THE

AUSTRONESIAN

LANGUAGES

OF ASIA

AND MADAGASCAR

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER ELEVEN

ILOKO

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1 INTRODUCTION

Iloko (Ilocano, Ilokano, Iluko, Samtoy), the language of the Ilocano people, is spoken by nine million people in northwest Luzon Island. It is the third largest language in the Philippines after Tagalog (the basis of the Philippine national language Pilipino) and Cebuano (Sugbuhanon). It is a member of the Cordilleran language family of Northern Philippine languages. Within the family, it forms its own branch and has no close relatives, but does share certain syntactic and lexical affinities with the Itneg languages of Abra, shared by borrowing rather than direct genetic relationship. Other Cordilleran languages include: the Alta branch which includes Baler Dumagat, the South Cordilleran languages of Kallahan, Ibaloi, Pangasinan, and Ilongot; the Central Cordilleran languages of Isinai, Ifugao, Balangao, Bontok, Kankanay, Kalinga, and Itneg; Arta; and the Northern Cordilleran languages which can be subdivided into the Cagayan Valley languages of Gaddang, Itawis, Agta, Ibanag, Atta, Yogad, and Isneg, and the North East Luzon branch which comprises Paranan and Casiguran Dumagat (Reid 1989, 1991, R. Himes, p. c.).

The original Ilocano provinces include Ilocos Norte, Ilocos Sur, and La Union, but Ilocanos have migrated extensively and even predominate in many localities in the neighboring provinces of Abra, Pangasinan, Tarlac, Benguet, and Cagayan. In the provinces of Abra and Pangasinan, many of the Iloko speakers are ethnically Tinguian or Pangasinan, respectively, who have traded in their native tongues for the more prestigious lingua franca. There are also large communities of Iloko speakers in the major urban centers of the United States, most notably in California and Hawaii.

Two major dialects of Iloko exist, each with minor subdialects which minimally vary in lexicon and intonational patterns. The major dialects are usually categorized by the pronunciation of the *pepet* vowel /e/, which is pronounced as [ɛ] in the Northern dialects of Ilocos Norte and parts of Ilocos Sur, and as a high, central-back unrounded vowel [ɯ] in Abra, the southern parts of Ilocos Sur, La Union, Tarlac, and Pangasinan.

The history of Iloko grammar writing has been rather prolific, although much of the earlier pre-twentieth-century work of the Spanish friars has received very little attention. Early Iloko grammars include the Spanish works by Naves (1892), and Lopez (1895), and the English work by Williams (1929). Williams (1904) wrote the first Iloko grammar in German. The first widely publicized description is Bloomfield's (1942) article outlining Ilokano syntax followed ten years later by the impressive grammar by the missionary Vanoverbergh (1955). Widdoes (1950) is rarely cited in the literature, but he was perhaps the first linguist to recognize ergative patterning in Philippine languages, predating Gerdts (1988) and Rubino (1997). Generative grammars of the language include Buell (1960), Constantino (1959), and a relational grammar by Wimbish (1987). The most notable dictionaries are Carro (1888), which was augmented by Vanoverbergh (1956), Laconsay (1993), Geladé (1993), and Rubino (2000). Pedagogical materials include McKaughan (1952), Bernabe *et al.* (1971), Espiritu (1984), and Rubino (1998).

Iloko does not have official status in the Philippines, but does enjoy impressive literary activity. Associations of Iloko writers have sprung up all over the world and frequently put out literary anthologies. They are organized in an umbrella association called GUMIL which stands for *Gunglo dagiti Mannurat nga Ilokano* or Association of Ilokano writers. Iloko writers also use the weekly *Bannawag* 'Dawn' magazine, and a monthly web magazine *Burnay* 'Jar' as outlets for their creativity in their native tongue. The Iloko *Bukanegán* 'poetical joust', coined from the fabled father of Iloko literature, Pedro Bukanég, is still practiced today where contestants can practice their impromptu literary skills in public or on the air.

2 PHONOLOGY

2.1 Segments

Iloko has fifteen native consonantal phonemes, and a glottal fricative used in loanwords and one native word, *haán* 'no', the colloquial variant of *saán* (cf. Table 11.1). Fourteen of the consonants (all but the glottal stop) may appear geminate in roots, e.g. *lawwalawwá* 'spider', *tengngá* 'center', *ballá* 'crazy', *saibbék* 'sob', *saiddék* 'hiccup', *sayyét* 'immodest lady', and *bannáwag* 'dawn'. The glottal stop only occurs geminate across morpheme boundaries: *agaC-ʔárak* [agaʔʔáːrak] 'smelling of alcohol'.

Stops are unaspirated and, in final position, unreleased. The voiceless velar stop is pronounced quite far back and tends towards slight fricativization before vowels. Unlike in Tagalog, glottal stop does not phonemically appear word-finally. Orthographically, glottal stop is not represented word-initially. Word-medially, at a morpheme boundary, it is represented with a hyphen. Since in this sketch hyphens are used to indicate morpheme boundaries, word-medial glottal stop at morpheme boundaries will be transcribed here as <ʔ>.

Syllables have mandatory onsets, so the basic syllable structure of the language is CV(C): *aba* 'taro' [ʔáːba], *samʔit* 'sweet' [samʔít]. Consonant clusters occur in both onset and coda positions in foreign loans and recently coined slang expressions which do not follow the native phonological structure: *kláts.bag* 'handbag' (f. English), *ták.werts* 'money' (slang, f. *kuartá* [Sp. *cuarta*]), and *brúha* 'witch', 'sorceress'; 'mythological monster' (f. Spanish *bruja*).

The phonemes /t/, /d/ and /s/ palatalize to [tʃ], [dʒ], and [ʃ] before the palatal glide /y/ or its equivalent (i + vowel), e.g. *siák* 'I' [ʃak], *tián* 'belly' [tʃan], *idiáy* 'there' [idʒay].

TABLE 11.1: ILOKO CONSONANTS (IN PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY)

	±Voice	Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	−	p	t			k	ʔ
	+	b	d			g	
Fricative	−			s			(h)
Affricates	−			ts			
Lateral	+			l			
Tap/trill	+			r			
Glide	+	w			y		
Nasal	+	m		n		ng	

TABLE 11.2: ILOKO VOWELS (IN PRACTICAL ORTHOGRAPHY)

	Front	Central	Centralized Back	Back
High	i		e	u
Mid	(ɛ)			(o)
Low		a		

Because of many borrowings from English, Spanish, and colloquial Tagalog where these palatal sounds are not complex phoneme sequences, the phonemic status of [tʃ], [dʒ], and [ʃ] is open to debate.

All consonants except the glottal stop can appear as onsets phonemically, and all non-glottal or non-palatalized consonants may occur phonemically as codas. The glottal stop [ʔ] occurs phonetically in words beginning in a vowel, and may surface as a coda phonetically when it replaces a coda *t* or *k* preceding another onset consonant: *pukráy* 'crumbly squash' > [puʔ.ráy].

Iloko has four native vowel phonemes /i, e, a, and u/ (cf. Table 11.2). The new phonemes /o/ and /ɛ/ are found only in loanwords. In the northern dialects, the phoneme /e/ is pronounced as /ɛ/, not differentiated from its pronunciation in Spanish loanwords.

The high vowel [u] is lowered considerably in word-final syllables, and is thus represented in the orthography, e.g. *búlo* 'kind of bamboo' /bú:.lu/, *agsaó* 'to speak' /agsaú/; *ások* 'my dog' /á:su=k/.

Sequences of two vowels other than the diphthongs /ia/, /io/, and /ua/ are pronounced as two syllables, with an intervening glottal stop in careful speech, *siít* 'thorn' [si.ʔít], *kées* 'crazy' [ké:.ʔes], *bigáo* 'winnow' [bi.gá:.ʔo], *saán* 'no' [sa.ʔán], and *dissúor* 'waterfall' [dis.sú:.ʔor], but: *alʔaliá* 'ghost' [ʔal.ʔal.ya], *bagió* 'storm' [bag.yó], and *luá* 'tear of eyes' [lwa].

2.2 Stress and vowel length

Stress is phonemic, e.g. *siká* 'you', 'familiar' vs. *síka* 'dysentery'. There, are, however, certain environments that attract stress. Stress falls on the last syllable if the penultimate syllable is closed, i.e. the last vowel is preceded by two consonants (including a sequence of glottal stop + consonant): *paltóg* 'gun', *takkí* 'excrement', *kulagtít* 'jerking movement', *tig-ʔáb* 'belch', *lisʔá* 'nit', 'lice egg', *pugtó* 'guess'. Exceptions to this rule include words of foreign origin or words with a velar nasal coda preceding a final syllable: *súngka* 'kind of native game', *bibíngka* 'rice cake', *karámba* 'jar' (Spanish loan), *kuárto* 'room' (Spanish loan).

Stress also falls on the last syllable if the last vowel is preceded by a consonant and glide: *sadiá* 'renowned', *bituén* 'star', *aniá* 'what'. Exceptions include borrowed words: *aránia* 'chandelier' (f. Spanish), *hópia* 'bean cake' (f. Chinese).

Orthographic vowel sequences, which comprise two syllables, usually take stress on the first vowel when following two consonants, e.g. *manabtúog* [ma.nab.tú:.ʔog] 'thump', *kulláaw* [kul.lá:.ʔaw] 'owl'. Words that include two identical CVC sequences separated by a vowel usually will carry the stress on the vowel separating them: *salísal* 'compete', *batíbat* 'nightmare', *arimasámas* 'red skies at moonrise', *bugábog* 'mixed varieties of rice'. There are, however, a few exceptions: *yakayák* 'sieve', and *pidipíd* 'closely set together'.

TABLE 11.3: ILOKO REDUPLICATION PATTERNS

Reduplicant shape	Use	Examples
-C-	Animate/kin plurals	laláki 'male' > lalláki 'males'
		babái 'female' > babbái 'females'
		ubíng 'child' > ubbíng 'children'
CV-	Plural argument	ag-*pi*-p<inn>a-básol=da
		AV-PL-CAU<RCP>-blame=3p.ABS
		'they are blaming each other'
	Animate plural	ka-ili-án 'townmate' > *ka*kailián 'townmates'
CVC-	General plurals	kaldíng 'goat' > *kal*kaldíng 'goats'
	Imperfective aspect	ag-bása 'read' > ag-*bas*bása 'reading (in the process of)'
	Comparison	dakkél 'big' > *dak*dakkél 'bigger'
		na-samʔít 'sweet' > na-*sam*samʔít 'sweeter'
CVC(C)V-	Lexical iterativity	ag-tilmón 'swallow' > ag-*tilmo*tilmón 'swallow repeatedly'
CVC(C)V+N-	Mutuality	rúpa 'face' > *rupan*rúpa 'face to face'
Full Reduplication	Lexicalized items	bánga 'pot' > *banga*bánga 'skull'
		tukák 'frog' > *tukak*túkak 'wart'

Vowels before geminate consonants and in stressed open (CV) syllables are automatically lengthened: *sála* 'dance' [sá:.la], *babbái* 'females' [bà:.b.bá:.ʔi]. Open reduplicated syllables in roots that contain a vowel sequence also bear secondary stress/lengthening: *naka-bà-baín* (POT-RDP-shame) 'shameful'.

2.3 Reduplication

Reduplication in Iloko is used for both inflectional and derivational purposes. Formally speaking, there are six possible shapes of the reduplicant with the most common uses given in Table 11.3. Aside from the consonant gemination found in animate and kin plurals, all reduplicative morphemes in Iloko are prefixal, copying the first part of a given stem (root or prefix+root):

3 BASIC MORPHOSYNTAX

3.1 Word and morpheme classes

The open lexical classes are noun, verb, adjective, and adverb. All roots, however, may derive nominal and verbal forms because of the very productive morphological system of the language. Nouns, adjectives, and adverbs may occur as simple roots, but verbs, with very few exceptions, are decomposable into a root and a voice affix. Nouns are differentiated from verbs in that they do not take aspectual morphology and, unlike verbs, many show idiosyncrasies in their plural formation. Verbs consist of a root with a portmanteau affix denoting their voice class and aspect (see section 5.1 and 5.2). Adjectives are words that may follow the moderative adverb *medio* 'somewhat'. Most can take specific comparative, superlative, attenuative, and admirative affixation.

(1) Basic Adjective: *na-pigsá*   'strong'
     Comparative   *na-pig-pigsá*   'stronger'
     Superlative   *ka-pigsá-an*   'strongest'
     Attenuated   *pamigsáen* /paN-pigsa-en/   'rather strong'
     Admirative   *nag-pigsá=n*   'how strong!'

Adverbs are unlike nouns in that they cannot occur pluralized, and they are unlike verbs in that they do not take voice affixation. Adverbs come in two forms, roots that may take affixes and enclitics (such as *dandaní* in 2) vs. invariable particles. The latter include *kanó* 'evidential hearsay particle', *met* 'extra information; also; emphasis', *pay* 'continued occurrence, still, yet', *ngatá* 'maybe', *gayam* 'surprise', *kadí* 'interrogative particle', *laeng* 'limitation, only, just', *lattá* 'just, simply', *ngamín* 'particle of cause', *ngay* 'particle of elicitation', *ngarúd* 'particle of consequence or assertion, then'. These particles are enclitic-like in their positional requirements (they usually occur in second position), but not their segmental shape, as they do not phonologically fuse to their hosts (cf. 3).

(2) *Panunót-e=m   komá   a   dandaní=akó=n   ag-pa-sngáy*
     think-PV-2s.ERG   OPT   LK   almost=1s=now   AV-CAU-born
     'You should think that I am about to give birth.'

(3) *Ag-ka-probínsia-an=ta   gáyam.*
     AV-RCP-province-NR=1d.ABS   SURPRISE
     'So you and I are from the same province!'

Closed grammatical classes include the pronouns (enclitic and independent), articles/prepositions which mark the case of the nouns following them, demonstratives, conjunctions, existentials, and ligature (linker).

The ligature in Iloko is used to link heads and attributes. In formal written Iloko, it manifests itself as *nga* before vowels, and *a* before consonants. In speaking, however, *nga* is preferred regardless of environment. Environments requiring the ligature include Number/Adjective + *nga* + Noun, Verb/Predicate + *nga* + Subordinate/Complement Clause, Noun + *nga* + Relative Clause, and Negator *saán* + *nga* + Negated Constituent. It is optional after demonstratives, e.g. *daytóy (nga) kayo* 'this (LK) tree'.

Iloko speakers employ two number systems, a native one used in counting, and a borrowed Spanish system used in telling time, dates, and calculation. The native numbers are: *maysá* '1', *duá* '2', *talló* '3', *uppát* '4', *limá* '5', *inném* '6', *pitó* '7', *waló* '8', *siám* '9', *sangapúlo* '10' (< *maysa-nga-púlo*), *sangapúlo ket maysá* '11', *duapúlo* '20', *tallopúlo* '30', *uppát nga púlo* '40', *limapúlo* '50', *sangagasút* '100', *sangaríbo* '1000'; *sanga-riwríw* '1,000,000'. Numbers may also be considered to be a class of their own due to the number of morphological distinctions available to them. The possible derivations include ordinals *maikaduá* 'second', indefinites *sumagdùduá* 'about two', restrictives *dùduá* 'only two', fractions *kaguduá* 'half', multiplicatives *maminduá* 'twice', multiplicative ordinals *kapaminduá* 'second time', distributives *sagdùdua* 'two each', distributive multiplicatives *sagpaminduá* 'each twice', and grouping *dua-duá* 'two by two'. Numbers may likewise take other morphology to derive nouns and verbs, e.g. *kapiduá* 'second cousin', *piduá* 'second time', *paminduaén* 'to do twice', *pagduaén* 'to divide into two; do two things at the same time', and *sinagduduá* 'fiber consisting of two strands twisted together'.

Words in Iloko can be monomorphemic or derived by one or more affixes which include prefixes, suffixes, infixes, and combinations thereof. Productive prefixes may

function like proclitics (Rubino 1997), as they may attach to constituents that are longer than a word: *agat-[natáy a baó]=ka* (smell.of-[dead LIG mouse]=2s.ABS) 'You smell like than a dead rat'. Furthermore, they are sometimes uttered independently with a pause before their root (... here represents a brief pause between the prefix and stem): *n-ag-... pandág* (PFV-AV-press) 'pressed'.

3.2 Basic clause structure

The central feature of the Iloko clause is the predicate which occurs in initial position. Three clause types can be distinguished (a) verbal, (b) equational, and (c) existential.

Verbal clauses are those that take a verb as the head of the predicate. The verb may be transitive (with two core arguments), e.g. *S<in>ipát ti lakáy ti ubíng* (spank<PFV.PV> CORE old.man CORE child) 'The old man spanked the child', intransitive (with one core argument), e.g. *Na-táy ti lakáy* (PFV.POT-die CORE old.man) 'The old man died', or ambient (containing a verb which cannot take an argument, e.g. a meteorological verb like *N-ag-túdo* (PFV-AV-rain) 'It rained'.

Core arguments are those that appear in either the ergative or absolutive case when pronominalized. That is, the ergative/absolutive distinction manifests itself only in the pronouns. The ergative case is marked on pronouns that are used for agents of transitive verbs (and for possessors), while the absolutive case is reserved for single arguments of intransitive verbs and nominal predicates, or the patientive arguments of transitive verbs. If the core arguments are pronominal, they will be enclitics as in (4) and (5). An exception is the third person singular absolutive which remains unmarked (see Table 11.5 below for an overview of the forms). If they are nominal, they will be preceded by a core noun marker (article or demonstrative), such as *Dalling* and *kulibangbáng* in (6). Adjuncts (oblique arguments) will also be preceded by either an article or demonstrative in the oblique case. See Table 11.4 below for an overview of the forms of the article.

(4) *Ay-ayat-én=na=ka.*
     CONT-love-PV=3s.ERG=2s.ABS
     'He loves you.'

(5) *Gayyém=na=ka?*
     friend=3s.ERG=2s.ABS
     'You are his friend?'

(6) *Na-kíta   ni   Dalling   ti   kulibangbáng   iti   ka-niog-án.*
     POT.PFV-see   PN.CORE   Dalling   CORE   butterfly   OBL   LOC-coconut-NR
     'Dalling saw the butterfly in the coconut grove.'

Only vocative and predicative nouns may appear without an overt noun marker. The canonical constituent order of a verbal clause is verb (+ ERG) + ABS (+ adjunct).

Equational clauses are those that take a nominal predicate, i.e. a noun phrase or prepositional phrase. They have traditionally been called equational because of the absence of a copular verb, not because their primary function is that of equating. Equational clauses are often used in Iloko to contrast or identify a referent, e.g. *Ti kaldíng ti n-ag-saruá* (CORE goat CORE PFV-AV-vomit) 'The goat (is the one who) vomited', *Siák ti taga-Dagúpan.* (1s CORE from-Dagupan) 'I am (the one) from Dagupan'.

In existential clauses an existential particle occurs in the predicate position. Iloko has two existential particles, *addá* 'there is, there are', and its negative counterpart *awán* 'there is not, there are not'. The existentials are used to express both existence and

possession, e.g. *Addá=ak ditóy.* (EXIST=1s.ABS PRX.ADV) 'I am here', *Adda áding=ko.* (EXIST younger.sibling=1s.ERG) 'I have a younger sibling'. In possessive constructions, the possessor appears in the ergative case, unlike in Tagalog, and the positive and negative existentials differ somewhat with regard to case marking. The article *ti* is used in conjunction with *awán* when the possessed noun is concrete and indefinite. It is left out, however, in the same circumstances with *addá*, e.g. *Awán ti baláy=ko.* (NEG.EXIST core house=1s.ERG) 'I do not have a house', *Addá kuartá=m?* (EXIST money=2s.ERG) 'Do you have any money?' Existentials in Iloko may also be used with partially reduplicated roots to express attenuation:

(7) *Médio   addá   dang-dangʔás   ti   saludsód-na.*
somewhat EXIST RDP-haughtiness CORE answer=3s.ERG
'His answer was a bit arrogant.'

(8) *Adda   ke-kées=na.*
EXIST RDP-crazy=3s.ERG
'He is a bit crazy.'

Interrogative clauses come in two types, those mirroring an equational clause in which the interrogative occurs as the predicate and is followed by a verb (9, 10) or nominalization (11) which reflect the absolutive status of the interrogative, or those in which the interrogative precedes a predicate, separated by a ligature (12). The choice between the two strategies is dependent upon the interrogative element involved.

(9) *Asíno   ti   <im-m>áy?*
who   CORE come<PFV-AV>   'Who came?'

(10) *Aniá   ti   g<in>átang=mo?*
what   CORE buy<PFV.PV>=2s.ERG   'What did you buy?'

(11) *Kaanó   ti   ya-ʔáy=na?*
when   CORE GER-come=3s.ERG   'When is he coming?'

(12) *Apay   nga   ag-sang-sángit=ka?*
why   LK   AV-CONT-cry=2s.ABS   'Why are you crying?'

Non-existential clauses are negated with the negators *saán* (colloquially *haán*) or *di*. *Saán* may be used to negate nominal or verbal predicates, while *di* is preferred for verbal clauses only in spoken Iloko. The negator *saán* requires a ligature before the negated constituent while *di* does not: *Saán=da nga Insík* (NEG=3p.ABS LK Chinese). 'They are not Chinese', *Di=ka ay-ayat-en* (NEG=1s.ERG:2s.ABS CONT-love-PV) 'I do not love you'.

Imperatives are usually identical to verbal clauses, as the addressee is expressed by an enclitic pronoun, except in some cases in which the verb is contracted in very informal contexts: *guráy* 'wait!' (from *aguray* 'to wait'). Imperatives may be marked for continuous aspect: *Mangánkan!* /Mang-kaán=ka=n!/ (AV-eat=2s.ABS=already) 'Eat!', *Ag-sing-singpét=ka!* (AV-CONT-behave=2s.ABS) 'Behave!'. Disregarding intonational differences, prohibitives are formally identical to negative declaratives.

(13) *Haán=mo   nga   alá-en.*
NEG=2s.ERG LK get/take-PV
'Don't take it.'

Finally, a very common occurrence in verbal clauses are a number of aspectual or modal enclitics to the verb phrase aside from the core pronominals. They include *=(e)n*

encoding a change of state, or a verbal action that is completed sooner than expected, *=(n)to* indicating future actions, and *=(n)sa* expressing doubt, e.g. *Na-táy=en* (PFV.POT-die=already) 'He already died', *Um-áy=kami=nto manén* (AV-come=1pe.ABS=FUT again) 'We'll come again', *Ag-tag-tagainép=ka=nsa* (AV-CONT-dream=2s.ABS=I.think) 'I think you're dreaming (hallucinating)'.

Iloko has also two lexical verbs that have grammaticized into auxiliaries, *um-áy* (AV-come) 'to come', and *ma-pán* (AV-go) 'to go'. As auxiliaries, they precede their main verbs in monoclausal constructions without the ligature *nga*, and take personal enclitics governed by the main verb. That is, although *mapán* and *umáy* are both intransitive verbs, they may take ergative pronouns if the main verb is transitive: *Um-áy=ka alá-en* (AV-come=1s.ERG:2s.ABS get-PV) 'I'll come get you', *Mapán=ko danón-en* (go=1s.ERG fetch-PV) 'I'll go fetch it'.

3.3 Noun phrase structure

Noun phrases are phrases that have a noun or pronoun as their head. Nouns may be classified into two categories depending on what articles they take, personal vs. non-personal. Personal nouns require a nominal marker at all times unless they are used vocatively. Non-personal nouns, however, may appear without an article or demonstrative when used predicatively (compare *Ubíng.* 'It is/was a child' (predicative NP) and *Ni Maria.* (PERS. CORE Maria) 'It is/was Maria.'). Articles distinguish two numbers (singular vs. plural), two cases (core vs. oblique), and personal vs. non-personal nouns (cf. Table 11.4), e.g. *N-ag-kantá ti ubíng iti paraángan* (PFV-AV-sing CORE child OBL yard) 'The child sang in the yard'. *Diáy*, an abbreviated form of the distal demonstrative *daydiáy* is also used in Iloko discourse as an article for identifiable referents.

Iloko has six sets of pronouns which encode eight personal distinctions (see Table 11.5). Independent pronouns are used predicatively. Ergative and absolutive pronouns are second position enclitics (see HIMMELMANN, TYPOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS, section 3.2, for

TABLE 11.4: ILOKO ARTICLES

	Non-personal		Personal	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Core	ti (neutral), diay (definite)	dagití	ni	da
Oblique	ití	kadagití	kenní	kadá

TABLE 11.5: ILOKO PRONOUNS

Person	Number	Independent	Ergative	Absolutive	Oblique	Gloss
Speaker	sg.	siák	=k(o)	=ak	kaniák	1s
	pl.	dakamí	=mi	=kamí	kaniámi, kadakamí	1 pl excl
Addressee	sg.	siká	=m(o)	=ka	kaniám, kenká	2s familiar
	pl.	dakayó	=yo	=kayó	kaniáyo, kadakayó	2 pl, (2 formal)
Other	sg.	isú(na)	=na	2	kaniána, kenkuána	3s
	pl.	isúda	=da	=da	kaniáda, kadakuáda	3p
Speaker–Addressee	sg.	datá	=ta	=ta	kaniáta, kadatá	1 dual incl
	pl.	datayó	=tayó	=tayó	kaniatayó, kadatayó	1 pl incl

more discussion). In addition to their positional variability, these enclitics are unlike suffixes in that they do not cause stress shift. The oblique pronouns are formed with the absolutive enclitics attached to the stems *ken-* (for singular referents) and *kada-* (for plural referents). Alternatively, the ergative enclitics are attached to the stem *kania-* (most of these forms, however, are non-standard).

Monosyllabic enclitics are usually not immediately segmentable by native speakers and some show allomorphic variation dependent upon phonological environment. After the suffixes *-an* and *-en*, the first and second person ergative enclitics fuse with the final *n* to *k*, and *m*, respectively, e.g. *basáek* /basa-en=k(o)/ (read-PV=1s.ERG) 'I'll read it'. 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 (see 14). The following examples demonstrate both the fusional (14) and distributional (15) nature of the enclitic pronouns:

(14) *Surátemon!*
       súrat-en=mo=n ♠
       write-PV=2s.ERG=now/already
       'Write it!'

(15) ...*sá=mo nto   surát-en kalpasánna?*
        then=2s.ERG=FUT   write-PV   afterwards
       '...then you'll write it afterwards?'

When two enclitic pronouns appear on a transitive verb, sometimes a fair amount of agent neutralization occurs. The first person singular ergative enclitic, for example, cannot appear before the second person singular absolutive. Thus, *Kayát =ka* may mean either 'You are wanted' or 'I want you'. With first and second person patients, only the number of the agent is encoded, e.g. *Kayát =da =ka* may mean either 'We want you' or 'They want you' and *Kayat=n=ak?* means either 'Does he want me?' or 'Do you want me?'.

Some enclitics appear to be fossilized derivations of older forms that have nowadays become ungrammatical: *Indiák, diák, mandiák* are first person negators for transitive verbs using the absolutive clitic *=ak* instead of the ergative clitic *=k(o)*, e.g. *Diak maawátan* (NEG.1s POT:understand:DV) 'I do not understand it'. This may also be expressed as *Saán=ko a maawátan* (NEG=1s.ERG LK POT:understand:DV) 'I do not understand it'.

Not included in Table 11.5 are the independent possessive pronouns formed with the stems *kukúa* 'thing' or *bági* 'share' followed by an ergative enclitic, e.g. *kukuák, kukuám, bágik, bágim*, etc. An example is *Kukuák daytá* (mine MED) 'That is mine'. Reflexive pronouns are formed by the stem *bagí* 'body' followed by an ergative enclitic, e.g. *bagík, bagím, bagína*, etc; cf. also *P<in>a-táy=na ti bagí=na* (CAU<PFV.PV>-die=3s.ERG CORE body=3s.ERG) 'He killed himself'.

Both independent and enclitic pronouns must specify all the relevant participants of an event. 'Mary and I' in Iloko is rendered *Dakamí ken María* (1pe and Mary) 'We (exclusive) and Mary'. If the pronoun is an enclitic it may occur separated from the rest of the expression:

(16) *Saán=mi   a   kasapúlan   ken   Cedríng ti   túlong=mo.*
        NEG=1pe.ERG LK need:DV   and   Cedring CORE   help=2s.ERG
       'Cedring and I do not need your help.'

Like the articles, numerals, adjectives and quantifiers also precede their nominal head, but they are linked to the head with the ligature *nga*. Possessors are marked by the core article and follow their heads, as do contrastive adjectives, e.g. *ti baláy ni Gracia* 'Gracia's house', *ti ruángan ti baláy* 'the door of the house,' *ti baláy a nangína* 'the expensive house (as opposed to the other one)'. Demonstratives (section 4) precede their nominal head with or without a ligature: *daytóy (a) káyo* 'this (LK) tree'. Unlike other quantifiers, *tunggál* 'every', and *kadá* 'each' do not require the ligature *nga* before their head nouns.

Relative clauses are dependent on their head noun in the same formal way as most attributes in Iloko are dependent on them, with the ligature *nga*. Relative clauses follow their head noun which acts as the absolutive argument of the verb in the relative clause, i.e. NP = [article] [head noun] [ligature] [clause] (for examples, see section 5.1).

4 DEICTICS

Iloko deictics include spatial/temporal demonstratives (which have abbreviated short forms), and temporal adverbs that mark relative time. The temporal adverbs are *itá* 'now, today', *itattá* 'right now', *itattáy* 'just a while ago, immediate past', *itáy* 'a while ago, recent past', and *idí* 'a while ago, remote past'. The time frames covered by these adverbs vary considerably according to speakers' subjective assessment. They may all be used to indicate hodiernal events, and only *idí* can be used to express a time frame one day before the speech event. Temporals can mark both verb phrases and temporal nouns: *N-agparáng idí* (PFV-AV-appear REM.PST) 'It appeared a while back', *idí rabii* (REM.PST night) 'last night'. There is also a future marker *(in)ton(o)* which precedes temporal nouns, e.g. *intón bigát* (FUT morning) 'tomorrow'; it cannot be used as a temporal adverb.

The non-temporal Iloko demonstratives mark three degrees of spatial orientation, proximal (near the speaker), medial (near the addressee, or near both speaker and addressee), and distal (far from both interlocutors), and the out-of-sight demonstratives have two degrees of temporality (recent vs. remote). The full demonstratives inflect for two cases and two numbers, while their shortened forms do not. In most dialects of Iloko, the singular oblique forms are formed with the singular form preceded by the oblique article *iti*, but only the *ka-* prefixed variants are given in Table 11.6.

The recent and remote demonstratives are used for referents that are not visible in the speech event. They mark referents that may be dead, non-actual, or somehow distanced.

TABLE 11.6: ILOKO DEMONSTRATIVES

Visibility	Range	Short forms	Full forms			
			Core		Oblique	
			Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Visible	Proximal	toy	daytóy	dagitóy	kadaytóy	kadagitóy
↓	Medial	ta	daytá	dagitá	kadaytá	kadagitá
Neutral	Distal	diay	daydiáy	dagidiáy	kadaydiáy	kadagidiáy
Out-of-sight	Recent	tay	daytáy	dagitáy	kadaytáy	kadagitáy
	Remote	di	daydí	dagidí	kadaydí	kadagidí

from the speech event. Referents that are recently activated into the consciousness of the speaker may also appear with a non-visible demonstrative. Compare *N-ag-paráng ni Sinting* (PFV-AV-appear PN Sinting) 'Sinting appeared/showed up' vs. *Nagparáng daydí Sinting* 'The late Sinting appeared (as a ghost)'; *Ania ti nágan=mo* (what CORE name=2s.ERG) 'What is your name' vs. *Ania tay náganmo [manén]* 'What was your name [again], (I used to know it)'.

5 MAJOR VERBAL ALTERNATIONS

Of all the morphological systems in the language, verbal morphology is the most complex. All verbs are marked for voice, by which the semantic relationship between the absolutive argument, which is highly thematic and syntactically privileged, and the verb is explicitly detailed by the morphology of the verb (section 5.1). Aspect can be either inflectional or derivational in Iloko, as regular paradigms and lexicalized reduplicative morphology both exist (section 5.2). All verbs belong to one or two moods: dynamic (unmarked), or potentive/stative (marked with the prefixes *maka-* or *ma-*) to denote an action or event which is abilitative, coincidental, unintentional, stative, or performed with less volition than its dynamic counterpart (section 5.3). Other morphological categories that pertain to the verbal template include causation/indirect action/direction with the prefix *pa-* (section 5.4), reciprocity with the infix *-inn-* (section 5.5), and joint action, indicated by the prefix *maki-* (section 5.6).

5.1 Voice

The Iloko voice system consists of five main voices, and two lesser voices (cf. Table 11.7). The different voices can be categorized into two dimensions, based on whether or not they may take a core argument in the ergative case. Actor voice verb forms take one core argument in the absolutive case, and non-actor voice verb forms take two core arguments, an agent in the ergative case, and another argument in the absolutive case. The actor voice (AV) is marked with one of three prefixes, *ag-* (durative), *-um-* (punctual/inchoative), and *mang-/maN-* (distributive; detransitive). Because actor voice verbs take maximally one core argument, they are grammatically intransitive. Meteorological verbs which do not take an argument also take AV morphology, e.g. *N-ag-túdo* (PFV-AV-rain) 'It rained'.

The AV prefix *ag-* is the most versatile of the Iloko prefixes and forms verbs with varying semantic case frames. Unlike in Tagalog, the actor arguments of *ag-* verbs are not

TABLE 11.7: VOICE MARKING MORPHOLOGY

Transitivity	Voice	Affix	Perfective	Example	Gloss
Intransitive	Actor	ag-	nag-	*agkatáwa*	to laugh
		-um-	-imm-	*dumakkél*	to grow, become big
Detransitive		mang-	nang-	*mangán*	to eat
Transitive	Patient	-en	-in-	*suráten*	to write something
	Directional	-an	-in--an	*surátan*	to write to someone
	Conveyance	i-	in-; iny-	*isúrat*	to write down
	Benefactive	i- -an	in(y)- -an	*idaítan*	to sew for someone
	Comitative	ka-	kina-	*katugáw*	to sit with someone; seat mate
	Instrumental	pag-	pinag-	*pagíwa*	to slice with; knife

necessarily volitional: *agtúdo* 'to rain', *agsángit* 'to cry', *agláti* 'to rust', *agkatáwa* 'to laugh', *agsipílio* 'to brush the teeth', *agbúnga* 'to fruit (trees, plants)', *agukrad* 'to open (of flowers)'. The AV infix *-um-* may be used to designate events that are inchoative: *dumakkél* 'to grow, become big', *bumaknáng* 'to become rich', *lumaing* 'to become intelligent', *tumáo* 'to be born (become a person)'. Like *ag-* verbs, the absolutive argument of *-um-* verbs may be volitional or non-volitional: *dumáwat* 'to ask for', *ngumáto* 'to rise', *bumabá* 'to lower', *pumúsay* 'to die', *umuttót* 'to fart'. With verbs that can take both the prefix *ag-* and the infix *-um-*, usually the *-um-* verb will express a telic action: *tumakdér* 'to stand up' vs. *agtakdér* 'to stand'.

The AV prefix *maN-/mang-* also only takes one core argument and is grammatically intransitive, but semantically *maN-* verbs pattern closely with their transitive counterparts and are therefore better considered detransitive: e.g. *tippúog* 'sound of crumbling' (from the root *tipóg*) > *agtippúog* 'to crumble down, collapse resoundingly (AV, intransitive)', *mangtippúog* 'to topple down, cause to crumble (AV, detransitive, one core argument)', *tippuógen* 'to topple down, cause to crumble (DV, transitive, two core arguments)'. The nominalized forms of the *maN-* verbs clearly show that the orientation of the verb is toward the agent of the action, and not the goal or patient: *ti mangtippúog* 'the person toppling down (a building, etc.)', *ti tippuógen* 'the thing being toppled'.

Of the non-agent voice verbs, six distinctions can be noted, based on the semantics of the corresponding absolutive argument which is usually identifiable from the context, and is the most highly thematic argument of a clause. The voice morphology differs when the absolutive argument is a patient, direction (partially affected referent or location), conveyed entity (theme), beneficiary, comitative referent, or instrument. Among the six non-agent voice formations, four are basic. The remaining two (the comitative and instrumental forms) should be classified midway between bona-fide verbs for taking aspectual morphology, and nominals for appearing in speech quite frequently in non-predicative position. It should be noted here that voice morphology is derivational and not fully productive with every root (Rubino 1997).

Verbs in the patient voice take an absolutive argument which is the target of the action of the verb: *Ania 't k<in>nan=mo* (what CORE eat<PFV.PV>=2s.ERG) 'What did you eat', *Siká ti kit-kitá-en=na* (2s CORE CONT-see-PV=3s.ERG) 'You're the one he's looking at', *Uráy-en=d=ak* (wait-PV=2/3p=1s.ABS) 'Wait for me'. The directional voice verbs take arguments that are either a source, a goal or a partially affected patient. Thus, aside from appearing on verbs that indicate addition or removal, e.g. *iwá-an* (slice-DV) 'to slice off a piece, carve, make a cut into' vs. *iwá-en* (slice-PV) 'to cut, slice fully', directional voice verbs may be used to take a human absolutive argument which is affected indirectly by the action of the verb, e.g. *takáw-en* (steal-PV) 'to steal something' vs. *takáw-an* (steal-DV) 'to rob someone'.

Conveyance verbs are those that take a theme absolutive argument, i.e. an entity that is physically or psychologically conveyed: *Iny-áwid=na ti pagiwarnák* (CV.PFV-to.home=3s.ERG CORE newspaper) 'He took home the newspaper', *In-salikád=na ti petáka* (CV.PFV-waistband=3s.ERG CORE wallet) 'He inserted the wallet in his waistband', *iy-ebkás* 'to express (in words)'. The prefix *i-* combined with the suffix *-an* forms benefactive verbs in which the absolutive argument is the beneficiary of the action of the verb, or the person in whose place the action was performed: *i-bagá=m ta i-dasar-án=ka=n* (CV-tell=2s.ERG CONJ BV-set.table-BV=1s.ERG:2s.ABS = now) 'tell me and I'll set the table for you'. *I-gatáng-an=n=ak man iti bagás* (BV-buy-BV=2/3s= 1s.ABS please OBL rice) 'Please buy some rice for me'. The *i- -an* affix combination does not always encode benefactive verbs, however. Many lexicalized expressions take the same form: *ibuksilan*

'to express, expose, explain (absolute argument=entity expressed)', *igasátan* 'to tell the fortune to', etc.

It should be noted here that the selection of voice morphology based on the semantics involved between the action of the verb and the role of the absolute argument is valid only in main clauses. In relative clauses, and certain controlled clauses which take finite verbs (i.e. words marked for voice and aspect), the choice of voice morphology is constrained by a stringent requirement of Iloko syntax. Verbs in relative clauses take voice morphology which reflects the absolute status of the head noun. Head nouns that are agentive with respect to the verb in the relative clause take an intransitive (agent voice) relative clause verb; non-agentive head nouns take a transitive verb in the relative clause. Thus, in (17) the verb *nangtemplá* appears in the agent voice, reflecting the agentive role of the head noun, *balásang*:

(17) *Ayán=na*   *[ti*   *balásanga*   *nang-templá*   *iti*   *kapé=k?]*
     where=2s.ERG   CORE   maiden LK   AV-mix   OBL   coffee=1s.ERG
     'Where is the unmarried woman who prepared my coffee?'

And in (18), the verb *linútom* appears in the patient voice, reflecting the patientive role of the head noun *pinakbét*:

(18) *In-íbus=ko*   *[ti*   *pinakbét*   *a*   *l<in>úto=m]*
     PFV.CV-finish=1s.ERG   CORE   dish   LK   cook<PV.PFV>=2s.ERG
     'I finished the *pinakbet* (vegetable dish) that you cooked.'

In complement clauses that·function as the absolute argument of transitive verbs (preceded by the core marker *ti*), the verb is controlled by the A (ergative) argument of the main predicate.

(19) *Kayát=mo*   *ti*   *ag-dígos?*
     want=2s.ERG   CORE   AV-bath
     'Do you want to take a bath?'

Since the complement clause functions as the absolute argument of a transitive main clause, the main predicate cannot take another absolute argument, e.g. **Kayát=n=ak ti agdígos?* (want-2/3.ERG=1s.ABS core AV-bath) *'Do you want to bathe me (grammatically incorrect)?'

5.2 Aspect

Aspect in Iloko may be inflectional or derivational. Inflectional aspect is indicated by prefixes and infixes. Completed aspect is indicated with the infix *-in-* (or prefix *n-* with *ag-* AV verbs and *i-* CV verbs), and progressive aspect (for continuous or habitual actions) is encoded with initial CVC reduplication of the verbal root: *N-ag-sángit=da.* (PFV-AV-cry=3p.ABS) 'They cried', *Ag-sang-sángit=da.* (AV-CONT-cry=3p.ABS) 'They are crying'. A glottal onset does not participate in CVC progressive reduplication, but rather results in the addition of an open syllable with a long vowel: *ag-saó* (AV-talk) 'to talk' [ʔag.sa.ʔo] > *ag-sà-saó* 'is talking' [ʔag.sá:.sa.ʔó]. Table 11.8 provides an overview of the forms.

The completed aspect infix *-in-* cannot co-occur with the PV suffix *-en*: *saplit-en* 'thrash-PV', *s<in>aplít* 'thrashed'. With *-um-* AV verbs, the completive infix *-in-* appears

as *-imm-*, historically derived from **-in-um-* > **inm* (attested in modern Pangasinan and in numerous other languages such as Bontok) > *-imm*: *g<um>átang* 'buy' vs. *g<imm>átang* 'bought'. This affix is also used to express similarity: *timmígre* 'like a tiger', *pimmúsa* 'like a cat'. The perfective form of conveyance verbs has two realizations, *in-* before consonants, and *iny-* before vowels, historically **ʔ<in>i-*.

Future actions are encoded either with an infinitive verb or with the enclitic =*(n)to* (*-nto* after vowels and *-to* after consonants). Verbs in the imperative mood may occur in the infinitive form or the progressive, and verbs expressing facts occur in the infinitive.

Derivational (lexical) aspect is indicated with bisyllabic reduplication to express the iterative, durative, continual, distributional, intermittent, or intensive nature of the action expressed by the reduplicated root: *agbannibanníkes* 'to repeatedly scold with the arms akimbo' (from *banníkes* 'akimbo'), *agtilmotilmón* 'to swallow repeatedly or forcefully' (from *tilmón* 'swallow'), *silawsiláwan* 'to light up various places' (*siláwan* 'to light up a place'), *naisiglosiglót* 'to be entangled, tied up in knots' (from *naisiglót* 'to be tied'). This is the only reduplicative process in which part of a suffix may be reduplicated with the rest of the stem (cf. 21):

(20) *N-ag-sarde-sardéng*   *nga*   *ag-eskuéla*   *tapnó*   *tulóng-an=na*
     PFV-AV-ITER-stop   LK   AV-school   so.that   help-DV=3s.ERG

     dagití   *da-dakkél=na*   *nga*   *ag-múla*   *ití*   *lasoná.*
     PL.CORE   PL-big=3s.ERG   LK   AV-cultivate   OBL   onions

'He went to school irregularly so he could help his parents farm onions.'

TABLE 11.8: ASPECTUAL MORPHOLOGY OF DYNAMIC VERBS

Voice	Affix	Perfective/complete	Progressive	Future
Actor	ag-	nag-	ag-CVC-	ag- =(n)to
	agkatáwa 'laugh'	*nagkatáwa*	*agkatkatáwa*	*agkatáwanto*
	-um-	-imm-	C<um>VC-	-um- =(n)to
	tumakdér 'stand'	*timmakder*	*tumaktakdér*	*tumakderto*
	mang-, maN-	nang-, naN-	mang-CVC-; maN-CVC-	mang- =(n)to
	mangdáit 'sew'	*nangdáit*	*mangdàdáit*	*mangdáitto*
Patient	-en	-in-	CVC- -en	-en .. =(n)to
	suráten 'write'	*sinúrat*	*sursuráten*	*surátento*
Directional	-an	-in- -an	CVC- -an	-an .. =(n)to
	adaywán 'leave'	*inadaywán*	*ad?adaywán*	*adaywánto*
Conveyance	i-	in(y)-	i-CVC-	i- =(n)to
	iyáwid 'bring home'	*inyáwid*	*iyaw?áwid*	*iyáwidto*
Benefactive	i- -an	in(y)- -an	i-CVC- -an	i- -an .. =(n)to
	isurátan 'write for/on behalf of'	*insurátan*	*isursurátan*	*isurátanto*
Comitative	ka-	kina-	ka-CVC	ka- =(n)to
	kasaó 'speak to'	*kinasaó*	*kasàsaó*	*kasaónto*
Instrumental	pag-	pinag-	pag-CVC-	pag- =(n)to
	pagtugáw 'chair'	*pinagtugáw*	*pagtugtugáw*	*pagtugáwto*

(21) *Pinuluapuluánna*   *ti*   *búkot=ko*   *iti*   *lugít.*
       \<in\>RDP-pulu-an=na   *ti*   *búkot=ko*   *iti*   *lugít*
       \<PFV.PV\>RDP-smear -DV=3S.ERG CORE back=1s.ERG OBL   guano
       'He smeared my back with guano.'

Continuous aspect can also be indicated with full reduplication of the verbal root: *N-ag-rikus-ríkos=da iti pantalán* (PFV-AV-RDP-circle/lap=3p OBL pier) 'They went around the pier several times'. Intensity is expressed by the infix *-an-*: *sumanaó* 'to chatter' (f. *saó* 'talk'), *agtanaúl* 'to bark loudly or repeatedly' (f. *taúl* 'bark'), *tumanaráy* 'to constantly be in a hurry' (f. *taráy* 'run').

Recently completed actions take the prefixes *ka+CV reduplication* (action verbs), or *ka+C reduplicasion* (resultatives). Actors in these constructions appear in the ergative case even if there is only one core argument: *Ka-sa-sangpét=ko* (REC.PFV-RDP-arrive=1s.ERG) 'I just arrived'; *ka-s-singtáw* (REC.PFV-RDP-slash) 'just slashed'. The prefix *apag-* 'as soon as' also takes ergative actors in the same way: *apag-sangpét=na* (as.soon.as-arrive=3s.ERG) 'as soon as he arrives'.

5.3 Potentive and stative mood

Potentive verbs are those which typically lack an element of volition, encompassing the following semantic areas: states of being, ability, need, involuntary activity, coincidental activity, or abilitative activity, e.g. *maka-dungpár* (POT-collide) 'to accidentally collide, happen to run into, be able to crash'. Dynamic verbs, which are unmarked for volition but usually carry a volitional reading, can be contrasted with potentive ones in: *Lipát-e-mo-n* (forget-PV-2s.ERG-already) 'Forget her already, get her out of your mind (dynamic reading)' vs. *Na-lipát-an=na manén* (PFV.POT-forget-DV=3s.ERG again) 'He forgot it again! (potentive reading)'.

Verbs in the potentive and stative mood are classified together because of their formal similarities (usually taking a form of the prefix *ma(ka)-*). Potentive verbs may occur in five voices, which more or less correspond to their dynamic counterparts (cf. Table 11.9).

Potentive verbs denoting uncontrolled perceptions can take either a non-volitional meaning or an abilitative one, e.g. *Diák na-kíta* (NEG.1s PFV.POT-see) 'I didn't see it' or 'I wasn't able to see it'. Verbs that correspond to events that may involve a slight element of volition can take a potentive prefix, to contrast them with non-potentive events in which the agent initiates a more controlled, volitional action, e.g. *kayáw-an* 'capture with intent', *ma-kayáw-an* 'to be able to capture (with intent); charm (without intent)'.

TABLE 11.9: POTENTIVE VERB FORMATION

Voice	Dynamic	Potentive	Example verb	Gloss
Actor	ag-, -um-, mang-	maka-	makalangóy	be able to swim
Patient	-en	ma-	madungpár	accidentally collide
Directional	-an	ma- -an	masagádan	happen to sweep; be swept
Conveyance	i-	mai-	maikábil	manage to put
Benefactive	i- -an	mai- -an	maisurátan	be able to write for

(22) *Na-laíng*   *a (..)*   *g\<um\>itára*   *ket*   *na-kayáw-an=na*
       ADJ-good   LK   guitar\<AV\>   PM   POT.PFV-charm-DV=3S.ERG

       ti   *balásang*
       CORE   maiden

       'He was good at guitar playing, so he charmed (was able to charm) the lady (by his playing, not through force).'

The prefix *maka-* may also encode non-volitional causation: *maka-disturbár* (POT-disturb) 'to disturb, annoy (frequently used with inanimate agents)', as well as non-causative states with some roots: *maka-ruród* (POT-anger) 'to be angry', *maka-úma* (POT-bore) 'to be bored', *maka-básol* (POT-guilt) 'to be guilty'.

Other combinations of affixes with potentive prefixes exist. The potentive prefix *makapag-*, e.g., encodes a sort of instrumental ability (as opposed to innate or absolute ability), specifying that the actor had the means to perform the action at the time of the utterance. Contrast *Saán = da a maka-dáit* (NEG = 3p.ABS LIG POT-sew) 'They can't (don't know how to) sew' to:

(23) *Saan=da*   *a*   *maka-pag-dáit.*
       NEG=3p.ABS   LK   POT-INS.NR-sew
       'They don't have the means to sew.'

The aspectual distinctions detailed for non-potentive verbs vary considerably for potentive verbs. Perfectivity (marked by *naka-* (intransitive) or *na-* transitive) usually denotes an attained state or abilitative/coincidental action which most likely continue to exist at the time of the utterance. The perfective stative form *na-* is commonly used for adjectives, unlike in Tagalog where the *ma-* (irrealis) prefix is preferred. A few adjectives that denote bodily states or human qualities generally take the nonperfective *ma-* prefix, for example, *mabisin* 'hungry', *manákem* 'wise', *mawáw* 'thirsty', *masirib* 'wise', *masdáaw* 'surprised'. A few other adjectives meaningfully contrast the perfective and non-perfective form: *maúyong* 'crazy' vs. *naúyong* 'cruel, mean', *masakít* 'sick' vs. *nasakít* 'sore, aching', *maíngel* 'brave' vs. *naíngel* 'strong (liquor, tobacco)'.

Potentive *maka-* verbs with CVC reduplication usually express desire or impending action, rather than progressive action, as their formal dynamic equivalents encode: *Maka-is-isbú=ak* (POT-RDP-urine=1s.ABS) 'I feel like urinating', *Maka-ba-baéng=ak iti ingel* (POT-RDP-sneeze=1s.ABS OBL alcohol.smell/strength) 'I feel like sneezing from the strength of the liquor'.

Stative verbs differ from potentive verbs primarily in their causative formation. The prefix *ika-* (perfective form *inka-*) is used with a few stative verbs to encode a type of causation, quite different from the *pa-* potentive causatives which are always non-volitional or non-controlled (see section 5.4). *Ika-* causatives can express enlargement, e.g. *ikaláwa* 'to widen', *ikadakkél* 'to enlarge', or the volitional causation of a state: *ikarigátan* 'to strive to do' from the root *rígat* 'hardship'.

(24) *Úray*   *kasáno-'t*   *rígat=da,*   *inka-rigát-an=da*   *a*
       even   how-CORE   hardship=3p.ERG   PFV.ST.CAU-hard=3p.ERG   LK

       p\<in\>ag-ádal   *ni*   *Raul.*
       CAU\<PFV.PV\>-study   PN   Raul

       'No matter how poor they were, they exerted all their efforts to put Raul through school.'

The situation exists where a *ma-* potentive verb can take an agent in the oblique case, the closest construction Iloko has to a passive voice. Like a prototypical passive construction, there is morphological evidence that the verb in this construction is de-transitivized. It does not have two core pronouns which cross-reference the agentive and patientive arguments. Only the patientive argument is cross-referenced by an absolutive enclitic. The agentive argument in the oblique case cannot be cross-referenced with an ergative pronoun unless it is promoted to core status and the verb is thereby transitivized:

(25) *Na-riíng=ak   iti   karibusó   iti   babá   ti   baláy.*
      POT-awake=1s.ABS OBL commotion OBL under CORE house
      'I was awakened by the commotion under the house.'

(26) *Na-riíng=da=k*
      POT-awake=3p.ERG=1s.ABS
      'They were able to wake me up.'

Stative stems can take the directional voice suffix *-an* to denote an exposure: *mapudótan* 'to be warmed up' (f. *púdot* 'warm'), *mainítan* 'to be exposed to the sun' (f. *init* 'sun'), *marabiián* 'to be overtaken by the night' (f. *rabií* 'night').

(27) *No   ag-sidá-t (iti)   síli,   isú't (ti)   ma-gasáng-an.*
      if   AV-eat-OBL   chili   3-CORE   POT-spice-DV
      'If one eats chili pepper, one gets burnt by the spice (proverb).'

5.4 Indirect action: the prefix *pa-*

A Pan-Philippine formative, the prefix *pa-* has a variety of functions in Iloko. It may mark indirect action, direction of an action, or causation. Table 11.10 contrasts direct action verbs with their indirect *pa-* counterparts.

The causative prefix *pa-* does not increase the valence of the verbs to which it attaches. The valence of the verb is indicated by its voice morphology. Thus, when a causative stem is marked for agent voice as in (28) it has one core argument. If it is marked for patient voice, it has two, as shown in (29):

(28) *Ag-pa-púkis=ak=to   no   bigát.*
      AV-CAU-haircut = 1s.ABS.FUT FUT morning
      'I'll get a haircut tomorrow.'

(29) *Pa-kan-é=m /pa-kaan-en=mo/   dagití   piék!*
      CAU-eat-PV = 2s.ERG   PL.CORE chick
      'Feed the chicks!'

TABLE 11.10: THE PREFIX *pa-*

Direct action verb		Indirect action/Causative verb	
ma-túrog	to sleep	pa-turóg-an	put to sleep
mangpúkis	cut hair	ag-pa-púkis	get a haircut
ma-táy	die	pa-tay-én	kill
kan-én /kaán-en/	to eat something	pa-kan-én /pa-kaán-en/	feed
ag-kaán	devour	ag-pa-kaán	host a feast

The prefix is also more of a stem formative than an inflectional prefix, as can be seen by its behavior in reduplications. As other stem forming prefixes, *pa-* takes part in reduplications, compare *kanén* 'eat something (infinitive form)' with *kankanén* 'eating something (progressive form)', and *pa-kanén* (CAU-eat) 'feed' with *pak-pakanén* 'feed (progressive form)'. The prefix can be used with both dynamic and potentive morphology. With potentive morphology, the causation of the action or state expressed in the root is non-volitional. Contrast the dynamic causative verb *pa-dakkel-én* (CAU-big-PV) 'enlarge (by building)' to the potentive causative verb *maka-pa-dakkél* (POT-CAU-big) 'cause to grow (as of vitamins)'.

(30) *Maka-pa-salun?át   ti   salúyot.*
      POT-CAU-health   CORE species of leaves
      '*Saluyot* leaves are healthy (cause health without volition).'

Another use of the prefix *pa-* is to indicate direction: *ag-pa-amiánan* 'to go to/towards the north (actor voice)', *i-pa-amiánan* 'to send to/towards the north (conveyance voice)', *pumalaém* 'to go inside', *agpaíli* 'to go to town'.

5.5 Reciprocity

There are a variety of ways to express reciprocal relationships in Iloko: with the prefix *ag-* whose use is restricted lexically, with derivational CVCV+N reduplication, and with the inflectional infix *–inn-*. The agent voice prefix *ag-* is most commonly used with roots that are inherently reciprocal, in which case the subject argument is plural: *N-agsalliwásiwda.* (PFV-AV-fail.to.meet=3p) 'They missed each other (coming from different directions)'. The prefix *ag-* is similarly used with kinterms to denote a reciprocal relationship *ag-amá* 'father and child' (< *amá* 'father'), *ag-iná* 'mother and child' (< *iná* 'mother'), *ag-ulitég* 'uncle and nephew' (< *ulitég* 'uncle'), *ag-siúman* 'stepparent and stepchild' (< *siúman* 'stepchild'). The prefix is also employed with family names, e.g. *dagití ag-Galvez* 'the members of the Galvez family'.

The CVCV+N prefix is used with nouns to express a reciprocal notion: *?ayan?ayát* (RCP-love) 'sweethearts, mutual loving', *balembáles* (RCP-revenge) 'avenging each other', *ngiwanngiwat* (RCP-mouth) 'mouth to mouth', *karinkarí* (RCP-promise) 'mutual promise', *guranggúra* (RCP-hate) 'mutual hatred', *talentalék* (RCP-trust) 'trusting each other, depending on one another', *rupanrúpa* (RCP-face) 'face to face'.

The reciprocal infix *-inn-* is much more general in its use. It is applied before the first vowel of its stem, which may be a simple root as in *N-ag-p<inn>ádas=da iti pigsá* (PFV-AV-compete<RCP>=3p OBL strength) 'They competed with each other in strength', or a polymorphemic stem as in *Ag-pi-p<inn>a-básol=da...* (AV-PL-CAU<RCP> -blame=3p) 'They are blaming each other...'. It can be used with all verbs or gerunds to which a reciprocal meaning can be applied.

5.6 Joint actions (requestives)

Joint action verbs are intransitive verbs that take the prefix *maki-* (perfective *naki-*), with or without other affixes. They are similar to *ka-* transitive comitative verbs (cf. Table 11.7) in that they describe actions performed by a number of people, but they are different in a number of lexical ways. With roots that designate actions, *maki-* verbs describe actions that are performed in the company of others. The person participating in the joint action

is the argument encoded in the absolute case, while the other participants, if specified, get oblique case marking: *Nakipag-púyat=ak kadakuáda* (JNT-up.all.night=1s.ABS 3p.OBL) 'I stayed awake all night with them', *In=kayó maki-ápit* (go=2p.ABS JNT-harvest) 'Go participate in the harvest'.

Maki- verbs are also commonly used in requests, in which the root can designate the activity or the thing requested: *Ma-balín ti maki-ka-tugáw?* (POT-able CORE JNT-PL-sit) 'May I sit with you?', *Maki-sindí=kami man* (JNT-light=1pe.ABS please) 'May we please have a light (borrow your fire)?' *In=kayó maki-naténg* (go=2p.ABS JNT-vegetable) 'Go ask for vegetables'. The prefix *maki-* has a peculiar use with terms referring to kin and other members of the household (including slaves): *makiamá* 'to treat/consider as a father', *makiadipen* 'to treat as a slave', *makiiná* 'to treat/consider as a mother'. The infix *-inn-* may be used with joint action verbs to indicate reciprocal actions: *Naki-t<inn>úlag=da idí kalmán* (JNT-contract<RCP>=3p.ABS REM.PST yesterday) 'They made a contract with each other yesterday'.

5.7 Frequentatives

Frequentatives are an interesting class of words in Iloko as they cannot be easily classified as nouns or verbs. Unlike referential nouns, they cannot be morphologically pluralized, and unlike verbs, they do not take voice or aspectual morphology. Like gerunds, they can only be formed off agent voice verbs; the formal similarities between the frequentatives and gerunds are shown in Table 11.11 Because the punctual/inchoative agent voice infix *-um-* is most likely not a voice affix historically, formal and semantic discrepancies in the paradigm exist.

(31) *agsugál*   to gamble   *managsugál*   prone to gambling, always gambling
     makigubát   join a battle *mannakigubát*   warrior, habitual fighter in wars

5.8 Other derivational affixes

Derivational prefixes not previously mentioned include: *agin*+CV-reduplication, a prefix indicating pretense as in *n-agin-la-langóy=da* (PFV-PRETEND-RDP-swim=3p) 'they pretended to swim', and *sangka-*, an habitual prefix which takes ergative actors, as in *sangka-dámag=na=ka* (HABIT-ask=3s.ERG=2s.ABS) 'he keeps on asking about you'. The prefix *mara-* is used to express similarity:

(32) *Núpay   lakáy=en,   mara-kápas   pay láeng   ti   úbet=na.*
     though old.man=now   like-cotton still just   CORE   buttocks=3s.ERG
     'Although he is already an old man, his buttocks are still like cotton.'

TABLE 11.11: ILOKO FREQUENTATIVES

Mode	Class	Basic affix	Gerund	Frequentative
Dynamic	Durative	ag-	panag-	manag-
	Punctual/Inchoative	-um-	i-CV-*	C-um-V-*
	Distributive	mang-	panang-	manang-
Potentive		maka-	pannaka-	mannaka-
Joint action		maki-	pannaki-	mannaki-

* CV here represents CV reduplication.

The Spanish infinitive endings *-ar*, *-er*, and *-ir* can be applied to borrowed roots to form lexical stems that are clearly not Spanish, even though only the ending *-ar* was productive in the Spanish spoken at the time of contact, e.g. *i-submitir* 'to submit' (f. English), *maka-disturbár* 'to be disturbing' (f. English), *mang-atendár* 'to attend' (f. English).

6 NOMINALIZATIONS AND NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

6.1 Nominal morphology

Iloko nominal morphology is derivational in nature. As already mentioned in section 3.1, referential nouns are distinguished from other lexical classes by their derivational plural formation. Iloko plural nouns are derivational because plurality is optionally expressed, and when it is, it usually denotes distributiveness, rather than general plurality: *dagití sábong* (PL.CORE flower) 'the flowers' vs. *dagiti sab-sábong* (PL.CORE PL-flower) 'the flowers here and there, the flowers of various kinds'. Most nouns form their plural by initial CVC reduplication, e.g. *kalding* 'goat' > *kalkalding* 'goats', *ruángan* 'door' *ru:ruángan* 'doors', *sílaw* 'light' > *silsílaw* 'lights'. Some animate nouns (mostly kinterms and proper nouns) form their plural by CV reduplication: *gayyém* 'friend' > *gagayyém* 'friends', *ulitég* 'uncle' > *ùulitég* 'uncles', *kabsát* 'sibling' > *kakabsát* 'siblings', *kailián* 'townmate' > *kakailián* 'townmates', *baknáng* 'rich person' > *babaknáng* 'rich people'. A few common terms denoting animate referents form their plural by geminating the first medial consonant of the root: *laláki* 'boy' > *lalláki* 'boys', *ubíng* 'child' > *ubbíng* 'children', *amá* 'father' > *ammá* 'fathers', *iná* 'mother' > *inná* 'mothers', *anák* 'child' > *annák* 'children'. Finally, a few non-personal nouns have irregular plural forms: *táo* 'person' > *tattáo* 'people', *baró* 'bachelor' > *babbaró* 'bachelors', *balásang* 'bachelorette' > *babbalásang* 'bachelorettes', *lakáy* 'old man' > *lallakáy* 'old men', *bakét* 'old woman' > *babbakét* 'old women'.

Common morphological devices used to form nouns aside from the nominalizations used with verbal stems (see Sec. 6.2), include the prefixes *ka-* for nouns of measurement: *ka-akába* (NR-wide) 'width', *ka-atiddóg* (NR-long) 'length', *ka-táyag* (NR-high) 'height', *ka-dakkél* (NR-big) 'size'; *kina-* for abstract nouns formed from stative roots: *kina-sadút* (NR-lazy) 'laziness', *kina-gagét* (NR-hard.working) 'industriousness', *kina-lagdá* (NR-durable) 'durability', and *ka-* (+ CV reduplication) (*-an*), which forms comitative nouns: *ka-ili-án* 'townmate' (*ili*=town), *ka-klase* 'classmate'.

Prefixes used only with nominal stems include: *sinan-* indicating resemblance: *sinan-pána* 'arrow-like thing', *sinan-táo* 'manlike thing', *sinan-bilóg* 'toy boat', *sinam-bituén* 'star-like entity'; *pagat/pagaC-* indicating physical extent: *pagab-barúkong* 'reaching the chest', *pagat-táo* 'size of a man'; and *agat/agaC-* indicating smell: *agab-barániw* 'smell of lemon grass (indicating a scandal)', *agal-layá* 'smell of ginger', and *agat-tsiko* 'smell of sapodilla fruit (indicating intoxication)'.

The agent voice infix *-um-* may be used with locative roots to designate residents: from *baláy* 'house' > *dagiti bumaláy* 'residents of the house', from *ili* 'town' > *dagiti umíli* 'citizens; residents of a town or city', from *purók* 'village' > *dagiti pumurók* 'villagers'. Degrees of kinship are indicated with the prefix *kapi(n)-*: *kapiduá* 'second cousin', *kapitló* 'third cousin', *kapimpát* 'fourth cousin', *kapinlimá* 'fifth cousin'. A related form *kapamin-* is used with numbers to express nominal ordinals: *kapamin-limá* 'the fifth time'.

Spanish nominal loan morphology is quite productive with many roots, sometimes borrowed with gender. The locative ending *-eria* can be seen in both loans and with native roots: *karinderia* 'Philippine-style cafeteria', *labandéria* 'laundromat', and *pansiteria* 'noodle house'. The agentive suffix *-ero* (feminine *-era*) is also used with both Spanish and native roots: *partera* 'midwife' (loan from Spanish), and *karaykayéra* 'female raker' (from *karaykáy* 'rake'). Gender is also morphologically expressed in a few Spanish loans, *mánong* 'older brother' vs. *mánang* 'older sister' (Sp. *hermano* 'brother', *hermana* 'sister'), *lólo, lélong* 'grandfather' vs. *lóla, lélang* 'grandmother' (Sp. *abuelo, abuela*), *bastonéro* 'conductor of an orchestra' vs. *bastonéra* 'majorette' (Sp. *bastón* 'cane, rod'), etc.

Not all borrowings can be traced directly to words or morphemes in a particular lending language. Words like *bentáhe* 'advantage' are hybrids with two language sources, Spanish *ventaja* + English *advantage*.

The velar nasal suffix *-ng* is widely used for nicknaming and with kinterms to express familiarity or vocative reference: *Maning* (nickname for Manuel), *Agong* (nickname for Santiago), *Polong* (nickname for Apollo), *táta* 'father' > *tátang* 'dad', *iná* 'mother' > *inang* 'mom', *ádi* 'younger sibling (reference)' > *áding* 'younger sibling (reference or vocative)'.

6.2 Nominalizations

Nominalizations in Iloko are formed on the basis of agent voice verbs as shown in Table 11.12. There are three basic nominalization types: (1) Instrumentals with *pag-/paN-/paka-/paki-*, etc. (2) Locative/Reason aspectual nominalizations (= instrumental gerund + *-an*); and (3) Manner gerunds (*panag-, panang-, pannaka-*, etc.).

TABLE 11.12: ILOKO NOMINALIZATIONS

Mode	Verbal affix	Gerund (Manner)	Instrument	Locative/Reason	
				Neutral	Perfective
Dynamic	ag-	panag-	pag-	pag- -an	nag- -an
	-um-	i-CV-*	–	-um- -an	-imm- -an
	mang-	panang-	pang-	pang- -an	nang- -an
	mangi-	panangi-	pangi-	pangi- -an	nangi- -an
	mangipa-	panangipa-	pangipa-	pangipa- -an	nangipa- -an
	mangpa-	panangpa-	pangpa-	pangpa- -an	nangpa- -an
	mangpai-	panangpai-	pangpai-	pangpai- -an	nangpai- -an
	mangpag-	panangpag-	pangpag-	pangpag- -an	nangpag- -an
Potentive	maka-	pannaka-	paka-	paka- -an	naka- -an
	makai-	pannakai-	pakai-	pakai- -an	nakai- -an
	makaipa-	pannakaipa-	pakaipa-	pakaipa- -an	nakaipa- -an
	makapa-	pannakapa-	–	pakapa- -an	nakapa- -an
	makapai-	pannakapai-	pakapai-	pakapai- -an	nakapai- -an
	makapag-	pannakapag-	pakapag-	pakapag- -an	nakapag- -an
	makapagi-	pannakapagi-	pakapagi-	pakapagi- -an	nakapagi- -an
Joint action	maki-	pannaki-	paki-	paki- -an	naki- -an
	makipag-	pannakipag-	pakipag-	pakipag- an	nakipag- -an
	makipagi-	pannakipagi-	pakipagi-	pakipagi- -an	nakipagi- -an

* CV here represents CV reduplication.

Gerunds are widely used in Iloko discourse as (1) core arguments of intransitive predicates (33); (2) adverbial clauses (34, 35); and (3) complement clauses (36). Following temporals and interrogatives, they are rather common:

(33) *Mayát ti panag-dáit=na.*
good CORE GER-sew=3s.ERG
'Her sewing is good.'

(34) *Ma-súya=ako=n ití pan-agin-si-singpét=na!*
POT-fed.up=1s.ABS=already OBL GER-PRETEND-RDP-behave=3s.ERG
'I'm fed up with his pretending to be well behaved!'

(35) *In-arámid=ko sakbáy ti panag-áwid=da*
PFV.PV-do=1s.ERG before CORE GER-go.home=3p.ERG
'I did it before they went home (before their going home).'

(36) *Kaanó ti panag-áwid=mo?*
when CORE GER-go.home=2s.ERG
'When are you going home?'

Locative nominalizations differ from instrumental or manner gerunds because they may inflect for perfective aspect. They may be used in interrogative main clauses to ask the reason, source or location of an event. After the interrogative *aniá* 'what', they specify reason:

Locative use:

(37) *Nag-adál-a=m?*
NR.PFV.AV-study-NR=2s.ERG
'Where did you go to school?' (from *Sadino ti nagadálam?* (where CORE *nagadálam*))

Source/Reason use:

(38) *Aniá'-t pag-apál-an=da*
what-CORE NR-envy- NR=3p.ERG
'What are they envious about (what is the reason/source of their envy)?'

(39) *Naka-ammu-án=yo a kasangáy=ko itá?*
NR.PFV.POT-know-NR=2p.ERG LK birthday=1s.ERG now/today
'How did you find out it's my birthday today (what is the source of your knowledge)?'

Manner gerunds may take CVC progressive reduplication, but they do not inflect for perfective aspect like the locative/reason nominalizations.

(40) ... *gapú ngatá iti panag-kur-kúrang=daití taraón.*
cause perhaps OBL GER-RDP-lack=3p.ERG OBL nourishment
'(they are quite thin...) probably because of their lack of nourishment.'

Instrumental gerunds are the least morphologically marked, formed with a variant of the affix *paC(V)-* (see Table 11.12). Instrumentals are *not* formed off intransitive *-um-* verbs. Instrumentals are widely used as nominals in spoken language, e.g. *pag-surat* (INS.NR-write) 'pen', *pag-sa-sao* (INS.NR-RDP-talk) 'language', *panait* /paN-dait/ (INS.NR-sew) 'thread'. Example 42 shows the instrumental prefix used like a clitic, attaching

to a tri-lexemic noun phrase:

(41) *Aniá   ti   nailián   a   pag-sa-saó   ditóy?*
     what   CORE   national   LK   INS.NR-RDP-talk   PRX.ADV
     'What is the national language here?'

(42) *Aniá   ti   pang-[anák=ko   iti   buniág]?*
     what   CORE   INS.NR-child=1s.ERG   OBL   baptism
     'What will I use to be a godfather (what will my sponsorship payment be)?'

Agent nominalizations are formed with *maNN-*, with or without CVC iterative reduplication, or with CV reduplication of an agent voice verb form: *mannurat* (maNN-surat) 'writer', *mannursúro* (maNN-RDP-suro) 'teacher', *mangngálap* (maNN-kalap) 'fisherman', *kumakánta* (RDP<um>-kanta) 'singer'.

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