Pronominal Forms in Central Cagayan Agta: Clitics or Agreement Features?¹

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1. Introduction

The forms of the first and second person singular genitive pronouns exhibit alternation in a number of Austronesian languages, including all but a few of the Cordilleran languages of the Northern Philippines (Dyen 1974; Tharp 1974; Blust 1977; Reid 1978, 1981, 2001; etc.). In general, the alternation is phonologically conditioned: the full forms, typically =ku ‘1S’ and =mu ‘2S’, occur postconsonantally, whereas the short forms =k ‘1S’ and =m ‘2S’ occur postvocally. However, in the Central Cordilleran languages, as well as in Ilokano, the short forms can also occur on transitive verbs containing a reflex of either *-en or *-an, by replacing the final -n of the verb ending (Reid 2001:235–237). In each of these languages (but not in Ilokano), the final –n of a transitive verb is also replaced when the third person singular form =na occurs.

To explain the occurrence of the postvocalic variants on transitive verbs that otherwise would end in a consonant, Reid (2001) reexamines the status of these forms, that is, whether they are full words, clitics, affixes, or none of the above. Applying the clitichood tests provided by Zwicky and Pullum (1983:503–504), he concludes that the so-called short form first and second person singular “genitive pronouns” as well as the so-called third person singular “genitive pronoun” -na that replace the final -n of transitive verbs are NOT clitics, but agreement features that have been incorporated as a part of transitive verbs.

A similar kind of alternation is observed in Central Cagayan Agta, a Northern Cordilleran language spoken by some 700 to 800 Negritos living in the central region of

¹ This paper is a revised version of a part of Chapter 6 (section 6.3.2.1 and section 6.3.2.5) of my doctoral dissertation (Liao 2004). I would like to thank all of my committee members, Laurie Reid, Bob Blust, Byron W. Bender, Sasha Vovin, and Bion Griffin, for their helpful comments on my dissertation. I am also grateful to Carl Rubino for his comments on an earlier version of this paper. I would also like to thank the Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange (USA) for providing me with a doctoral dissertation fellowship to conduct my dissertation research.

² The Central Cordilleran languages include Bontok, Kankanay, Balangao, Ifugao (the Nuclear Central Cordilleran languages), Kalinga and Itneg (which together with the Nuclear group constitute North Central Cordilleran) and Isinai (Reid 1974).

³ Rubino (2005:334) notes that “The first and second person ergative enclitics also lose their final vowel after vowels, e.g., adi=m (younger.brother=2S.ERG) ‘your younger brother’, unless they are followed by the adverbial enclitic =(e)n ‘now, already’ or follow the monomorphemic functors di ‘negation’ or sa ‘then’, in which case they maintain their full forms” [e.g., Suratemon! ‘Write it!’; ...så=mono surat-en kalpasáñna. ‘...then you’ll write it afterwards’].
Cagayan Province in the northern part of the island of Luzon, the Philippines (Reid 1989:57; Mayfield 1987; http://www.ethnologue.com). In Central Cagayan Agta, as in other Cordilleran languages, the alternation in the forms of the first and second person singular genitive pronouns is also phonologically conditioned. That is, the full forms =ku ‘1S’ and =mu ‘2S’ occur after a consonant-final stem, whereas the short forms =k ‘1S’ and =m ‘2S’ occur after a vowel-final stem. However, when the second person singular genitive pronoun =mu occurs with stems ending with an alveolar nasal, formal irregularities occur. The morphophonological idiosyncrasies exhibited by the combination of the second person singular genitive pronoun with a stem ending with an alveolar nasal pose the question as to whether all assumed “clitic pronouns” are clitics or agreement features. In this study, I reconsider the morphological status of genitive pronouns (or their probably related forms) and see whether ALL these forms are clitics in Central Cagayan Agta.

2. The Forms and Functions of Genitive Pronouns

Before discussing the morphological status of genitive pronouns, let us first consider their forms and functions.

Like the genitive pronouns in other western Austronesian languages, genitive pronouns are associated with two grammatical functions in Central Cagayan Agta. First, they can function as the attribute (i.e., the possessor) in a possessive construction, as in (1)–(2). Second, they can function as the agent of a dyadic –an clause, the agent of a dyadic –àn clause, the agent of a dyadic i- clause, or the agent of a dyadic i- -àn clause, as in (1)–(3).

(1) genitive clitic pronoun as the agent of a dyadic –an clause and as the possessor in a possessive construction:

en = ku para sasirib an ya matā = k.  
go = GEN.1S yet peek NOM eye = GEN.1S

‘I then went to peek my eyes out of the little window.’ (Agt 10–014)

(2) genitive clitic pronoun as the agent of a dyadic –àn clause and as the possessor in a possessive construction:

nagtappan = āk, tinappanàn = ku matā = k.  
covered = NOM.1S covered = GEN.1S eye = GEN.1S

‘I covered myself, I covered my eyes.’ (Agt 10–013)

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4 The Central Cagayan Agta reflexes of PAN *-um-, PMP *maR-, PMP *maN-, PAN *-en, PAN *-an, PAN *Si- (or PMP *hi-) are -um-, mag-, maN-, -an, -àn, and i-, respectively.

5 The Central Cagayan Agta orthography used here is the same as that used by Mayfield (1987). The symbol a stands for a mid central vowel; ā stands for a low central vowel (represented as a or ̄ in other publications on this language); ng stands for the velar nasal; and – stands for the glottal stop. Glottal stop is written only in consonant clusters. There are no vowel clusters in Central Cagayan Agta; hence contiguous vowels in text are always pronounced with an intervocalic glottal stop.

6 All Central Cagayan Agta data used in this study are taken from the eleven texts in Mayfield (1987). The example reference numbers following the free translation are organized according to the order that they appear in Mayfield’s monograph. For example, Agt 10–014 means that the example is the 14th sentence of Central Cagayan Agta Text 10.
Moreover, (third person) genitive clitic pronouns sometimes also have a cross-referencing function. As shown in (4)–(5), genitive clitic pronouns, such as =na ‘GEN.3S’ or =da ‘GEN.3P’, can cooccur with the (genitive-marked) agent full NP of a dyadic -an clause or a dyadic -ān clause (or a dyadic -i clause, or a dyadic i- -ān clause) and they agree with the (genitive-marked) agent full NPs in person and number features.

(4) genitive clitic pronoun agrees with the agent of a dyadic –an clause:

...kinaŋat=na hapa na taggam ya huli na atu.8
bit=GEN.3S also GEN ant NOM rump GEN dog
‘...the ant bit the rump of the dog.’ (Agt 4–022)

(5) genitive clitic pronoun agrees with the agent of a dyadic –ān clause:

...en=da=kami=n inaribungbān na Merikāno kid=en.
go=GEN.3P=NOM.1PE=already surrounded GEN American PL=that
‘...the Americans came and gathered around us (ex.).’ (Agt 10–016)

As noted in (1)–(3), both the first person singular genitive pronoun and the second person singular genitive pronoun have two forms: =ku/=k and =mu/=m, respectively.9 Generally, the occurrence of the full form clitics (=ku and =mu) and the short form clitics (=k and =m) is phonologically conditioned. That is, the full form genitive pronouns =ku and =mu occur after a consonant-final stem (as in (7) and (8)), whereas the short form singular genitive pronouns =k and =m occur after a vowel-final stem (as in (6) and (9)).

(6) short form genitive clitic =k following a vowel:

gafu ta makakasidug=āk=na pinapāsi=k ya hādyo=en.
since LCV sleep=NOM.1S=already CAUS.die=GEN.1S NOM radio=that
‘And since I became sleepy, I killed/turned off the radio.’ (Agt 10–026)

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7 To simplify the discussion, I tentatively consider both short form and full form genitives as clitics, although in some cases these forms might have been grammaticalized as agreement features on the verb. See section 3 for more discussion on these forms.

8 -in- is the completive form of the dyadic –an verb.

9 Reid (2001:235–236, footnote 2) comments that “The alternation is found in all of the Central and Southern Cordilleran languages, in both Northern and Southern Alta (Reid 1991), in Ilokano (Rubino 1997), and in the Cagayan Valley languages, but not in the Negrito languages of Northeastern Luzon (Headland and Headland 1974; Reid 1983), nor in Arta, a Negrito language isolate spoken in the Cagayan Valley (Reid 1989). Yogad, one of the Northern Cordilleran languages, has a variant following vowel-final words only for the second singular genitive pronoun (A. Healey 1958).”
(7) full form genitive clitic =ku following a consonant:

yen, ya mağbida=yāk tekaμuy, anāk=ku ikid ni Enut,...
that NOM talk=NOM.1S LCV.2P child=GEN.1S and GEN Enut

‘The reason that I am talking to you (pl.), my children and Enut....’ (Agt 9–001)

(8) full form genitive clitic =mu following a consonant:

a intu paha ibal=ku teko, Ginyamor, kuman=na
CONJ TOP.3S yet tell=GEN.1S LCV.2S Ginyamor similar=GEN.3S

īwahad=mu minā ya dulay na nonot,....
throw.with=GEN.2S should NOM bad LIG thoughts

‘And another thing I will tell you (sg.), Ginyamor, it is like this, you (sg.) should throw away any bad ideas,....’ (Agt 2–003)

(9) short form genitive clitic =m following a vowel:

ipaītam hapa ya māppy ta agyān minā
CAUS.see+GEN.2S also NOM good LCV place would/should

na babbay anna ipaītam ya ngāmin tahabāku=m,....
LIG female and CAUS.see+GEN.2S NOM all work=GEN.2S

(ipaītam < i- -ān + pa- + ita + =m)

‘You (sg.) show good behavior to the girl’s relatives and you (sg.) show all your (sg.) industry....’ (Agt 2–002)

However, when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with a dyadic –an verb, a dyadic –ān verb, or a dyadic i- -ān verb, or other forms ending with the alveolar nasal n (e.g., kum ‘QUOT + GEN.2S’ < kun ‘QUOT’ + =mu ‘GEN.2S’), irregularities occur. As shown in (9) and (10), when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with a dyadic -ān verb (or a dyadic i- -ān verb), the resulting form is either -ān=m or –ām (or i- -ām). The morphophonological idiosyncrasies exhibited by the combination of the second person singular genitive pronoun with stems ending with an alveolar nasal pose the question as to whether the second person singular genitive pronominal forms (and possibly the first person singular genitive form as well as other genitive pronominal forms) are clitics or agreement features.

(10) second person genitive clitics occurring with dyadic –ān verbs:

en=tānan, unnanān=māk te
go=GEN.1P1=now/already precede=GEN.2S+NOM.1S because

hilāgām=āk, te matu=āk te hiklam=na.
light+GEN.2S=NOM.1S because splinter=NOM.1S because night=already

(=tānan < =tām ‘GEN.1P1’ + =na ‘already/now’; =māk ‘GEN.2S + NOM.1S’ < =mu ‘GEN.2S’ + =āk ‘NOM.1S’; hilāgām < hilāgān + =mu ‘GEN.2S’)

‘Let’s go, go ahead of me and shine the light for me because I will puncture my feet because it is night already.’ (Agt 8–051)

In addition to the problem raised by the combination of the second person singular genitive pronoun with a stem ending with an alveolar nasal, one more problem is found
in the data presented in (12)–(13). Recall that SHORT FORM genitive clitic pronouns occur after a VOWEL-final stem. However, the SEEMINGLY short form first person genitive clitic pronoun appears to occur after a CONSONANT-final stem in (12)–(13). One might consider these to be exceptions to the statement that short form genitive clitic pronouns occur after a vowel-final stem. However, if we examine the data in (12)–(13) carefully, we find that when the first person singular genitive pronoun is followed by a deictic determiner (beginning with a vowel), regardless of the stem ending with a vowel (as in (11)) or with a consonant (as in (12)–(13)), the form =k occurs. It seems that the SEEMINGLY short form first person singular genitive pronoun =k in (12)–(13) is probably NOT a TRUE short form genitive pronoun, but a long form genitive pronoun that is reduced to =k when it is immediately followed by a deictic determiner.

Such an analysis is supported by the data presented in (7) and (12). In these examples, the first person singular genitive pronoun occurs after a consonant-final stem. However, it appears as either =ku (as in anāk=ku) or =k (as in anāk=k=en). In the first instance, the long form =ku occurs because it is NOT FOLLOWED by a vowel-initial determiner, whereas in the second instance, the SEEMINGLY short form =k occurs because it is FOLLOWED by a vowel-initial determiner.

(11) short form genitive clitic =k following a vowel and preceding a vowel-initial clitic determiner:

...te nagtalog i hinā=k=en.
because crave=meat NOM mother=GEN.1S=that
‘...because my mother was hungry for meat.’ (Agt 8–097)

(12) SEEMINGLY short form genitive clitic =k following a CONSONANT but preceding a vowel-initial clitic determiner:

...nelubeg na ughta ya anāk=k=en ā nasi=n....
trod.on GEN deer NOM child=GEN.1S=that CONJ dead=already/now
(nelubeg < na- + i- + lubeg; C=k=en < C=ku + =en)
‘The deer trod on my child and it’s dead now.’ (Agt 4–013)

(13) SEEMINGLY short form genitive clitic =k following a CONSONANT but preceding a vowel-initial clitic determiner:

a. ...te āmu=muy hamān ya zigāt=k=in
because know=GEN.2P SURP NOM hardship=GEN.1S=that
nagtuug takaekamuy.
left LCV.2P
(C=k=in < C=ku + =in)
‘...because you (pl.) know how hard it is for me to leave you (pl.).’ (Agt 9–012)

b. bimilag=āk=na umange ta bagetay=en nagayāyāg
run=NOM.1S=now go LCV hill=that calling

ta kadakalān=k=en.
LCV elder=GEN.1S=that
(C=k=en < C=ku + =en)
‘I ran now, going up on the hill calling to my elder companion.’ (Agt 8–039)
3. Clitics or Agreement Features?

Reid (2001:235–237) reports that the so-called first and second person singular genitive pronouns in many Cordilleran languages exhibit alternation in their forms, just like the one described above for Central Cagayan Agta. That is, the full forms, typically \( =k \) ‘1S’ and \( =mu \) ‘2S’, occur postconsonantally, whereas the short forms \( =k \) ‘1S’ and \( =m \) ‘2S’ occur postvocally. In addition to the above environment, he reports that in the Central Cordilleran languages, as well as in Ilokano, the short forms can also occur on transitive verbs containing a reflex of either \(^-{\text{-en}}\) or \(^{\text{-an}}\), by replacing the final \(-n\) of the verb ending (e.g., Guinaang Bontok \( \text{dalus}\)ám ‘you (sg.) clean something’ < \( \text{dalus}\)án + \( =m \)). In each of these languages (but not in Ilokano), the final \(-n\) of a transitive verb is also replaced when the third person singular form \( =na \) occurs.

To provide an explanation for the occurrence of the postvocalic variants on transitive verbs that otherwise would end in a consonant, he first reexamines the status of these forms, that is, whether they are full words, clitics, affixes, or none of the above. Applying the clitichood tests provided by Zwicky and Pullum (1983:503–504), he concludes that the so-called short form first and second person singular “genitive pronouns” as well as the so-called third person singular “genitive pronoun” \(-na\) that replace the final \(-n\) of transitive verbs are NOT clitics, but agreement features that have been incorporated as a part of transitive verbs.

Seeing that similar morphophonological irregularities also occur in Central Cagayan Agta (although only for the second person singular form), I apply the same set of clitichood tests to “genitive pronouns” to determine the morphological status of so-called short form “genitive pronouns” in Central Cagayan Agta.

Six clitichood tests are provided by Zwicky and Pullum (1983:503–504) for distinguishing clitics from affixes.

(a) Clitics can exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts, while affixes exhibit a high degree of selection with respect to their stems.

(b) Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.

(c) Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.

(d) Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than of clitic groups.

(e) Syntactic rules can affect affixed words, but cannot affect clitic groups.

(f) Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

Among the criteria listed above, at least (a), (c), and (d) are applicable to the forms in question.

With respect to criterion (a), the assumed genitive pronominal forms are more CLITIC-LIKE than affix-like in that they exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts. The genitive pronominal forms are phonologically attached to the head of a
construction. Specifically, in a possessive construction, they are phonologically attached to the head noun of the construction, as in (14)–(15).

(14) (first person singular) genitive pronoun attached to the main predicate (a lexical verb) of the second clause; (first person singular) genitive pronoun attached to the head of a possessive construction:

\[ \text{nagtappan=åk, tinappanàn=ku matà=k.} \]
\[ \text{covered=NOM.1S covered=GEN.1S eye=GEN.1S} \]

'I covered myself, I covered my eyes.' (Agt 10–013)

(15) (first person singular) genitive pronoun following the main predicate (a directional verb) of the clause; (first person singular) genitive pronoun attached to the head of a possessive construction:

\[ \text{en=ku para susiriban ya matà=k.} \]
\[ \text{go=GEN.1S yet peek NOM eye=GEN.1S} \]

'I then went to peek my eyes out of the little window.' (Agt 10–014)

In a verbal clause, like nominative pronouns, they are phonologically attached to the head of a clause, that is, the main predicate (whether auxiliary or lexical) of a clause, as in (14)–(22). Notice that although the first and second person singular genitive pronounal forms have two phonologically conditioned variants, their syntactic distribution does not differ from that of the other genitive pronounal forms (cf., (14)–(15), (18)–(22) vs. (16)–(18), (20)–(22)). That is, they all occur after the possessed noun in a possessive construction or after the main predicate of a clause.

(16) nominative pronoun following the main predicate (an existential verb) of the first clause; genitive pronoun attached to the main predicate (a lexical verb) of the second clause:

\[ \text{á sangaw ittà=kid=na, nedatdatang=da=n} \]
\[ \text{CONJ later EXIST=NOM.3P=already arrived.with=GEN.3P=already} \]
\[ \text{ya gäsa. NOM gong} \]
\[ \text{(nedatdatang < na- + i- + CVC- + datang)} \]

'Later, they were present, and they brought along the gong.' (Agt 1–045)

(17) genitive and nominative pronouns following the main predicate (a directional verb) of the clause:

\[ \text{ay en=da=kid} \]
\[ \text{tinubbatän ay. INJ go=GEN.3P=NOM.3P relieved INJ} \]

'So they went and relieved them.' (Agt 1–066)

(18) (first person singular) genitive pronoun following the main predicate (a negative auxiliary) of the main clause; genitive pronoun and nominative pronoun following the main predicate (a negative auxiliary) of the subordinate clause:

\[ \text{awe=k minà kinagät ya huli na atu am} \]
\[ \text{NEG=GEN.1S would bit NOM rump GEN dog if} \]
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awe=nâk inigsilânh. 
NEG=GEN.3S+NOM.1S lay.on.top

‘I would not have bitten the dog’s rump if he hadn’t lain down on top of me.’ (Agt 4–024)

(19) (first person singular) genitive pronoun and nominative pronoun following the main predicate (a negative auxiliary) of the main clause:

ara awe=k=kid lâ bit ìkaskâsu.
INJ NEG=GEN.1S=NOM.3P only/just for.a.moment acknowledge

‘Well, I won’t acknowledge them yet.’ (Agt 1–015)

(20) genitive pronoun following the main predicate (a negative auxiliary) of the main clause; (first person singular) genitive pronoun following the main predicate (a lexical verb) of the main clause:

...awe=muy lâ burungan, te uhuohugan=ku hamân
NEG=GEN.2P just worry because speak=GEN.1S surprisingly

yan tekamuy....
this LCV.2P

‘Just don’t worry about it because I tell you (pl.) this.’ (Agt 9–004)

(21) (second person singular) genitive pronoun following the main predicate (dyadic -ân verb) of a clause:

en=tânân, unnanân=mâk te
go=GEN.1Pl=now/already precede=GEN.2S+NOM.1S because

hilâgâm=âk, te matuga=yâk te
light+GEN.2S=NOM.1S because splinter=NOM.1S because

hiklam=na.
night=already

(=tânân < =tâm ‘GEN.1Pl’ + =na ‘already/now’; =mâk ‘GEN.2S + NOM.1S’ < =mu ‘GEN.2S’ + =âk ‘NOM.1S’; hilâgâm < hilâgân + =mu ‘GEN.2S’)

‘Let’s go, go ahead of me and shine the light for me because I will puncture my feet because it is night already.’ (Agt 8–051)

(22) (second person singular) genitive pronoun following the main predicate (a directional verb) of a clause:

a em=ina alapan ay, te maglangan=ka=n,
CONJ go+GEN.2S=there get INJ because singe=NOM.2S=already/now

te mangigup=âk....
because/so.that eat.meat=NOM.1S

(em ‘go + GEN.2S’ < en + =mu ‘GEN.2S’)

‘Well, go and get it and singe the hair, because I want to eat some meat....’ (Agt 8–097)
With respect to criterion (c), there are some pieces of evidence suggesting that the assumed second person singular genitive pronominal form exhibits morphophonological idiosyncrasies that make it more AFFIX-LIKE than clitic-like.

Like the Central Cordilleran languages, both the first and second person singular genitive pronouns in Central Cagayan Agta have a postconsonantal variant (=ku ‘1S’ and =mu ‘2S’) and a postvocalic variant (=k ‘1S’ and =m ‘2S’). However, unlike the Central Cordilleran languages, the postvocalic variant =m (but NOT =k) can also occur in (verbal as well as nominal) stems ending with an alveolar nasal, by replacing the stem-final –n.

Consider the first and second singular genitive pronominal forms in examples (23)–(28).

First, let us consider the combination of genitive pronouns with a dyadic –àn verb. As shown in (23), when the first person singular genitive pronoun occurs with a dyadic –àn verb, the postconsonantal variant =ku is used, and the resulting form is =àn=ku. However, when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with a dyadic –àn verb, irregularities occur. As shown in (24), when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with a dyadic –àn verb, the resulting form is either =àn=m or –àn=m.

(23) first person singular genitive form occurring with a dyadic –àn verb:

nagtappan=âk, tînappanân=ku matâ=k.
covered=NOM.1S covered=GEN.1S eye=GEN.1S

‘I covered myself, I covered my eyes.’ (Agt 10–013)

(24) second person singular genitive form occurring with dyadic –àn verbs:

en=tânâ, unnanân=mâk te
go=GEN.1PI=now/already precede=GEN.2S+NOM.1S because

hilâgmâm=âk, te matûga=yâk te
light+GEN.2S=NOM.1S because splinter=NOM.1S because

hîklâm=na. night=already

(=tânâ < =tâm ‘GEN.1PI’ + =n ‘already/now’; =mâk ‘GEN.2S + NOM.1S’ < =mu ‘GEN.2S’ + =âk ‘NOM.1S’; hilâgmâm < hilâgmân + =mu ‘GEN.2S’)

‘Let’s go, go ahead of me and shine the light for me because I will puncture my feet because it is night already.’ (Agt 8–051)

Second, consider the combination of genitive pronouns with a directional verb. As shown in (25), when the first person singular genitive pronoun occurs with the directional verb en ‘go’, the postconsonantal variant =ku is used, and the resulting form

The distribution of the second person singular genitive pronominal forms in Central Cagayan Agta is somewhat different from that of second person singular genitive pronominal forms in Central Cordilleran languages. Reid (2001:237) states that “In the Central Cordilleran languages, as well as in Ilokano, an innovation has produced an additional environment in which the shortened forms are found. On transitive verbs containing a reflex of either *-en or *-an, the short pronominal form replaces the final -n of the verb ending.” In Central Cagayan Agta, the short form =n ‘2S’ replaces not only the final –n of –àn (a reflex of *-en) or –àn (a reflex of *-an), but also the final –n of any other verbal stem or nominal stem.
is \textit{en}=\textit{ku}. However, when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with the directional verb \textit{en} ‘go’, the resulting form is \textit{em} (rather than the nonoccurring form *\textit{e}n=\textit{mu}), as shown in (26).\footnote{It seems that \textit{em} might be analyzed as a combination of the directional verb \textit{e} ‘go’ and the second person singular genitive pronounal form =\textit{mu}. However, based on the observation that the form \textit{e} is \textbf{ALWAYS} immediately followed by a nominative pronoun and the form \textit{en} is \textbf{ALWAYS} immediately followed by a genitive pronoun in all the eleven texts that I examined, I consider \textit{em} as a combination of \textit{en} ‘go’ and =\textit{mu}, rather than a combination of \textit{e} and =\textit{mu}.}

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(25)] first person singular genitive form occurring with the directional verb \textit{en} ‘go’:
\begin{verbatim}
\textit{en}=\textit{ku} \hspace{1em} \text{para} \text{ sasiriban} \hspace{1em} \text{ya} \hspace{1em} \text{matå}=\textit{k}.
go=\text{GEN.1S} \hspace{1em} \text{yet} \hspace{1em} \text{peek} \hspace{1em} \text{NOM} \hspace{1em} \text{eye}=\text{GEN.1S}
\end{verbatim}
‘I then went to peek my eyes out of the little window.’ (Agt 10–014)
\item[(26)] second person singular genitive form occurring with the directional verb \textit{en} ‘go’:
\begin{verbatim}
a \hspace{1em} \textit{em}=\textit{ina} \hspace{1em} \text{alapan} \hspace{1em} \text{ay} \hspace{1em} \text{te} \hspace{1em} \text{maglangan}=\text{ka}=\text{n},
\text{CONJ} \hspace{1em} \text{go}+\text{GEN.2S} \hspace{1em} \text{there} \hspace{1em} \text{get} \hspace{1em} \text{INJ} \hspace{1em} \text{because} \hspace{1em} \text{singe}=\text{NOM.2S} \hspace{1em} \text{already/now}
te \hspace{1em} \text{mangigup}=\text{ák}....
\text{because/so.that} \hspace{1em} \text{eat.meat}=\text{NOM.1S}
\end{verbatim}
(\textit{em} ‘go + GEN.2S’ < \textit{en} + =\textit{mu} ‘GEN.2S’)
‘Well, go and get it and singe the hair, because I want to eat some meat....’ (Agt 8–097)
\end{enumerate}

Third, consider the combination of genitive pronouns with a quotative verb. As shown in (27), when the first person singular genitive pronoun occurs with the quotative verb \textit{kun}, the postconsonantal variant =\textit{ku} is used, and the resulting form is \textit{kun}=\textit{ku}. However, when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with the quotative verb \textit{kun}, again, the formation is irregular. As shown in (28), when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with the quotative verb \textit{kun}, the resulting form is \textit{kum} (rather than the nonoccurring form **\textit{kun}=\textit{mu}).

Fourth, consider the combination of genitive pronouns with a possessed noun in a possessive construction. As shown in (27), when the first person singular genitive pronoun occurs with the head noun \textit{kahulun} ‘companion’, the postconsonantal variant =\textit{ku} is used, and the resulting form is \textit{kahul}=\textit{ku}. However, when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with the head noun \textit{kahulun} ‘companion’, again, the formation is irregular. As shown in (28), when the second person singular genitive pronoun occurs with the head noun \textit{kahulun} ‘companion’, the resulting form is \textit{kahulun} (rather than the nonoccurring form **\textit{kahulun}=\textit{mu}).

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(27)] first person singular genitive form occurring with a quotative verb and with a possessed noun:
\begin{verbatim}
avan \hspace{1em} \text{paha} \hspace{1em} \text{o}, \hspace{1em} \text{\textit{kun}=\textit{ku}} \hspace{1em} \text{ta} \hspace{1em} \text{kahulun}=\textit{ku}.
\text{NEG} \hspace{1em} \text{yet} \hspace{1em} \text{INJ} \hspace{1em} \text{QUOT}=\text{GEN.1S} \hspace{1em} \text{LCV} \hspace{1em} \text{companion}=\text{GEN.1S}
\end{verbatim}
‘“Not yet.” I say to my companion.’ (Agt 11–028)
\end{enumerate}
second person singular genitive form occurring with a quotative verb and with a possessed noun:

\[
\text{am matangad}=\text{mu}=\text{kid}
\]

CONJ when \( \text{look.up}=\text{GEN.2S}=\text{NOM.3P} \) also CONJ here=this this INJ

\[
bali=\text{da}=\text{in},
\]

CONJ \( \text{house}=\text{GEN.3P}=\text{this} \) QUOT+\( \text{GEN.2S} \) also if \( \text{EXIST} \) \( \text{NOM} \)

\[
\text{kahulum}.
\]

companion+\( \text{GEN.2S} \)

\[
(\text{kum} < \text{kun} + =\text{mu}; \text{kahulum} < \text{kahulun} + =\text{mu})
\]

‘And when you (sg.) can look up and see them, you (sg.) say, “Hey, here is their hive,” if you (sg.) have a companion.’ (Agt 11–008)

In addition to the morphophonological idiosyncrasies exhibited by the second person singular genitive pronoun, one might also use the following piece of evidence to argue against the clitichood of genitive pronominal forms.

P. Healey (1960:89) describes the existence of some special combining pronominal forms, such as \( =\text{nåk} \) and \( =\text{dåk}, \) as in (29)–(31). However, this cannot be used as a strong piece of evidence for arguing against the clitichood of genitive pronominal forms because these combining forms can easily be accounted for by the phonotactics of Agta. More specifically, Central Cagayan Agta does NOT allow vowel clusters. In order to satisfy the phonotactics of the language, when a genitive pronoun occurs with a nominative pronoun, the resulting vowel cluster either has to reduce to a simple vowel or an intervocalic glottal stop has to be inserted. In this case, vowel reduction, rather than glottal stop insertion, is chosen.

(29) special combining pronoun form \( =\text{nåk} \) following a dyadic –\( \text{ān} \) clause:

\[
\text{nagazāzigit petta atākk}=\text{āk} \quad \text{umange unek am go.along.edge so.that near}=\text{NOM.1S} \quad \text{go climb if}
\]

\[
\text{gavwāän}=\text{nåk} \quad \text{na änwāng}=\text{en}....
\]

\[
\text{attack}=\text{GEN.3S}+\text{NOM.1S} \quad \text{GEN water.buffalo}=\text{that}
\]

\[
(=-\text{nåk} \quad \text{‘GEN.3S} + \text{NOM.1S’} < =\text{na} \quad \text{‘GEN.3S’} + =\text{āk} \quad \text{‘NOM.1S’})
\]

‘I will continue on along close to the edge, so I will be close to go climb (a tree) if the water buffalo attacks me.’ (Agt 8–088)

(30) special combining pronoun form \( =\text{nåk} \) following a directional verb:

\[
en=\text{nåk} \quad \text{bīnolsūn} \quad \text{na kabalay}=\text{k}=\text{in} \quad \text{ta limā}
\]

\[
\text{go}=\text{GEN.3S}+\text{NOM.1S} \quad \text{pocketed} \quad \text{GEN ASS.house}=\text{GEN.1S}=\text{this} \quad \text{LCV} \quad \text{five}
\]

\[
\text{pesuk,} \quad \text{ā kuman}=\text{kami} \quad \text{na kwa}=\text{en maglelehat ay,}
\]

\[
\text{peso CONJ similar}=\text{NOM.1PE} \quad \text{GEN thing}=\text{that circling} \quad \text{INJ}
\]

12 Unlike Ilokano, the Central Cagayan Agta forms \( =\text{nåk} \) and \( =\text{dåk} \) can ONLY mean ‘\text{GEN.3S} + \text{NOM.1S}’ and ‘\text{GEN.3P} + \text{NOM.1S}’, respectively (but CANNOT mean ‘\text{GEN.2S} + \text{NOM.1S}’ and ‘\text{GEN.2P} + \text{NOM.1S}’, respectively, as the way that they do in Ilokano).
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te=na because NEG=GEN.3S
saping=k=en.
short.pants=GEN.1S=that
(=nāk ‘GEN.3S + NOM.1S’ < =na ‘GEN.3S’ + =āk ‘NOM.1S’)
‘My kabalay came to put five pesos in my pocket, and it is like we (ex.) were
what-you-call-it, going around in circles, because he could not find the pocket of my
short pants.’ (Agt 1–051)

(31) special combining pronoun form =dāk following a dyadic –ān clause:

ā ināyagān=dāk=na hapa ta nalekud na bali
CONJ called=GEN.3P+ NOM.1S=already also LCV behind GEN house
ni Aleng
GEN son
(=dāk ‘GEN.3P + NOM.1S’ < =da ‘GEN.3P’ + =āk ‘NOM.1S’)
‘And they called me behind my son’s house.’ (Agt 1–091)

With respect to criterion (d), there are some pieces of evidence suggesting that
some genitive pronominal forms (especially the third person singular genitive form)
exhibit semantic idiosyncrasies that make them more AFFIX-LIKE than clitic-like.

P. Healey (1960:89) reports the existence of the following special combining
forms.

=māk ‘GEN.2S + NOM.1S’ (< =mu ‘GEN.2S’ + =āk ‘NOM.1S’)
=nāk ‘GEN.3S + NOM.1S’ (< =na ‘GEN.3S’ + =āk ‘NOM.1S’)
=dāk ‘GEN.3P + NOM.1S’ (< =da ‘GEN.3P’ + =āk ‘NOM.1S’)
=taka ‘GEN.1S + NOM.2S’ (< =ta ‘GEN.1D’ + =ka ‘NOM.2S’)
=takām ‘GEN.1S + NOM.2P’ (< =ta ‘GEN.1D’ + =kām ‘NOM.2P’)
=na (or =ng)=kami ‘GEN.2S + NOM.1PE’ (< =na ‘GEN.3S’ + =kami ‘NOM.1PE’)
=nakami ‘GEN.2/3S + NOM.1PE’ (< =na ‘GEN.3S’ + =kami ‘NOM.1PE’)
=dakami ‘GEN.2/3P + NOM.1PE’ (< =da ‘GEN.3P’ + =kami ‘NOM.1PE’)

These combining forms are not particularly relevant to the discussion here because of
the following reasons. The first three forms (=māk, =nāk, and =dāk) are related to
morphophonological idiosyncrasies rather than semantic idiosyncrasies. As for the
forms =taka and =takām (as in (32)), as suggested by Reid (pers. comm.), they are
probably the old combining forms for ‘GEN.1S + NOM.2S’ and ‘GEN.1S + NOM.2P’,
respectively. As for the forms =nakami ‘GEN.2/3S + NOM.1PE’ and =dakami ‘GEN.2/3P
+ NOM.1PE’, their meaning matches that of their corresponding forms in Ilokano. They
are probably Ilokano borrowings.

(32) special combining form =takām:

a pakimāllak=takām hapa ta intu minā, i
CONJ pray.for=GEN.1S+ NOM.2P also TA TOP.3S should NOM
Jesus, ya makkāmu tekamuy ta adangan=muy....
Jesus NOM know LCV.2P LCV request=GEN.2P

(=takām ‘GEN.1S + NOM.2P’ < =ta ‘GEN.1D’ + =kām ‘NOM.2P’)

‘I also pray for you (pl.) that he, Jesus, will be the one responsible to you (pl.) in regard to your (pl.) request....’ (Agt 9–015)

The form that is of special interest here is the third person singular genitive form =na. Usually, the third person singular genitive is expressed by the form =na, as in (33); the third person plural genitive is expressed by the form =da, as in (34).

(33)  =na ‘GEN.3s’
...en=na=kami inalāp malat,....
go=GEN.3S=NOM.1PE got certainly

‘...He came and got us (ex.) for sure,...’ (Agt 10–001)

(34)  =da ‘GEN.3P’
...en=da=kami=n inaribungbungān na Merikāno kid=en.
go=GEN.3P=NOM.1PE=already surrounded GEN American PL=that

‘...the Americans came and gathered around us (ex.).’ (Agt 10–016)

However, in some cases, the form =na rather than =da is used to express ‘third person PLURAL’, as in (35)–(37). In (35), the form =na does not cross-reference with any of the NPs in the sentences, one cannot tell whether it refers to a ‘third person singular’ agent or a ‘third person plural’ agent. However, the contextual cues unambiguously point out that =na refers to a ‘third person PLURAL’ agent, rather than a ‘third person SINGULAR’ agent. In the text, (35) describes an event that subsequently happens after the event described in (34). The form =na in (35) refers back to ‘the Americans’ in (34). In (36)–(37), the form =na refers to the nig-marked personal noun phrase in the sentence. The fact that =na can refer to either a third person SINGULAR participant or a third person PLURAL participant, that is, it has lost its plurality feature, makes it more AFFIX-LIKE than clitic-like.

(35)  =na ‘GEN.3’
en=na tīnā-bil ig aboy neuhet ta huplāno=en
go=GEN.3 held NOM.PL daughter exited LCV airplane=that

‘They went and took the little girl and her brothers in their arms out from the airplane.’ (Agt 10–017)

(36)  =na ‘GEN.3’
kuman=en hā ta pagtugut=na=n nig aboy=en,
similar=that again LCV leave=GEN.3=already GEN.PL daughter=that

yen ya kuga....
that NOM truly

‘It was that way again when the children and their mother left; that was really....’ (Agt 10–018)
Let me sum up the discussion of clitics and agreement features.

First, the assumed genitive pronominal forms are more clitic-like than affix-like in that they exhibit a relatively low degree of selection with respect to their host. More specifically, they are phonologically attached to the head of a possessive construction and the head of a verbal construction, regardless of whether the head is an auxiliary verb or a lexical verb.

Second, they are more affix-like than clitic-like in that some of them (in particular the second person singular form) exhibit morphophonological idiosyncrasies. The fact that the second person singular genitive pronominal form exhibits morphophonological idiosyncrasies suggests that in some cases it might be an agreement feature rather than a clitic.

Third, they are more affix-like than clitic-like in that at least one of them (the third person singular form) exhibits semantic idiosyncrasies. The fact that the form =na can refer to either a third person singular agent or a third person plural agent suggests that in some cases =na might have become an agreement feature that can alternate with both =na and =da as clitics.

4. Conclusion

In this paper, I have reexamined the status of so-called “genitive pronouns” in Central Cagayan Agta. The application of the clitichood tests suggests that these forms behave not only like clitic pronouns, but also like agreement features. They are like clitics in that they exhibit a relatively low degree of selection with respect to their host. However, they are also like agreement features in that they exhibit both morphophonological idiosyncrasies and semantic idiosyncrasies.

Moreover, the coexistence of some alternate forms (for example, -ān=m alternates with -ām, and =na ‘GEN.3’ alternates with =da ‘GEN.3P’) seems to suggest that the genitive pronominal forms (in particular the singular forms) are in the process of losing their clitichood status in Central Cagayan Agta.

The observation that the assumed “genitive pronouns” in Central Cagayan Agta might have gradually lost their clitichood status and developed into agreement features has a broader typological implication. That is, it suggests that the so-called “genitive pronouns” in other Austronesian languages with a similar kind of formal alternation might also have gradually lost their clitichood status and developed into agreement features. More research needs to be done in order to verify this claim.
## Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1D</th>
<th>first person dual</th>
<th>EXIST</th>
<th>existential</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>first person singular</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PI</td>
<td>first person plural inclusive</td>
<td>INJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PE</td>
<td>first person plural exclusive</td>
<td>LCV</td>
<td>locative</td>
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<td>LIG</td>
<td>ligature</td>
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<td>negative</td>
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<td>associate</td>
<td>TOP</td>
<td>topic</td>
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<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
<td>SURP</td>
<td>surprise</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONJ</td>
<td>conjunction</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
### Appendix

**Table 1. Personal pronouns in Central Cagayan Agta**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Topic/Predicate</th>
<th>Locative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1s [+spkr, -addr, -plrl]</td>
<td>$=ku/=k$</td>
<td>$=ák/=yák$</td>
<td>iyák</td>
<td>teyák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2s [-spkr, +addr, -plrl]</td>
<td>$=mu/=m$</td>
<td>$=ka$</td>
<td>iko</td>
<td>teko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3s [+spkr, -addr, -plrl]</td>
<td>$=na$</td>
<td>----</td>
<td>intu</td>
<td>tentu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1d [+spkr, +addr, -plrl]</td>
<td>$=ta$</td>
<td>$=kita$</td>
<td>ikita</td>
<td>tekita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pi [+spkr, +addr, +plrl]</td>
<td>$=tám$</td>
<td>$=kitám$</td>
<td>ikitám</td>
<td>tekitám</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1pe [+spkr, -addr, +plrl]</td>
<td>$=mi$</td>
<td>$=kami$</td>
<td>iki</td>
<td>tekami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2p [-spkr, +addr, +plrl]</td>
<td>$=muy$</td>
<td>$=kám$</td>
<td>ikamuy</td>
<td>tekamuy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3p [-spkr, -addr, +plrl]</td>
<td>$=da/(=na)$</td>
<td>$=kid$</td>
<td>ikid</td>
<td>tekid</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**special combining forms (GEN + NOM) (P. Healey 1960:89):**

- $=mák$ ‘GEN.2S + NOM.1S’ ($=mu$ ‘GEN.2S’ + $=ák$ ‘NOM.1S’)
- $=nák$ ‘GEN.3S + NOM.1S’ ($=na$ ‘GEN.3S’ + $=ák$ ‘NOM.1S’)
- $=dák$ ‘GEN.3P + NOM.1S’ ($=da$ ‘GEN.3P’ + $=ák$ ‘NOM.1S’)
- $=tákáam$ ‘GEN.1S + NOM.2S’ ($=ta$ ‘GEN.1D’ + $=ka$ ‘NOM.2S’)
- $=ná$ ‘GEN.1S + NOM.2P’ ($=ta$ ‘GEN.1D’ + $=kám$ ‘NOM.2P’)
- $=nákami$ ‘GEN.2S + NOM.1PE’ ($=na$ ‘GEN.3S’ + $=kami$ ‘NOM.1PE’)
- $=dákami$ ‘GEN.2S + NOM.1PE’ ($=da$ ‘GEN.3P’ + $=kami$ ‘NOM.1PE’)

**special combining forms (GEN/NOM + aspectual adverb) (Mayfield 1987:16):**

- $=kánan$ ‘NOM.2P + now’ ($=kám$ ‘NOM.2P’ + $=na$ ‘now/already’)
- $=tánan$ ‘GEN.1P + now’ ($=tám$ ‘GEN.1P’ + $=na$ ‘now/already’)
- $=kitánan$ ‘NOM.1P + now’ ($=kitám$ ‘NOM.1P’ + $=na$ ‘now/already’)
- en=$tanan$ ‘let’s go now’ ($=en$ ‘go’ + $=ta$ ‘GEN.1D’ + $=na$ ‘now’)

---

13. The “topic/predicate” pronouns and “locative” pronouns are referred to as “emphatic” pronouns and “oblique” pronouns respectively in Mayfield (1987).

14. The genitive pronoun form $=na$ has been considered to be a ‘third person SINGULAR genitive pronoun’ (P. Healey 1960 and Mayfield 1987). However, as already shown in section 3, my textual analysis suggests that $=na$ sometimes refers to a third person PLURAL (rather than a third person SINGULAR) agent.
References


Reid, Lawrence A. 1983. Fieldnotes on Dupaningan (Palanan) Agta and Malaweg.


