. go you repet.

So! There you go again!

Balat manen. Iwed di nateng.
banana repet. none vegetable

Bananas again! No vegetables!

Kasīn can be translated "again" or "other".

Yan dooy etay ginminek kasin ya.
and there surpr. quieted repet. explan.

And there he got quiet again.

En pay kasin ayagan Posa si Otot.
go specif. repet. call cat rat

So Cat went to call Rat again.

Laydelayden din esay nakay din kasinan nakay.
like-very-much one old-man repet.-his old-man

The one old man really likes the other old man.

Abē indicates repetition of a semantic entity between propositions. It is translatable by the English "again" and "also", depending on whether the repetition is in the subject or the predicate. When neither subject nor predicate is repeated in the second of the two propositions, abē can be translated "furthermore" or "in return". The following chart summarizes the semantic range of abē.

	Both predicates the same	Predicates different
Both subjects the same	again	also
Subjects different	also	furthermore in return

Adi ka loman emey a, tan mo emey ka, matbek abe din
neg. you repet. go emph. because if go you, pricked repet.

takkay mo.
hand your

Now don't you go again, because if you go your hand will get pricked again. (It got a sliver last time you went there.)

"Emeyak ta enak man-oto." "Enak aben man-oto."
go-I so go-I cook go-I repet. cook

"I'm going to go cook." "I'm going to cook, too."

Nan-as begas ta iotona. Kadepap kano abes esay ikan.
got rice so cook-she catch uncert. repet. one fish

She got some rice to cook; she also caught a fish.

Din dowa abe ay inga, mateweng da.
the two repet. ear deaf they

Furthermore, the two ears, they were deaf. (in an account of the physical effects of riding in an airplane)

2.2 Surprise

Three adjuncts indicate surprise at something unexpected.

Baw indicates some surprise at new information. It is used only in the first person.

Manlablaba baw adis Lola.
laundry surpr. emph. Lola

Oh, I see Lola is doing the laundry!

Lawa baw di.
bad surpr. that

That's not very good. (upon tasting a new mixture)

Man-od-odan baw ed Vizcaya sin bowan di November.
rains surpr. in Vizcaya in month of November

So it rains in Vizcaya during November!! (who would have thought it?)

The pre-predicate counterpart of baw is kambaw. Kambaw is also used in third-person narrative to introduce new information with a slight emphasis. In such instances it is not interchangeable with baw.

"Kambaw say iyatna di," iyat Linda.
surpr. that way-his that said Linda

"Oh, so that's how he does it," said Linda.

Gāyam has two different senses. The first indicates surprise upon recollecting or realizing something that was or ought to have been previously known.

Ey, niliw-ak gayam di!
excl. forgot-I surpr.that

Oh no! I forgot it!

Sik-a gayam!
you surpr.

Oh, it's you!

Ayā is a question requesting confirmation, denoting surprise.

A, balat aya di ilako da baw.
excl.banana surpr. sell they surpr.

So it's bananas they are selling, huh? (I sure thought otherwise.)

Aw aya?
yes surpr.

Is that so?

2.3 Emphasis

Varying degrees of emphasis are indicated by these six adjuncts. They are arranged in roughly increasing intensity from gentle politeness to exasperation.

A is polite, often persuasive.

"Kaman kan adi pinikpik mo?" "Pinikpik ko, a."
like you neg. patted quest. patted I emph.

"It seems like you didn't pat him...?" "I did, don't worry."

Nay emeyak, a.
here go-I emph.

I'm going, OK?

Adi ka loman emey a.
neg. you repet. go emph.

Now don't you go again.

Et is a clitic emphatic indicating suddenness or immediacy. It is sometimes used repeatedly in oral narratives to lend vividness to the account as a whole.

"Emey kaet ta adi ka kaladaw."
go you-emph. so neg.you late

"Go on now so you won't be late."

"Anggayet ay manbalinaket si kaag."
already-emph. turn-into-I-emph.monkey

"I'm already turning into a monkey."

En takoet!
go we-emph.

Come on! Let's go!

Adi can be translated "really, truly". It should not be confused with adi "negative".

Ay adi enak manmarkit?
quest. emph. go-I market

Shall I really go to market?

Emey kayo adi, baken kayon mantee sin danan.
go you emph. neg. you stay on trail

Really go now, don't just linger on the way.

Ipayag mo din kaiw! Tan say pangatan aso en sik-a adi!
put-down you wood because that make-bite dog you emph.

Put the stick down! That will make the dog bite you for sure!

Dedan implies common knowledge, something obvious or already known, thus "of course".

"Awem di; siya dedan ay kosto ay panbilin si anak."
agree-you that that emph. right rule children

"Agree with that; it is, as you know, a good rule for children."

"Inilak dedan ay wada ay manlablaba, kanana."
saw-I emph. is-there laundering said-he

"I saw that she's there doing laundry!" she said. (How many times do I have to tell you?)

Opopem dedan!
cover-mouth-you emph.

Cover your mouth! You should know better! (after child sneezes)

Mon indicates definiteness on the part of the speaker and a measure of exasperation with the hearer.

Lawa mon! Adi ka en paypay-an!
bad emph. neg. you go put-in

That's bad! Don't keep on putting (dirt) in (the laundry).

"Sik-a mon din nanga. Way nangila en sik-a."
 you emph. took there-is saw you

"But you certainly were the one who took it. Someone saw you."

"Manlablaba baw adis Lola." "Ay mon! Inilak dedan!"
 laundering surpr. emph. Lola yes emph. saw-I emph.

"I see Lola's really doing laundry!" "Yes, for goodness sakes! I saw her, you know."

Ay is an exclamation, often very forcibly pronounced.

Lawa damdama ay!
 bad obj. emph.

BAD! NO! NO!

Omali kayo ay!
 come you emph.

Get yourselves over here!

Alim a, alim ay!
 bring emph. bring emph.

Bring it here, OK? HEY! Bring it here!

2.4 Certainty

These five adjuncts express the speaker's confidence in the truth of his statement, with various other connotations.

Od stresses the truth of a statement.

"Kaman kan adi pinikpik mo?" "Pinikpik ko od."
 like you neg. patted quest. patted I cert.

"Seems like you didn't pat him?" "I really did pat him."

Lawa od. Adi ka kitkitingen.
 bad cert. neg. you pinch

That's really bad. Don't pinch her!

Yan doy daddaan dadi...ay daddaan od di?
 and there unripe they quest. unripe cert. that

And there they're not ripe...are they indeed unripe?

Ket emphasizes the certainty the speaker feels, often in objection to another's uncertainty. The semantic adjunct ket should not be confused with its homonyms, especially the one that ends an introductory phrase.

"Annoka baw kano adi." "Aw ket, dinngek pay dedan sa."
 whatsit surpr. uncert. emph. yes cert. heard-I specif. emph. that

"Why, they say such-and-such..." "Yes indeed, I already heard that you know."

"En ka kod dawen kasin." ... "Iwed ket!"
go you req. check repet. none cert.

"Please go check again." (goes & returns) "It's absolutely not there!"

"Sinoy ngadan di lako das di?" "Balat ket."
what name sell they there banana cert.

"What are they selling there?" "Bananas."

Ngalöd indicates the sincerity of the speaker. It has a variant, galöd.

"Omali ka ngalod!"
come you cert.

"You come here!" (I really mean it this time.)

Tan sis-iya galod di en nanga asina pay eggasan.
because he cert. go get then specif. drop

Because really, he was the one to go get it and then drop it.

Kadi tries to convince the hearer that something is true, often in contrast to the preceding statement. It can be translated "please" when the speaker is trying to convince someone of the desirability of something's being done.

Lawa kadi si Dollika. Kinitingna din takkay mo.
bad cert. Dollika pinched-she hand your

Oh that Dollika's really bad. She pinched your hand. (to sympathize with crying child.)

"Sinoy ngadan nina?" "Balat...aga, lokto kadi."
what name this banana neg. camote cert.

"What's this?" "Bananas...(joke)...no, not really, it's camote."

Pikpikem kadi ta maek.
pat-you cert. so sleep

Please pat him so he'll sleep.

Mo pakaanem din anan-ak, "Aw kadi, pakaanem ta adi da..." kanak.
if send-out-you children yes cert. send-out-you so neg. they say-I

If you send the children out, "Yes, please, send them out so they don't..." I say.

Yan asserts first-hand knowledge and is often slightly self-defensive, reacting to an implied suspicion or doubt. It should not be confused with its homonym, which serves as a coordinating conjunction.

"Ay laton ay siged din innam ay doy?" "Siged yan."
quest. OK good got-you that good cert.

"Are those things you got good all right?" "They're good." (Did you think I'd get some bad ones?)

"Ay kindeng mo?" "Aw yan."
 quest. finish you yes cert.

"Did you finish it?" "Yes." (Why do you ask?)

"Ibagaak si Julia mo laydena ya." "Laydena yan."
 ask-I Julia if like-she explan. like-she cert.

Inbagana ed kaonyan."
 said-she short-time-ago

"I'll ask Julia if she wants to, you see." "She does want to! She said so a little bit ago."

2.5 Uncertainty

The four adjuncts under this heading express uncertainty, some pure conjecture, others only mildly backing off from being too assertive.

Ngatà is a conjecture, a guess implying that the hearer does not know the information either. It frequently solicits a similar conjecture in response.

"Ay emey ka ngata?" "Aw ngin."
 quest. go you uncert. yes uncert.

"Do you suppose you'll go?" "Yes, maybe."

"Sik-a ngata di itakina ed Manila." "Aw ngata."
 you uncert. take-with-he to Manila yes uncert.

"Do you suppose you'll be the one he'll take to Manila?" "Maybe so, do you think?"

Sàmet indicates a reservation or uncertainty in the speaker's mind regarding his expressed opinion. If the word preceding samet ends in a vowel, -n is suffixed to it.

Yay, sino di matektekdag, balankas samet di.
 excl. what falling pomelo uncert.that

Hay, what's that falling? Maybe pomelos.

Sik-an samet ay Matek di nangikaw-it.
 you uncert. Leech hung-up

Perhaps you, Leech, were the one who hung it up.

Ay siya di ono baken? Baken samet di.
 quest. that that or neg. neg. uncert.that

Is that it or not? Maybe it's not.

Ngin is synonymous with samet.

"Ay inmey ngatas Patricia?" "Aw ngin."
 quest. went uncert. Patricia yes uncert.

"Do you suppose Patricia went?" "Maybe so."

"Yan sana ay emey ka et abe? Into ngin di mangi-baga
and there go you obj. where uncert. one-who-will-say

sin sana ay laydem ay ibaga?"
that want-you say

"And are you leaving? Where perhaps is the one who will say what you were wanting to say?"

Kanō means "reportedly" and implies that the speaker disavows responsibility for the truthfulness of the statement.

Man-abat kanos da gayang en kiling issan sebang di kaong.
meet uncert. they crow and kiling-bird on trail of sow

Once upon a time a crow and kiling-bird met on a sow trail.

"Ay dinmateng din auditor?" "Maga, emey kayo kanos bigat."
quest. arrived auditor neg. go you uncert. tomorrow

"Did the auditor arrive?" "No, they said you're to go tomorrow."

Nabbakes kano et sigaan day makiskisan ed idi.
old-woman uncert. dislike they husked in past

They say the old women didn't like it husked in the old days.

2.6 Specification

These six adjuncts indicate some sort of specification about the subject. Two, to and en, are temporal.

To indicates future time. It requires a preceding vowel to be closed with -n.

"Egyatam aso da tan kailabos dan sik-an to pay."
afraid-of dog their because make-naked they you spec.

"You'll be afraid of their dogs because they'll rip your clothes off!"

"Kaipaskadak to pay."
step-suddenly-I specif. and-then

"Then I'll just step over them!"

En "now, already" is a clitic indicating present time.

Ay en taen?
quest. go dual-specif.

Shall we go now?

Ngem ed niman pay ay nabbayagen nanbalin si bato.
bud now contrast long-time-spec. changed to stone

But now that it's been a long time already, she has turned to stone.

Awan a, pinmadtoken.
neg. emph. jumped-specif.

Too late, it already jumped. (a flea)

Pay indicates a continuation of a previous state or action, thus "still" or "yet". It also is used in contrasting one thing with another, "as for ____". It further functions on the discourse level in advancing the plot, "thereupon".

Wada da pay.
there-is they specif.

They are still there.

Adi da pay inobla din kanan di nakay en oblaen da.
neg. they specif. worked said old-man work they

They had not yet done the work that the old man had told them to do.

"Mantetee kayo a, tan nay emey kami." "Aw pay, tan beey
stay you emph. because here go we yes specif. because house

mi na."
ours this

"You stay here, OK, because we're going now." "Yes, of course, because this is our house."

Mo si Bacona pay en nan-iskowila.
if Bacona contr. go go-to-school

As for Bacona, he went to school.

Idi kaila pay da baka en nowang sin ap-apo da ay nakay yan
when see advance they cow and carabao boss they old-man and

doyet ay legmen day pidit sin bado da.
there hurry they pick-up clothes they

When the cow and carabao saw their master the old man, they hurriedly picked up their clothes.

Anggoy specifies a limitation, "only".

Tolo kami anggoy.
three we specif.

There are just three of us.

Manpaspasyalak anggoy.
visit-I specif.

I'm just visiting.

"Piga sa?" "Pisos anggoy."
how-much that peso specif.

"How much is that?" "Just a peso."

Làeng occurs only in combination with met and pay. It generally means "the same, unchanged." Met làeng means "also, as well". Pay làeng means "still, yet" in a stronger degree than pay alone.

Ammok met laeng ay mangiamag.
know-I specif. do

I know how to do it too.

Kadi man ta iamag mo et lawa; baken siged din solit ay nay ay
predict so fix you and bad neg. good long-time this

aamag, baken siged met laeng din iamag mo.
made neg. good specif. fix you

I'll bet it'll be no good if you fix it; it was no good the way it was made in the first place, and neither will it be good if you fix it.

En manakati si kanen din baka ya nowang met laeng.
go get-fodder eat cow and carabao specif.

He went to get fodder for the cow and for the carabao as well.

Ay et wada met laeng ay dinmateng din auditor?
quest. there-is specif. arrived auditor

And has the auditor arrived as expected?

Adi ka pay laeng ammo di.
neg. you specif. know that

You don't know that yet.

Katampok si Posa en Otot, asiet makiibaw pay laeng si Otot.
suddenly-hit Cat Rat then fight-with specif. Rat

Cat up and hit Rat, upon which Rat fought right back.

Komã means "should, ought, hopefully". Used with the past tense it means "contrary to fact" with or without the notion of "ought".

Laydem koma ay makikan mon sana etay emey ka.
like-you specif. eat-with but there obj. go you

You should want to eat with us, but there you go leaving.

"Aw, mon!" kanak ta iginekna koma.
yes emph. say-I so be-quiet-he specif.

"Yes, yes, yes," I say so he'll hopefully hush up.

Pinikpik ko koma ta naek baw, ta asiak inmali.
patted I specif. so slept surpr.so then-I came

I see I should have patted him to sleep, then come here.

Mo pinati da koma din initdok, pasien da abe din itdo yo.
if believed they specif. taught-I believe they repet. teach you

If they have believed my teaching (but they haven't) they will also believe your teaching, i.e. They will not believe.

2.7 Objection

Five adjuncts express the speaker's objection to or displeasure with a

statement, implication or situation. They are arranged here in more or less increasing intensity.

Etay indicates mild displeasure or surprise and is often used with a demonstrative. In a command, etay exerts a gentle pressure.

Emeyak koma ngem nay etay ad-adoy amagek ay mansolatak.
go-I specif. but here obj. much do-I write-I

I ought to go, but here I have so much writing to do.

Laydem koma ay makikan mon sana etay emey ka.
like-you specif. eat-with but there obj. go you

You should want to eat with us but there you go leaving.

Naladaw kami ay binmangon en Mr. Guerzon, isonga doy etay owat kamin
late we get-up Mr. Guerzon so there obj. just we

kapoknad sin mokat mi.
wipe eye-excretions we

Mr. Guerzon and I were late in rising, so there we were just wiping the sleep from our eyes.

May etay, emey ka.
excl. obj. go you

Come on now, you go.

Met affirms the speaker's position or opinion, usually in objection to some other statement, either expressed or implied.

"Ay emey tako?" "Nay met ay magay iyat ko ay manlablabank.."
quest. go we here obj. neg. way I launder-I

"Shall we go?" "But how can I, I'm doing the laundry."

Sinoy alaek mo naiwed met di balat mi?
what get-I if none obj. banana we

What shall I get if we have no bananas?

"Ay innam din bola?" "Iwed met!"
quest. took-you ball none obj.

"Did you take the ball?" "(I took) nothing!"

"Manlaba ka kod si bigat." "Dominggo met si bigat."
launder you req. tomorrow Sunday obj. tomorrow

"Please do the laundry tomorrow." "But tomorrow's Sunday."

Et abe indicates displeasure or objection, often in response or contrast, thus "anyway, regardless".

Way laydem ay ingalat yan sana ay emey ka et abe?
there-is like-you talk and there go you obj.

You wanted to talk about something and now you're leaving?

"Wey, maymayat badom!" "Lawlaw-a et abe."
excl. very-nice clothes-your bad obj.

"My, what a pretty blouse!" "No, it's ugly!"

Intoy nantengana? Kaman et aben nalatian, iwasit yo.
where found-he like obj. rusty discard you

Where'd he find that? Looks like it's rusty anyway, toss it.

Etèt indicates displeasure or disapproval.

Maabakak etet.
defeated-I obj.

Fooy, I'm going to lose.

Napooan etet, begew din anak.
burned obj. due-to child

Unfortunately it was burned, thanks to the child.

Dooy etet! Naikolboet!
there obj. spilled-emphas.

There now! It spilled!

Mo sik-a etet, ibagam.
if you obj. tell-you

If it was you (unhappy thought), confess.

Damdama emphatically indicates disapproval or objection.

Baken damdaman pag ed kantina. En kayo mangaiw.
neg. obj. always at store go you get-wood

You don't have to be forever going to the store. Go fetch some wood!

Omdas din kali damdama; baken siyat takkay.
reach word obj. neg. necessary hand

For Pete's sake, words will suffice; fists aren't necessary.

Sik-a damdama di mangipangpango.
you obj. go-ahead

You go ahead, I insist.

2.8 Concession

These three adjuncts are used in making concessions to others, two to the hearer and one to a third party.

Kaymàn agrees with or concedes to the hearer.

"En ka alan adis awni." "Pag et kaymàn naom yan."
go you get emph. later all emph. conces.ripe cert.

"Be sure to go get those later." "Yes, they are all really ripe."

Onina kayman sina, adi innan din dagem din balat yo.
 fortunate conces. here neg. took wind bananas you

Yes, you're really lucky here, the wind didn't wreck your bananas.

Yana! Yan sana kayman ay piniliam mo.
 excl. and there conces. pick-out-you quest.

Wow! Sure enough you picked it all out!

Od baw is a combination of two adjuncts treated previously, meaning "truly" and "I realize with some surprise". It indicates concession after a struggle.

May, emey ka od baw.
 excl. go you conces.

Oh, alright, go ahead.

Ialim ta gel-adan mi od baw.
 bring-you so peel we conces.

Oh, OK, bring it here and we'll peel it after all.

Iman indicates concession to a third party, thus soothing, complimentary, persuasive, sympathetic.

Aw iman, lawa din am-amagem ay dooy, Wilma.
 yes conces. bad doing-you that Wilma

She's right, Wilma, what you're doing there is bad. (agreeing with Wilma's mother who just scolded her)

Onina iman si Bernard--way nowangna si pansiwatana.
 lucky conces. Bernard there-is carabao-his for-plowing

Bernard is sure lucky--he's got a carabao for plowing.

"Apay ngata adi da intakin anak da?" "Tan madagsen iman."
 why uncert.neg.they take-along child their because heavy conces.

"Why do you suppose they didn't bring their baby along?" "Because he's really heavy."

2.9 Explanation

Five adjuncts apply to an explanation, three directly stressing a reason, one indicating self-defense, and one encouraging the hearer's sympathetic response.

Gamin indicates the relevant thing in a situation, often a reason.

"Bomain ka gamin."
 ashamed you explan.

"It was because you were ashamed." (You wouldn't ask him when Guillabo was there, then it turned out that Guillabo was the one who could have helped you.)

Wa, sik-a gamin. Nan-aagag ka ay nankali.
 excl. you explan. hurried you spoke

Well, it's your fault. You were in such a rush to speak out.

Maga gamin di kapotik, isonga kasaaak.
 neg. explan. raincoat-my reason go-home-I

Because of not having my raincoat, I went right home.

Tòmet pinpoints a reason, often blaming. It requires that a preceding vowel be closed with -n.

Sik-an tomet.
 you explan.

It's your fault.

Komagos tomet si anoka.
 busy explan. whatsit

What's-her-name is busy. (That's why her child got a flea bite all unnoticed.)

Gayam, as discussed under section 2.2, can indicate surprise. Its second meaning stresses the reason for something, generally implying that the hearer should have understood the reason without being told.

"Ay yaket adi ka alan di mo?" "Lawa gayam!"
 quest. why neg. you get that bad explan.

"How come you didn't get that?" "Because it wasn't any good!"

"Apaynga nan-etba?" "Nabsog gayam!"
 why spit-up full explan.

"Why did he spit up?" "He's full, obviously!"

Ngay follows an explanation, implying a bit of self-defense.

"Ay madagsen?" "Aw ngay."
 quest. heavy yes explan.

"Is he heavy?" "Is he ever!"

"Pinikpik ko ngay ya adi gominek."
 patted I explan. and neg. quiet-down

"I patted him, but he wouldn't quiet down."

"Ibagaam kod si Rosa." "Aw mon mo sigaana ngay, intoy iyat ko?"
 tell-you req. Rose Yes but if dislikes-she explan. how I

"Please tell Rosa." "OK, but if she doesn't want to (do it), then what should I do?"

"Omya ka sin lokto." "Naabos ngay."
 give-me you camote used-up explan.

"Give me some camote." "Sorry, but they're all used up."

Ya encourages the hearer's sympathetic grasp of an explanation.³ It should not be confused with its homonym, a coordinating conjunction.

Intos Julia? Ta ibagaak mo laydena ya.
where Julia so ask-I if like-she explan.

Where's Julia? Because see, I'm going to ask her if she wants to.

Inilana tan naek kami sisi ya.
saw-he because slept we there explan.

He saw it because we slept overnight there, you see.

Iyat sin sisi, iyatnas di ya, et asi da iyaat sisi.
do-like-this do-he-like-this explan. and then they do-like-this

Like this, it goes like this, see, and then they do like this.

3.10 Request

These final four adjuncts range from polite request to pleading.

Kod means "please", a polite request.

En ka kod ilan ay mo magay iyat ay man-emes.
go you req. see if neg. way bathe

Please go see if there is no way to take a bath.

Omya ka kod si esay salop.
give-me you req. one ganta

Please give me a ganta (of rice).

En tako kod manyong-aw.
go we req. look-down

Please, let's go look down (at them).

Kay is a request, emphasizing the smallness of the task or the briefness of the time required to do it.

Ipayag mo kay na sin kantina.
put-down you req. this at store

Could you drop this off at the store?

Emey ka kay sin beey da Silino. Damagem mo way karga tako.
go you req. to house Silino find-out-you if there-is shipment us

Run up to Silino's house a second. Find out if there is a shipment for us.

Sik-a kay di mangisolat tan sana ay adiak dengngen san ibagbagam.
you req. write because there neg.-I hear say-you

Would you please write that one for me, because I can't hear what you're saying.

Man is more commanding than requesting, though the pressure may be quite gentle depending on the manner of the speaker.

Mo ibaam ya sigaana, adi emey yan, "May, emey ka man," kanam.
if send-you and dislike-he neg. go and excl. go you req. say-you

If you send him and he doesn't want to, he doesn't go, you say, "Come on, you go!"

Mamati ka man!
obey you req.

You obey me! (when child disobeys)

"Ay dinngem din kinwanik ay sana?" "Aw man, laton ay dinngek."
quest. heard-you said-I that yes req. OK heard-I

"Did you hear what I said?" "Yes, I heard you perfectly well." (so be quiet and don't say it again)

Paabè is a strong request, pleading.

Omya ka paabes esay salop.
give-me you req. one ganta

Please, I beg of you, give me one ganta (of rice).

Lawa paabe ay! Komaloloya din am-amagek!
bad req. emph. become-dirty doing-I

Pleeeeeease don't! My work's getting all dirty!

3. RESEARCH METHODS

The conclusions reached in this study are based on both elicited and unelicited material.

To get natural text, the household conversation of some friends was taped, with their permission, and transcribed. Sentences with adjuncts were copied out from written narrative material. Utterances incorporating adjuncts were written in a notebook as they were overheard.

The elicited material was collected in a variety of frames,⁴ six or seven in all. Each adjunct was put through every frame and a language teacher was asked to provide a context in which this might be said, and what the speaker would mean by it. The teacher proved to be very skilled in such imaginative exercises and in articulating the differences between closely related adjuncts.

To determine the combinations of the adjuncts, an assistant was asked to fill out a chart, matching each adjunct with every other one, indicating whether they could co-occur, and in what order. This chart was then matched against the unelicited text examples and any contradictions reconciled.

To determine the pre-predicate movement of the adjuncts in the presence of an attracting element, five frames were set up, each with a pronoun-attracting word. The assistant then filled out a chart indicating which

adjuncts could be included in each frame, and if so, whether it would be attracted to the pre-predicate position.

Although the present analysis takes into account every adjunct gleaned thus far from a considerable corpus of material, it can only be regarded as tentative due to the extremely complex semantic make-up of most of the adjuncts. Nevertheless, it is hoped that the semantic analysis represented here will serve as a good basis for future studies, such as social constraints regulating the use of adjuncts, semantic shifts with cognates in related languages, and the role of adjuncts in various discourse genre.

FOOTNOTES

¹The Kankanaey adjuncts with cognate forms in Ilocano are as follows: a, aya, en, gamin, gayam, iman, kadi, kano, ket, kitdi, koma, laeng, man, manen, met, ngalod, ngata, pay, samet, to, tomet.

²The following abbreviations have been used as glosses for the examples in this paper:

cert.	certainty	obj.	objection
conces.	concession	quest.	question
contr.	contrast	repet.	repetition
emph.	emphasis	req.	request
excl.	exclamation	specif.	specification
explan.	explanation	surpr.	surprise
neg.	negative	uncert.	uncertainty

³Another use of ya has been noted in conjunction with aw "yes". Interjected in a conversation, aw ya indicates the speaker's agreement on the basis of prior knowledge and encourages the other to continue. Due to the fact that this use of ya has been observed in only one context, it has not been treated as a separate homonym.

"...et inmey ed iskowilaan." "Aw ya."
and went to school yes encouragement

"...and he went to the school." "Yes, that's right."

⁴The frames used to collect the elicited material are as follows:

Balat_____	(banana)
Aw_____	(yes)
Pinikpik ko_____	(I patted)
Emey ka_____	(go (command))
Iwed_____	(none)
Lawa_____	(no-good)
Sik-a_____	(you)

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